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# PRIMITIVE CIVILIZATIONS

OR

## OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF OWNERSHIP IN ARCHAIC COMMUNITIES

# PRIMITIVE CIVILIZATIONS

OR

## *OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF OWNERSHIP IN ARCHAIC COMMUNITIES*

BY

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*BOOK IV.*

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# OWNERSHIP IN CHINA.

[illegible] Ka family was richer than the Duke of Chow had been, and yet Kiew collected his imposts for him, and increased his wealth.

The Master said, "He is no disciple of mine. My little children beat the drum and assail him." [illegible]

Yao went to visit Hua. The border-warden of Hua said, "Hua [illegible] My best respects to you, sir. I wish you a long life."

"Don't," replied Yao.

"I wish you plenty of money," continued the border-warden.

"Don't!" replied Yao.

"And many sons," added he.

"Don't!" replied Yao.

"Long life, plenty of money, and many sons," [illegible] "[illegible] what all men desire. How [illegible] [illegible]?"

"Many sons," answered Yao, "are many anxieties. Plenty [illegible] plenty of trouble. Long life [illegible] [illegible] to pump with. These three gifts do not [illegible] I declined them."

"[illegible]," said the warden, "[illegible] [illegible] function. If you have [illegible] [illegible]?"

"[illegible]"

"[illegible] heard of any [illegible]

# PRIMITIVE CIVILIZATIONS.

## CHAPTER I.

### *THE LAND AND ITS HISTORY.*

THE natural history of Egypt may be said to begin and end with the inundation of the Nile, but it is impossible to give so compendious an account of the conditions which enable the soil of China to maintain one-third of the human race. The fortunes and history of China are mysteriously linked with the geology of Central Asia; and the interdependence of the different members of the favourite Chinese triad—Heaven, Earth, and Man—is nowhere more vividly illustrated than in the experience of the Chinese people. Chinese history traces the fortunes of a race, with qualities determined by one set of conditions, in a country with qualities determined by another set. So far as the character of the Egyptian race is the product of the sun and the inundation, the history of the land and the people have a common cause. But there is no such natural connection between the inexhaustible fertility of the loess districts in China and the character of the Chinese race, for the former is the result of causes which ceased to work long before the ancestors of the latter came into being.

The two great tracts of ceaseless sun, which are barren both of civilized human life and vegetation, are the deserts of Central Asia and the Sahara. Both these deserts occupy the site of a dried-up inland sea—dried up because, in the course of ages, the waste by evaporation from its wide surface was greater than the reinforcements brought by the streams debouching into it. The Nile flows from the mountains of Abyssinia and the equatorial highlands round Lake Victoria,[1] the Tigris and Euphrates from the highlands of Armenia and Kurdistan, all alike outside the rainless regions. The streams which may once have fed the inland African sea had no such sheltered sources, and have hardly left a trace behind. The sea of Central Asia existed perhaps to a more recent date, and there still survives, to show how it was fed, the Yarim or Yarkand River, which flows into Lop-nor, after a course of 1,150 miles, longer than that of the Rhine, and through a river-basin larger than that of the Danube. But

[1] In the latter region the rainfall is [illegible]

with this exception, the streams that flow from the little lakes still scattered through the desert, lose themselves in the sand; others, rising in the sand, flow only into lakes, which year by year waste and dwindle, like the larger sea of which they once formed part, while the surrounding mountains have long since ceased to nourish tributaries of sufficient volume to reach them.

When, from whatever cause, the amount of evaporation over a given area comes to exceed the rainfall, the radiation from the heated, barren surface, of which more and more is left permanently dry, tends to disperse the summer rainclouds, and so extends and intensifies the drought. Prejevalsky saw this process at work in the desert of Gobi, between Alashan and Naga, where a dog, which had been his companion for years, died of the intense heat. No dew fell, and the rainclouds dispersed without sending more than a few drops to earth. "We observed," he says, "this interesting phenomenon several times, particularly in Southern Alashan, near the Kansu mountains, where the rain, as it fell, met the lower heated atmosphere and passed off in steam before reaching the earth."[1]

The drying up of an inland sea extends the area over which moisture is absorbed or dissipated, quite apart from the causes which have led to its own contraction. This in Central Asia may have been due partly to the gradual elevation of the sea bottom, which leaves the plateau of Gobi three or four thousand feet above the sea level, as well as to the insufficiency of its fresh-water feeders. After wringing their last drops of [illegible] towards the interior, and already [illegible] the great mountain ranges [illegible] the central basin [illegible] the drainage of their high lakes [illegible] the distant ocean, instead of towards the Mediterranean sea of sand. They intercept, instead of storing [illegible] the central basin.

[illegible]

ception of the Yarkand River, these streams, while fringing the central plateau with their sources, contribute none of their waters to replenish the Mediterranean Sea.

Thus year by year the sea has narrowed; and as streams dry up and showers grow scantier, the process of deterioration accelerates itself. The dwellers in the few oases only hasten by their labours the encroachments of the sandy tide, for irrigation works increase the surface of the water exposed to evaporation, and the crops that are consumed each season make no return of moisture to the air equivalent to that which they absorb. The scanty streams, unfed by rain or snow, prove unequal to the constant drain, and with the exhaustion of the water supply the last remains of vegetation fall an easy prey to the encroaching sands. This has been the history of Central Asia ever since the present races of mankind have inhabited or crossed it. Five thousand years ago, doubtless, lakes and oases were more numerous, those still existing larger and more fertile, and parts of the present desert perhaps not without a steppe-like vegetation. The vales of Cashmere and Yulduz, the plains of Bokhara and Khokan had counterparts, no doubt, within the mountain circle, which, like the present Ili, Khami, Yarkand, and Khotan, were each the centre of a principality of respectable size and enviable fruitfulness.

In comparatively recent geologic time it is supposed that changes of an opposite character to these took place in China proper, that an increased rainfall brought fertility to once barren steppes, filled the water-courses with continuous streams, and carved for the latter an outlet into the sea. But in Baron von Richthofen's admirable work on China, it is shown that the effects of a period of rainlessness make themselves felt upon the soil, and through the soil upon the climate, long after the great geologic or climatic changes have been accomplished, which cause the district in question to be no longer either riverless or rainless.

The work of water is not unmixedly beneficent, and we can judge how much of the natural richness of the soil is carried off by an average rainfall, from the treasures of fertility hoarded up in regions of perennial drought. The natural fertilizers of an uninhabited and untilled country consist of all the decomposed animal and vegetable matter deposited on its surface; and when this is carried away by streams into the sea, it is obvious that the soil must be proportionately impoverished. On the other hand all these elements are retained on the surface, and tend to fill up its hollows, when the streams charged with them gradually disappear by evaporation instead of finding an outlet to the ocean.[1] Hence the potential fertility of all deserts and the ready transformation of any such tract into fertile land as soon as art or nature provides the means of irrigation.

In China a fertilizing dust is sometimes carried by the wind in [illegible] equal to that which darkens the air in the desert sand-storms, and this dust is found to produce exactly the same effect upon the soil [illegible]

[illegible]

[1] [illegible] von Richthofen, 1877, vol. i. p. 8.

deposits left by the overflow of rivers; and this is not the only respect in which aerial currents are found to produce effects analogous to those usually attributed to water only. An ancient Chinese ode contains the couplet "Great winds have a path; they come from the large empty valleys," and the action of these winds is as irresistible as that of a mountain torrent in its bed. The Chinese poet evidently had in his mind experiences like that of an unsuccessful Mormon colony in an exposed part of the Salt Lake district. A recent writer,[1] after describing how the settlement is swept by winds from a great cañon, adds: "One year they sowed three hundred acres with wheat, and the wind simply blew the crops away. The people live for part of the year in a ceaseless dust-storm, and what is not actually displaced is kept rubbed down to the ground by the perpetual passage of waves of sand." Similarly, according to Prejevalsky, in the Mongolian deserts, "The winds of winter and spring blow with such violence that you see even the humble shrubs of wormwood uprooted by them and rolled into bundles, and driven across the barren plain."[2] General Gordon, noting the same phenomenon in North Africa, was reminded that it must also have been familiar to the Psalmist of Palestine, who desired to see his enemies made "like a wheel; as the stubble before the wind."[3]

Air, like water, scours the channels in which it flows, and carries with it all the lighter particles of the objects in its path, and like water, deposits in one place what it has swept away from another. A recent English traveller in China observed at Ichang, on the Blue River, that on a mild sunny morning in March the sky was [illegible] and he adds that the dust-storms, which [illegible] winter bring from the Mongolian deserts, carry the [illegible]

[illegible]

yond the surface undulations of a sandy sea or snow-drifts. The loess of China is a calcareous loam, wholly unstratified, extremely porous, consisting of innumerable vertical tubes, so friable as to crumble between the fingers, and yet with enough cohesion to form vertical cliffs two hundred feet in height, in which dwellings can be carved as substantially as in the Old Red Sandstone.

The porousness of this formation is explained on the hypothesis that an increased rainfall has dissolved the greater part of the saline incrustations which form upon the steppes during the period of rainlessness;[1] its thickness and extent have been accounted for by the joint ingenuity of German and American geologists in the following manner. As long as the surface of the ground is covered by vegetation, the elements of the undersoil remain *in situ*: the disintegration of the rock beneath goes on to an extent which varies with its chemical composition, but may reach, as in the case of granite or gneiss, a depth sometimes of several hundred feet. If, however, this surface vegetation is destroyed, as by a period of rainlessness, the layer of decomposed rock is at the mercy of either ice or wind, though the more familiar action of water is excluded. Now in Northern China there are no signs of a glacial period, and its felspathic rocks show no traces of decomposition such as are met with in Southern Asia, where they have been protected from erosion. Neither, during the period of loess formation, was there any denudation of the rocks by water; both denudation and deposits here being the work of aerial influences alone. Inequalities in the surface of the rock, and the existence of basins and channels, where water can never have lain or flowed, are attributed to the unequal rate of disintegration, and the distinction already made between lands that retain their surface fertilizers, and lands in which these are washed away by rain and rivers, repeats itself in the distinction between regions where the bare rock is exposed by aeolian influences, and those in which the same influences bring fresh deposits. As examples of such sub-aerial deposits, it is enough to mention the still sandy deserts, steppes, not yet free from salt, savannahs, the loess in China, Bavaria, and Missouri, and at least three other soils of phenomenal fertility, the Russian black earth, the Indian cotton soil, and the *terra roxa*, or red coffee lands of Brazil, consisting of decomposed trap reaching to a depth of from twenty to thirty feet.

China is only singular in the vast extent of the exceptionally fertile soil, which stood ready to the hand of the first skilled agriculturists who might claim it. The area of China is estimated at 1-33rd of the habitable globe: its present population includes about one-third of the human race. Some of its most fertile spots have unquestionably been under cultivation for upwards of [illegible] years: and though the whole region now known as China

[1] [illegible] p. 126. [illegible] 1862 [illegible]

proper has not been occupied by the Chinese for so long as that, most of the remarks that would apply to the large empire of to-day would be equally true of the first settlements of the spreading black-haired people.

Nowhere else within the temperate zone do we find a continuous tract comprising an equal area of equally fertile soil, a country where the variety of temperate, and the abundance of tropical, climates are combined in the natural produce, and where benignant nature has set the fashion of good government by making the struggle for existence so easy to her children. The soil of Egypt might be equally fertile, but the requisite culture was monotonous, and servile labour was skilled enough to sow before and reap after the inundation. To profit by the varied productiveness of China, the inventiveness of private enterprise stimulated by the institution of private property was necessary; but some of the phenomena generally associated with these phrases in the west are missing, for the end aimed at by the economic system is substantially the same as in Egypt, though the method is different.

In Egypt, as we have seen, the base of the industrial order was formed by a system of forced labour and subsistence wages. In the Middle Kingdom, free labour and sufficient food would be the corresponding formula. As in Egypt, for many ages food was normally so plentiful, by the pure bounty of nature, that dearth appeared only explicable as the result of bad government; and so, while reserving the right of the people to earn their own food in their own way, the duty of their rulers was conceived to consist chiefly in making not only such arrangements as should secure the free labourers in the enjoyment of the fruits of their labour, but also such as should make the labour itself as remunerative as possible.

Political liberty for the masses did not exist, and they had no right to criticise the imperial measures, but all the more ruthless was the judgment [illegible]

The succession of the seasons is almost the same throughout the country, though the dates of each particular phase may vary.[1]

Another peculiarity of structure, which has facilitated the establishment of a uniform and centralized government, is the relation of the rivers and mountains, more particularly in the south. Not only has every river of importance numerous tributaries flowing into it more or less at right angles; but even when no tributary stream divides the mountain ridges, these still run at right angles to the river valley, not as a barrier across it. Though the area of China is equal to that of all Europe, without Russia, and, though it is by no means wanting in mountainous districts, none of these make an internal barrier, separating one district from another as the Alps separate Italy and Switzerland, or as the Kwen Lun and the Snowy Mountains separate the Chinese Empire and Tibet. The main streams of China flow from west to east, and each of them is fed by more or less important tributaries flowing south and north; hence the means of communication are much greater, even through difficult country, than when the main streams flow in opposite directions and every source is a water-parting separating at once and for ever the chief river systems of the continent.

The valley of the Rhine and the valley of the Ticino are politically separate in a way that the valleys of the Yang-tse-kiang and the Yellow River never are, even when the distance between them is much greater than that from Basle to Pavia. The main river systems are thus only divided by chains of secondary importance, and the same peculiarity makes it possible in many cases to establish artificial means of communication between them by canals, connecting the tributaries of different main streams. This characteristic is most marked in the southern and eastern provinces, which, as the last to be occupied, would hardly have become so thoroughly incorporated with the older parts of the empire, if the means of communication had not been so much better in their case, as to compensate for the greater distance from the capital.

The prevailing absence of natural barriers between the course of different streams has, however, another and less beneficial consequence. Nowhere else within historic times has a stream of the importance of the Hoang-ho changed its course so materially, when its proper outlet becomes too shallow and confined to allow the passage of its waters. The consequent inundations made the embanking of the natural watercourses a necessary precaution, and the habit of "regulating the waters" of the largest rivers no doubt prepared and encouraged the agriculturists to undertake on its actual scale the not less beneficial, voluntary work of canalization.

[1] M. Bi[illegible] concludes from a comparison of the [illegible] of China [illegible] in different parts of China [illegible] [illegible] in the climate of the country within [illegible] "[illegible] en Chine." [illegible] 3me sér., [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

While the course of the rivers is such as to facilitate and promote inland traffic, the conformation of the coast is the reverse of favourable to foreign commerce. Harbours are few and bad, the mouths of the rivers are silted up with sand; there is but one bay of any importance, and none of those gulfs and indentations which invite and almost compel the dwellers on the coast to carry on their traffic by help of short cuts across the water. The inferiority of their neighbours on the north and south prevented any equality of intercourse, either political or commercial; while the industrial instincts of the people found ample satisfaction in the production of native articles of use and luxury, which each province could exchange as far as needful with other parts of the empire.

In no other civilized country in the world could it have been seriously proposed, as a defence against piracy, to lay waste a strip of ground a few miles wide all along the coast; but the sacrifice involved by this curious measure was, after all, inconsiderable. The great lines of traffic are all inland, and, for commercial purposes, the coast of the provinces on the east of the Great Canal is to be found on its banks rather than by the real seashore. In fact, the inundations, which were the one danger to Chinese agriculture, served indirectly to stimulate and promote Chinese commerce. The cuttings, which were necessary for drainage and useful for irrigation, served also to provide waterways for trade, and so to prevent the exclusive dependence on cultivation which has a cramping effect on natural development.

The political history of China has been much simplified by these features in its physical geography. The only natural barriers which are formidable enough to serve as the frontier of an important State are the Yellow River, the Yang-tse-kiang, and the mountain ranges on the east and north of Szechuen, which [illegible] large and fertile province. [illegible] the [illegible] into four great States, Northern, Southern, Central, and Eastern China. The great dynasties ruled over the whole [illegible] of the [illegible]. After the [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

the master of the Yellow River usually drove his rivals back behind the Kiang, as Kubla drove the Sung emperors before abolishing their dynasty.

The obstacles in the way of a United China never took the form of a local patriotism entrenched behind natural frontiers. The difficulties to be overcome were moral rather than material, and the immense territory normally united under the Emperor of China depended for its political unity on the vigour and capacity of the administration. There was nothing in the physical structure of the country to suggest or perpetuate the political subdivisions which followed upon imperial inefficiency; and if the people were seldom willing to fight with much enthusiasm for a sovereign who was losing the empire, they were always ready to submit with a good will to one who was gaining it.

China, in the third millennium B.C., was far from being an uninhabited country; and to judge from the tribute exacted from some of the wild tribes which continued to inhabit it, the latter were not altogether ignorant of the arts of civilization; but they were not confirmed agriculturists like their invaders. The occupation of China is interesting as the earliest instance of appropriation by use, and that upon a national scale. The agriculturists appropriated the arable land. The indigenous population was treated by the Chinese like squatters by a "free selector." The Black-haired people picked out the eyes of the land. They spread along the course of every fertile river valley, settling, improving, draining swamps, cutting canals, building embankments, but always with a colonizing instinct, occupying first every spot that would repay cultivation without much labour, and so spreading a network over the whole country, the meshes of which could be drawn tighter at leisure. The colonization of the Yellow River and the great plain probably took place as gradually and as peaceably as the later colonization of the Blue River, or that of Mongolia at the present day.

Ancient China was in the main the country lying between its two great rivers, the Hoang-ho and the Yang-tse-kiang. The earliest contemporary document preserved in the Shoo-King, or classic Book of History,[1] is a description of the nine provinces, the nine rivers, and the nine mountains of the kingdom as it existed in the 23rd century B.C., the tribute exacted from each province and the engineering works supposed to have been included in the imperial survey. This document, called the Tribute of Yu,[2] has every internal mark of authenticity. With its native curtness undisguised by imaginative commentators or translators, it appears as a [illegible] measure itinerary and revenue survey. We [illegible] approximately the extent of the primitive kingdom, and from its extent can form a [illegible] estimate of its prehistoric [illegible] which Chinese [illegible]

[illegible]

dition scarcely exaggerates. The nine rivers[1] are, besides the two already named, the Wei, down the course of which the original settlers must have spread after the Hoang-ho turned too far to the northward to be their guide; the Lo, which waters the present provinces of Honan and separates Loyang and Honan-fu, the ancient capitals of two different dynasties; the Hwai, which meets the Hoang-ho at its mouth after a long, straightish course from west to east. The Tsi, a river which is described as flowing from the Tai Yuen mountains into the Ho, and then out again to the sea, by a course not now traceable, and perhaps changed in the lapse of ages; the Han, which after flowing eastward, between two ranges of hills, wanders deviously southward and reaches the Yang-tse-kiang through a region of lakes and swamps.

And besides these seven considerable and more or less identifiable rivers, two are named, obviously lying at the western extremity of the kingdom, one of which is described as losing itself in the desert sands, and the other as flowing into the Southern sea. These last are scarcely conclusively identified. In a map, copied by Dr. Legge from a Chinese source, the Black-water appears as the name of the western bend of the Hoang-ho, and the Jo-shin, or Weak-water, as a tributary of the Kiang, not answering to the position of any actual stream. Of course the "southern sea" merely stands for the unknown goal to be reached by a stream flowing southward out of sight, and it may safely be assumed that both these streams were of much less importance than those reached afterwards, as almost any river would make an impression on the minds of travel [illegible] merging from the bed of the rainless and streamless Han-hai, or dry sea.

The [illegible] to unknown waters in the south, can only have [illegible] by the primitive Chinese expression "within the four seas," which later writers are avowedly unable to explain, and which has less [illegible]

[illegible]

plausibility,[2] by, literally, putting himself in the place of the original colon[illegible]

[illegible]

highest in the neighbourhood; it was such hills that the Chinese named, and Yu enumerates, and some of them still bear names identifiable with those used by him—a confirmation, if one were needed, of the view which conceives the immigrants as making their way through China along its river banks.

The provinces are grouped in three classes, three in each, but in a different order for fiscal and descriptive purposes. The highest revenue is not necessarily drawn from the provinces containing fields of the richest quality; and as the purpose of the latter classification is not explained, we are left to guess that perhaps it referred to the quality of the land available for village allotments, the quantity of which was regulated by its richness,[1] so as to secure about the same average amount of produce to the cultivators in different districts. The theory of the Government was to exact an increasing proportion of its dues in the form of personal services from the cultivators nearest the capital, while those at a distance contributed produce only; and as the same system was followed in ancient Peru[2] and modern Manipur, it may easily have been acted upon in ancient China.

According to this description of the nine provinces, the whole extent of territory claimed for ancient China is more than double the size of modern France; and it is not strange that sceptics should have tried to impugn the authority of such an almost incredibly ancient and circumstantial survey, on the ground that the Chinese Empire can hardly have been as highly organized as it implies at the time in question. But besides all the external and internal evidence for its authenticity, there are phrases here and there which bear involuntary testimony to the existence of the state of things which alone could make the composition of such a document possible.

Such a mapping out of provinces with tribute assessed, so as in each case to bring the maximum of wealth to the imperial treasury, while inflicting as little burden as possible on the distant taxpayers, presupposes a powerful and well-informed Government familiar with the whole of its wide dominions. Yu or his scribe has thus not merely navigated the streams of the Middle State, the Lo, the Wei, and the great Yellow River; he has stood where the modern city of Woo-chang looks down upon the confluence of the Han and the Kiang, and, with the monumental brevity of the archaic tongue, in six characters he represents these two rivers joining their waters and rushing together to the sea "as if they were hastening to court." A commentator of the Ming Dynasty, who had visited the same spot, writes with more prosaic amplitude,[3] "The vast flood dashing on brought to my mind the idea of a man hurrying with all his speed on some special mission without a thought of anything else." But for us the use of the image has a real historic value, as it brings before us a state

[1] When land is measured by the quantity of seed used to sow it, its quality is [illegible] [illegible] its size.

[2] Appendix F.

[3] Legge's *Chinese Classics*, III. p. 113.

of society in which it appears natural to illustrate the irresistible rush of a rapid current by a reference to what, therefore, must have been the familiar sight of a king's messenger in headlong course, or the steady stream of a long procession forming the train of a provincial noble, summoned to do homage to his liege lord in the capital of the empire.

It is not necessary for our purpose to analyse the tribute required from the different provinces. Varnish, silk of all kinds, woven ornamental fabrics in baskets, salt, cloth of dolichos fibre, hemp, lead, pine timber, bamboos, and various choice woods, pearl oysters and fish, jade, gold, iron, silver, copper, flints, grindstones and sounding-stones, fur skins and feathers, ivory, rushes, cinnabar, and minor curiosities are among the articles enumerated. Tea, cotton, and porcelain are still unknown. Of the six grains which figure in modern maxims—rice, millet, pulse, wheat, panic, and rye—the earliest enumerations do not mention rice. Upon the whole, though there is less abundance and display of the precious metals, the peace resources of China include as great a variety of articles as the war spoils of a Thothmes or a Rameses.

Of the eighteen provinces into which modern China is divided, eight lie to the south of the Yang-tse-kiang, and do not belong to the ancient kingdom at all. The ancient Yang included most of the districts recently divided into the two provinces of Ngan-hwuy and Kiang-su, and the remaining eight provinces north of the Kiang include the whole region settled, with increasing completeness, by the black-haired people down to the dynasty of Chow, or the period of "Middle Antiquity," reaching from 1122 B.C. to 255 B.C. The whole of the great plain which extends from Peking to the Poyang lake, and for a nearly equal distance, at its widest, from west to east, is comprised in these provinces. Pe-che-li, the northernmost, in which Peking is situated, is still the most barren; Shantung, on the eastern coast, contains part of the great plain, and is one of the most fertile of the northern provinces: the birthplace of Confucius is in the [illegible] district belonged to the state of Loo. These two provinces [illegible]

[illegible]

ing to Richthofen, is their chief article of export, and they supply clerks and merchants to the rest of China.

The southern part of both Hoope and Shensi belong rather to Southern than Northern China; the former consists of alluvial plains subject to inundations, with mountains on the east and west. It is now the focus of the inland traffic, and the carrying trade from Honan and Tchekiang is in the hands of the inhabitants. Cotton and tea are the only staple articles of production, so the population is not exclusively agricultural. The north of Shensi is, however, still a perfect granary, as it has been for thousands of years. Sz'chuen, which in the earliest times communicated with Northern China through Si-ngan-fu, is now usually approached by water on the Yang-tse-kiang. Geographically it has more in common with Yunnan, the "Far West" of modern China, than with the northern provinces, which also abut upon it and contain the most ancient settlement of the Chinese race; and until the complete annexation of Southern China made it more readily accessible, its isolation formed a standing exception to the general compactness and free intercommunication of the rest of the empire.

In regard to China, it is hardly safe to take any kind of knowledge—geographical any more than historical—for granted; and as one can hardly understand the economic position of the empire without a glance at its history, to follow its history it is necessary to outline at least thus roughly the relation between the existing provinces and the most ancient subdivisions on record. In the interval it will always be sufficient for our purpose to know approximately whereabouts the theatre of events is situated in relation to the permanent natural landmarks and centres of civilized population which have never ceased to be of importance; to trace particular boundaries or identify individual towns through the changes of name imposed by different dynasties is neither possible nor necessary, and the less necessary because of the substantial similarity of the large areas sometimes made the subject of ephemeral political subdivision.

## CHAPTER II.

### *THE ANCIENT MONARCHY.*

POLITICALLY there has been more change, more development, and less stationary conservatism in the 4000 years of Chinese civilization than in the 3000 or more of Egyptian independence. But socially, industrially, and intellectually, China may bear the palm of unchangeableness in virtue of the longer, still continued national life, which seems to have undergone no material revolution in its character since the earliest records that have reached us.

These records differ curiously from those which give such trustworthy though incomplete guidance as to the life of ancient Egypt and Babylonia. The early books of the Shoo-King have not the same monumental authenticity as the inscriptions of Senoferu and Gudea. But they are the work of men who have formed the habit of recording statements and occurrences of political importance, with a disinterestedness not to be found in merely triumphal monuments. When the great encyclopædist of the 14th cent., Maitwandin, tells us that the "pencil of the recording officer has been busy from the time of Hwang-ti,"[1] he is only repeating earlier and veracious writers, whose records reach into the remote past without coming to a time when the pencil was not at work. The commentators explain that if the emperor [illegible] to any officer or prince, it was the duty of [illegible] called the "Recorder of the Interior" to write it upon tablets and [illegible] public duty was esteemed more sacred [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

few of the original Chinese authorities have been made accessible to European students by translation.

The legendary history of China may be said to begin with the Emperor Yao, who died, according to Chinese chronology,[1] in the year 2257 B.C., after a reign of 100 years, the most mythical figure in the records. The first book in the Shoo is called the Canon of Yao, and we find in it already fully developed some of the most characteristic elements of subsequent Chinese thought and morals. The mythical emperors anterior to Yao are first mentioned in comparatively late writings: the first of them is supposed to have taught his subjects to make huts of branches, which is probably an etymological afterthought; the second taught the use of fire; the third, Fouhi, invented marriage and the hundred families, divination and music; the fourth introduced agriculture and trade; the reign of the fifth, Hwang-ti, was memorable for the invention of bricks, the cultivation of silkworms, the development of writing (the origin of which is mixed up with the mystic trigrams of Fouhi), and the establishment of the Imperial Record Office and the historiographers, to whose industry we are certainly indebted for the surviving State papers which constitute the Shoo-King. All these inventions are attributed in turn to every local legendary chief, and with equally little reason, since the founders of Chinese civilization were not Chinese princes at all, if, as now appears probable, the black-haired people brought with them all the arts of a simple civilization ready made from the west.

What one may regard as the authentic element in the tradition of the period shows us this people face to face with the natural difficulties which beset new colonists, almost lost in a vast continent, among strange tribes who are best content to leave their native wildernesses unreclaimed; and liable to have the fruits of their industry swept away by river floods.

To the present day the names of Yao and Shun are in proverbial use to represent the golden ages of the empire. According to the Classic, a common man of the name of Shun was chosen by Yao as his minister, son-in-law and successor, after a review of all the talents of the country. Shun was evidently the hero of a Cinderella-like legend, though in the course of time Chinese rationalism has erased most of the incidents of the fabulous tale to be obliterated.[2] His reign is memorable in Chinese legendary history for the floods which led to the salutary mission of the great Yu, who is supposed to have removed mountains, and excavated rivers, besides setting the fashion of such more practical life draining and embankment as has been practised continuously to the present day, in works of which the Grand Canal is the most remarkable instance. Yao was supposed to have urged Shun, as Shun had urged Yu, to leave off speculating the exaggerated accounts of his labours as an idle dreamer. Here we first find ourselves touching the solid ground of history in the Domesday book of ancient China ascribed to him under the name of The Tribute of Yu. His virtues were only regarded as inferior to his predecessors'

[1] *Vide* App. K. [2] *Ante*, iii. p. 80.

in the fact that he did not seek through the kingdom for the worthiest successor, but appointed his own son and founded the dynasty of Hia (2205–1766 B.C.).

His grandson was idle, dissipated, and provoked the hostility of the subject princes; and a contemporary poem appeals against him to "the Lessons of our great ancestor," that the people should be cherished and not despised, "for the people are the root of the country, and when the root is firm the country is tranquil. But when the palace is a wild of lust, and the country is a wild for hunting, when spirits and music and costly buildings are indulged in to excess,"[1]—the existence of any one of these things has never failed to be the prelude to ruin. A return to better government averted the judgment for a time, but the eighteenth king of the dynasty proved to be intolerably cruel and dissolute: his own domains suffered, and he endeavoured to extend his oppression to the better ruled dominions of the feudal nobles. Meanwhile Thang, called the Successful, prince of Shang, had gathered his own people together, and by threats and promises—with many protestations that heaven had called him, the "one man," to destroy the house of Hia and reign more justly himself in its place—he prevailed upon the forces of the empire to follow him to a victorious campaign. Notwithstanding the purity of his motives, sanctioned too by success, he was uneasy as to what posterity would think of him, and had an apologetic "Announcement" composed and published for his justification by the prime minister.[2]

Exactly the same protestations, the same denunciations of crime, cruelty, and oppression are repeated when in 1122 B.C. the dynasty of Shang is dethroned and that of Chow founded by King Wu, the son of Wen. The [illegible] to the transgressions of the last king of Shang or Yin [illegible] at greater length; but there is just the same tone of moral [illegible] King Thang is expressly [illegible] that when the king of China [illegible] the duty of the most virtuous and powerful of the [illegible]

[illegible]

that of the mythical emperor Shinnung, and contains more points of resemblance with the Chaldæan story of Sargon, though the resemblance only proves both to belong to the region of pure myth. Modern Chinese commentators take for granted that the lady Keang was married, though childless; but the genuine legend contains no reference to any husband, and the story is probably one of the few surviving indications that the primitive Chinese theory of descent approximated to that of the Egyptians.

There are just hints enough in one stanza to enable us to recognise the type of folktale of which How-tseih must have been the hero: "placed in a narrow lane," the sheep and oxen protected him; "placed in a wide forest," the wood-cutters came to his rescue; "placed on the cold ice," a bird sheltered and supported him. After escaping all these dangers the infant hero differentiates himself as a Chinaman by proceeding forthwith "to plant large beans," instead of strangling snakes or slaying dragons. "His rice, hemp, wheat, and gourds prosper marvellously." Clearing away the thick grass, he sowed the yellow grains and taught the people to cultivate the four kinds of millet—the black millet, the double kernelled, the tall red and the white, to distinguish between the early and the late, to sow first pulse and then wheat, "and thus he was appointed lord of Ta'e" and minister of agriculture to the emperor Shun.[1] Another ode celebrates the same hero as the first who gave wheat and barley to be food for the multitudes, and diffused the rules of social duty through the wide realm.[2]

Four or five hundred years after the supposed date of How-tseih, a settlement of the people in Pin is described as conducted by a somewhat more historical Duke Lew, of whom an ode narrates: "He divided and subdivided the country into fields. He stored up the produce in the fields and barns." Apparently finding his territory overcrowded, "he surveyed the plain, he ascended to the hilltops; in sympathy with the people he made a proclamation; in his devotion to the people he continued his explorations to the 100 springs and the ridge on the south, a height affording space for multitudes;" here the officers gathered round him upon mats and stools, and the scale of the whole proceedings may be estimated from the festivities at the close of the council. The generous Duke "had sent to the herds and taken a pig from the pen; he poured out his spirits into calabashes, and so he gave them to eat and to drink." After determining the points of the compass, "he surveyed the light and the shade," *i.e.* the fields with a south exposure, suitable for the staple grain supply, and those in the shadow of the hill, suitable for trees or the hardiest crops; "he viewed the streams and springs, he measured the marshes and plains; he fixed the revenue on the *system of common cultivation of the fields*; he measured also the fields west of the hills, and the settlement of Pin became truly great."[4]

Notwithstanding all this, another ode introduces us to a third hero, the ancient duke, Tan Foo, who removes his people from Pin to the [illegible]

[1] [illegible] p. 408. [2] [illegible]
[3] [illegible] p. 42[illegible]. [4] Legge, iv. 4[illegible]3.

Chow, 1325 B.C., and provides them with huts and caves, for as yet they had no houses. In concert with his wife, the lady Keang, he chose the site for a settlement; "he divided the ground into large tracts and smaller portions; he dug the ditches, he defined the acres." The superintendent of works and the minister of instruction were charged with the building of the houses and the ancestral temples; "with the line they made everything straight, they bound the frame-boards tight, crowds brought the earth in baskets, throwing it in and ramming it down with shovels,[1] . . . the trees were thinned and roads for travelling opened;" in fact, all the pioneer's work ascribed to Yu 900 years before was supposed to be done again by all the ancestors of the new dynasty, without much regard to their remoteness from the existing period of civilization.

Other odes mention with praise the road-making and forest-clearing achievements of later princes, and it may of course be said that these poems do not imply a fresh beginning of the arts and agriculture—only the foundation of a new settlement. Just as there are in America colonists who have spent a lifetime in "going west," so as to keep always just ahead of the rising tide of population, so in China for many centuries it seems to have been a favourite undertaking with the most enterprising chiefs of the growing settlements to migrate into roomier quarters. This constant opening up of new territory might easily lead the Chinese emigrants to underestimate the remoteness of their own first experiences of this kind, for the civilized descendants of the aboriginal tribes, with whom they came successively in contact, would retain a true recollection of the beginnings of agriculture in their own region; and these recollections would blend partly with the traditional features of the legend of Yu, and partly with particular traditions of family migrations, with the result of reducing all the semi historical leaders of different ages to a single type.

That the Chinese themselves did not learn agriculture in China is beyond a doubt. Just as the family life of the Vedic Aryans is coeval with their existence as a pastoral people, so that of the Chinese does not go back to a time when the black-haired people were not agriculturals. The Chinese cultivated and irrigated the ground before they framed the character that stands for "man," which is compounded of the sign for strength and the [illegible] consisting of four squares, which repre-

[illegible]

[illegible] 102.

sents the "channeled fields." From the earliest times, the birth of a male child was thought of as bringing the addition of a strong worker to the agricultural community, as the revolution of the seasons was thought of in reference to the return of harvest.[1] Of course it may be said that the evidence of language carries us further back than that of any written characters. But we know from another source that Chinese writing is certainly at least as old as the historical constitution of the family, and probably older, because it takes us back to the time when genealogies were traced through the mother habitually, and not merely in the exceptional case of a heaven-born hero; *hsing*, the character for "surname," is compounded of two signs for "woman" and "birth," and the eight most ancient surnames are said to be written with that symbol.[2]

Another trace of customs akin to those of Sumer and Akkad may be seen in the tradition which assigns to the reign of Shun the division of the land into twelve districts, subject to the "Twelve Pastors," under the presidency of an officer called "The Four Mountains" (? a reminiscence of the "Four Regions"). Such a division could not have been invented at a later time when only nine provinces were known, and it therefore testifies to the antiquity of the record. At the same time the internal administration of the country was divided into departments under responsible ministers; and the habitable world within the "four seas" was theoretically divided between the Imperial domain, the domains of the nobles surrounding this, a larger area of border lands called the "peace-securing domain," where Chinese influence was making its way pacifically, while the still larger "domain of restraint" and "the wild domain" consisted of the more or less entirely barbarous regions into which criminals were banished. If we knew nothing else about the character and history of ancient China, it is at least a fact of some importance that these terms were in use at the time when its first records were compiled.

The home of the rulers of the black-haired people appears in the "Tribute of Yu" as the "Middle Kingdom;" it is then the seat of a highly developed national civilization and an imperial government which recognises only tributary allies or feudal dependants, and barbarous tribes whose submission is expected to follow spontaneously as they learn gradually to value the blessings of peace and civilized protection.[3]

Under the Chow kings the name of the Empire and the political significance of the name remain unaltered. The influence of Chinese rule radiated from a centre, and the settlements where wealth, industry, and population abounded most and had struck their roots deepest were in the midst of the future fields of conquest of the race. But as the people spread, the States on the outer circle, so to speak, of Chinese

[1] The oldest written character for "a year" represents [illegible] (R. K. Douglas, p. 231.)

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 224.

[3] *S.B.E.* iii. p. 47.

influence, were able to expand at the expense of their barbarous neighbours, while the older and smaller States first formed were enclosed by the growing territories of the border princes and distanced by them in importance. When the Yin-Shang Dynasty was superseded, Chow was almost a border State; but its neighbours on the east, south, and north, Tsin, T'soo, and T'sin, which supplied the next dynasty, had larger territories available for future conquest and settlement.

The period during which the Chow Dynasty occupied the throne is called "Middle Antiquity;" and Confucius, who lived towards the close of it, insists on the continuity of Chinese tradition through preceding ages. According to him, "The Yin Dynasty followed the regulations of the Hia; wherein it took from or added to them may be known. The Chow Dynasty has followed the regulations of the Yin; wherein it took from or added to them may be known. Some other may follow the Chow; but though it should be at the distance of a hundred ages, its affairs may be known."[1] And the survival in the China of to-day of features and institutions older than Confucius justifies us in crediting his assurances that the moral and political ideas to which he gave fresh currency were, in fact, an inheritance from times already ancient.

In comparing the regulations of Chow with those of the earlier dynasties, Confucius gives the preference to Chow, which, profiting by the experience of the past, had excelled it in the "complete and elegant" character of its ordinances. These ordinances are embodied in the voluminous work known as the Chow Li, or "Rites of Chow,"[2] the authorship of which is ascribed to the Duke of Chow, the virtuous and disinterested brother of King Wu. The Duke of Chow, like Confucius, did not claim to be an innovator, and the latter is probably right in his belief that the Rites of Chow differed from those of Yin and Hia mainly in the "completeness and elegance" with which they were written out.

The first section of this Blackstone of ancient China begins with a formula ascribing the royal supremacy: the king determines the cardinal points, [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

State, and at least all the points upon which the two documents are agreed may be accepted as historical.[1]

The subdivisions of the official hierarchy are substantially similar to those still in force, and it would be the very wantonness of scepticism to reject the positive evidence given as to their antiquity merely on the ground that it would be easier for such institutions to endure for a period of two thousand years than for three. Indeed, as an elaborate bureaucracy existed in Egypt and Mesopotamia, it is actually easier to suppose the Chinese administration to have been organized in the same manner from the first, than that such similarity of method should have been achieved independently at distant times.

The astronomical knowledge of the Chinese was almost certainly derived from their kinsmen in Mesopotamia, but during the ancient monarchy great importance was attached to the correctness of astronomical observations. The emperor had fixed the length of the year at 366 days, and certain clans or families, to whom these calculations were assigned, were instructed to observe and publish the precise dates of midsummer and winter, and of the spring and autumn equinoxes. The verification of Chinese chronology is based upon the position of the constellations referred to in these instructions,[2] and as the Chinese at the time of Confucius, when the sacred canon assumed its present form, were not acquainted with the precession of the equinoxes, it is obvious that no forger could have calculated backwards so as to give a correct description of the heavens nearly 2000 years before his own time.

Dr. Legge suggests that new dynasties introduced a new beginning of the year when the errors in the calendar had accumulated so as to alter the correspondence between the solar and the political year; and the prominence given in the Shoo-King to the regulation of the seasons was not

[1] *S. B.*, iii. p. 226. The prime minister or general regulator has authority over all the other officers, though he is more particularly concerned with the imperial household, revenues and records. His department is called the Ministry of Heaven in the Book of Rites, and is now represented by the Board of Civil Office. The Shoo describes the second department as that of the Minister of Instruction. The Chow Li includes that [illegible] same department, but also describes the "Minister of Earth" as Director of the Multitudes, and his function as those of a Minister of Agriculture. There is no difficulty in identifying the third department, "the Ministry of Spring" of the Chow Li, with the modern Board of Rites and the Minister of Religion in the "Officers of Chow." The fourth department is that of the Ministry of War or the executive power, which [illegible] is called the "Officer of Summer" in the Book of Rites. The Minister of Agriculture corresponds to the Minister of Crime, who [illegible] in the present Board of Punishments. The present Board of Works corresponds to the seventh ministry [illegible] the account of the Ministry of Winter, or official works in the Book of Rites; but the [illegible] of the latter department is missing, and [illegible] that in the "Officers of Chow" the Minister of Works is described as undertaking great part of the [illegible] which in the Book of Rites are assigned to the Director of the Multitudes, and we have still a Minister of Agriculture to explain how [illegible] According to the Shoo-King, the Minister of Works "[illegible] the [illegible] of the people, settled the officers of the [illegible] the dwellings of the people," and yet as "[illegible] the cultivation and [illegible] grounds." The modern Board, which [illegible] of the Minister of Instruction in the Book of Rites.

[2] Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. i. pp. 20–28.

dictated by pure enthusiasm for astronomical science. Such regulation was regarded as an outward and visible sign of sovereignty like the possession of a Board of Historiographers. And we may charitably assume that the political importance of a due regulation of the calendar and the timely prediction of eclipses was the cause of a sanguinary clause, quoted from the "Statutes of Government" during the reign of the fourth king after Yu, and therefore very possibly as ancient as the Canon of Yao: "When they (the astronomical clans or families) anticipate the time, let them be put to death without mercy; when behind the time, let them be put to death without mercy."[1]

While the Recorder of the Interior was required to take notes of the speeches or edicts of the ruling emperor, the Recorder of the Exterior was supposed to keep the books of the chronicles of the past, and to record the histories of the states in all the parts of the empire. The importance of the department as a sign and instrument of imperial supremacy may be guessed from the significance attached to the control of the Calendar. Mencius complained that in his day the feudal princes destroyed ancient records to favour their own usurpations: and in China it seems always to have been peculiarly impossible for any prince to make history who was not also in a position to write or have it written. One of the earliest signs of the rebellious pretensions entertained by the State of T'sin, which superseded Chow, was the establishment of a bureau of historians to keep the State records.

The historical documents of the Shoo-King belonging to the Chow Dynasty date mainly from the reigns of Wu himself and his immediate successor. The death of the latter and the accession of his son are commemorated in two pieces, and two more are assigned to the reign of the next prince, with whom begins the degeneracy of the royal house. This brings us to the middle of the 10th century, B.C.; after that there is only one piece belonging to the 6th century, and one of the 7th century by a Marquis of T'sin, ancestor of the founder of the fourth dynasty. The Duke of Chow, whom Commentators regarded as his patron saint and good genius, is [illegible] many of the documents of the Shoo, as well as of many poems in the Book of Odes and of the Rites of Chow: [illegible] Chinese magnates who [illegible]

[illegible] of Egyptian and Assyrian [illegible] of the [illegible] historiographers [illegible] was [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

closely associated in China, and for nearly thirty centuries successive rulers of the Middle Kingdom have been exposed to the tacit censorship exercised by the remorseless faithfulness of the "pencil of the recorders." One of the stock examples of public virtue in China is that displayed by the historiographers of Tse in the year 547 B.C. A general in that State had married the widow of a prince of the ruling house, and was jealous of the attentions paid her by the reigning marquis, whom he accordingly assassinated. The State historian duly recorded the fact in his chronicles, and was put to death by the general. Upon this the pen passed into the hands of a brother of the deceased, who forthwith recorded the second murder, and was in like manner put to death. His successor, undismayed, continued the damning record, and the general abandoned the contest. Meanwhile the rumour of the occurrence had spread to other States, and the "Historiographer of the South," hearing that the "Grand Historiographer" and his brother had died in this way, took his tablets and set out for Tse, and only returned home after ascertaining that the record had been duly made.[1] While thus resolute to record all the truth, it was equally a point of honour to set down nothing but the truth, and "the historiographer would leave a blank in his text"[2] rather than risk misinforming posterity by guess work.

The Chun Tsew, or "Spring and Autumn," is a brief historical work, composed by Confucius, in the form of a very meagre chronicle. But the importance attached to it may be explained if it were the first example of a general history of China, published independently by a private person, as distinct from the official records kept in each State for the benefit of posterity, and probably quite inaccessible to private citizens. Chinese commentators feel bound to seek for hidden meanings in its bare records, because Confucius himself spoke of being known and remembered through the "righteous decisions" of this work.[3] But this is needless if merely to record the misdeeds of a ruler was virtually equivalent to censuring them.

The chronicling of affairs of State by unofficial persons may have been regarded at first as an audacity, like the first publication of a newspaper in countries where the general public is not expected to desire any knowledge of State affairs. If so, however, the power and pretensions of the literary class must have grown apace, since the commentators soon begin to puzzle themselves over the phrase of Confucius, and seek for indications of praise and blame in trifling variations of expression, such as speaking of a bad prince by his personal name instead of by the complimentary periphrasis required by custom in the case of the dead.[4] On the whole it

[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible] 25.

[3] [illegible]

[4] [illegible]

seems probable that for a private person to write history in the 5th century B.C. was an innovation of the same kind and degree as that effected in the 10th century, when private persons presumed to give currency to their political sentiments in classic verse. And Mencius himself directs attention to the change in a way significant of its import: "The traces of imperial rule were extinguished, and the odes ceased to be made; when the odes ceased to be made, the Ch'un Ts'ew was produced." [1]

The historian's claim was not exactly for freedom of the pencil; it was taken for granted that kings would object to uncomplimentary records if they knew of them; what was demanded was that the chronicles of the Record Office should be regarded as "privileged" and their privacy respected. Dynasties in China are not expected to live for ever, and the official history of each royal house is usually compiled and published by its successor. For a reigning prince to inquire curiously into the records made respecting his own life and character has been recognised for at least the last thousand years as a grave indiscretion.

An emperor of the Tang Dynasty (643 A.D.) claimed to know what the historiographer said of him, on the plea that he must know his faults before he could correct them. He was answered: "It is true your majesty has committed a number of errors, and it has been the painful duty of our employment to take notice of them—a duty which further obliges me to inform posterity of the conversation which your majesty has this day very improperly held with us." [2] Similarly, when, towards the end of the 1st century B.C., a learned descendant of Confucius was accused of disrespect towards a deceased king of the reigning dynasty, he appealed to the impartiality of the historic record. It was written, he pointed out, that the great king, notwithstanding his other merits, had shown too much favour towards the Taoist superstition. If he himself were punished for repeating the judgments of history, that too must be recorded, and his sovereign would [illegible] in future ages.

There is so little innovation in China that it is fair to assume this [illegible] to be derived from antiquity, and [illegible] witness in favour of the [illegible] confirmed by [illegible] Chinese writers [illegible] of being [illegible] traditions, which [illegible] to insist [illegible]

The stone drums of the Chow Dynasty [1] should probably be counted as authentic monuments of the 9th century B.C., and the Annals of the Bamboo Books may rank with the Babylonian chronicles in authority for the whole of the Chow Dynasty, while for earlier days they are based on materials which the scientific historian will find far from useless.

The so-called drums are ten in number; they are large waterworn boulders, roughly chiselled into shape, and have been preserved since 1307 A.D., by the principal gate of the Temple of Confucius, at Peking. Three of them have inscriptions still substantially legible, in the manner of the shorter odes, describing royal hunting and fishing expeditions. They were found half buried in a waste piece of ground in Shensi, early in the Tang Dynasty, and are described in works published in the reign of Tai-Tsong (627–649 A.D.). Early in the 9th century A.D., a "Geographical Description of Provinces and Cities" mentions a number of scholars as "unanimous in regarding the inscriptions as ancient and of great value. Long years have elapsed since the time when they were engraved, and there are now some lost and undecipherable characters, yet the remains are well worthy of attention." [2]

The majority of Chinese authorities attribute the inscriptions to the reign of Seuen (826–780 B.C.). The locality where they were found was a portion of the ancestral territory of the founder of the Chow Dynasty, and an earlier emperor than the one to whom they are ascribed was said to have engaged in a great hunt there. Han-yu wrote a poem describing how, in 806 A.D., he recommended their removal to the national university, and lamenting their neglect and decay. A few years later, however, they were removed to the Confucian temple of Feng-hsiang-fu, where they remained throughout the Tang Dynasty. They were dispersed and lost sight of under the Five dynasties, but under the Sung a prefect of the city recovered nine of them, and the tenth was found, 1052 A.D., in the possession of a private person.

The Sung carried the drums with them on their retreat, in 1108 A.D., to Pien-ching, and a decree was passed that the characters of the inscriptions should be filled in with gold, to illustrate their value, and to prevent their injury by repeated rubbings to obtain facsimiles.[3] The Nuche Tatars carried off the drums when (1126 A.D.) they conquered the Sung capital, and the gold was dug out of the inscriptions, which remained in neglect till the Mongols placed them in their present position. Last century the Emperor wrote some verses on them in the fifty-fifth year of the Kien-lung period, which are engraved, together with those of Han-yu, on a tablet in the temple.

[1] Dr. Bushell (*Journal of the N. China Branch of the Royal As. S.*, N.S., viii., 1874) complains, with some reason, of the neglect of these antiquities in Europe, where much interest was shown in the about contemporary Moabite stone. His article contains facsimiles of the inscriptions, with translations and a full history of the stones since their discovery, and the Chinese literature on the subject.

[2] *Ib.*, p. 135.

[3] Dr. Bushell describes the method of taking such impressions used by Chinese scholars, the result of which "is a singularly perfect and durable reproduction."

The characters are more archaic than in the Shuo wen,[1] the ancient dictionary of the Han Dynasty, some of them retaining a semi-hieroglyphic character, *e.g.* that for park, an enclosure of four squares, each containing the suggestion of a tree. One scholar of the Sung Dynasty questions their authenticity, doubting whether the monuments could have been preserved 1,914 years, the interval between King Seuen and himself; but the general opinion of the Chinese, supported by Dr. Bushell and M. Chavannes, is in favour of their authenticity.

The Bamboo Books were discovered nearly four centuries earlier than the drums. In the 5th year of the first emperor of the Tsin Dynasty (279 A.D.), it is recorded that "some lawless parties in the department of Keih dug open the grave of King Seang, of Wei (who died 295 B.C.), and found a number of bamboo tablets, written over in the small seal character, with more than 100,000 words, which were deposited in the Imperial library."[2]

The earlier records, from the mythical emperors onwards, have mainly to do with prodigies; but the entries respecting the Shang Dynasty—beginning in the 18th century B.C.—have an historical sound, and contain just such information as one would suppose ancient historiographers to preserve. The founder of the dynasty, Tang the Successful, is said in the 21st year of his reign to have cast metal money. In other reigns it is said where the king dwelt, what cities he walled, what sacrifices he ordered, what expeditions he conducted, whom he appointed minister, and so forth. A "great earthquake" is mentioned in the 22nd year of Te-[illegible] [illegible] the wicked [illegible], with whom the dynasty ends, 1154 B.C.

There is an entry for every year of King Woo after he obtained the [illegible] [illegible] at intervals of three or four years [illegible] 1027 B.C. We are told [illegible] "The king went and reproved him." In the [illegible] King Seuen, to whom the drums are attributed, entries are [illegible] in the 12th, 15th, [illegible], 1[illegible], 21st, 22nd, 2[illegible], 25th, 27th, [illegible] and [illegible] years [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

people, that the chronicler begins to speak of what "we" and "our king" did in the different years.

The modern Chinese speak of "the three dynasties" as if the records of all alike belonged in the same sense to their ancient history. But for portions of the Chow Dynasty, as has been seen, contemporary documents and coins are forthcoming in sufficient numbers to exclude all suspicion of legendary inventions. With regard to the preceding dynasties scepticism is possible, and it is not a matter of vital importance for our present purpose whether Chinese records may be trusted for the fact that parties of traders reached China from the west in the reign of Shun and in that of Tang, and more than once subsequently during the Shang Dynasty, the name of which M. Terrien de la Couperie translates "Traders." [1]

The famous sexagenary cycle, in use from remote times for reckoning days,—a sort of double month, like the double hour of Babylonia—was not applied to years till Ssema-tsien, who found materials for a uniform system of chronology going back to 841 B.C. The generally accepted Chinese scheme which places Hwang-ti in 2699 was only invented in the 11th century A.D., and cannot be reconciled with the chronology of the bamboo books. M. Terrien de la Couperie proposes an alternative to both, making Hwang-ti, approximately, 2362 B.C.; Yao, 2076; Shun, 2004; and Yu, 1954. A solar eclipse falling in 1904 will then occur in the third reign after Yu. He supposes the Chinese to have brought with them from the west the knowledge of gold, silver (afterwards called "the obstinate metal," from the difficulty of obtaining it in North China), copper, and antimony or tin; and to have learnt the use of bronze from the west, in the 18th century B.C. The change of capital by Pan-kang is dated in this scheme 1389 B.C.

[1] *Catalogue of Chinese Coins*, p. vii. ff.

## CHAPTER III.

### *POLITICAL ETHICS AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.*

THERE is the same resemblance between the oldest passages in the Shoo-King and the sayings of Confucius, that there is between the books of Ptah-hotep and Kaqimna and the collections of demotic proverbs made thousands of years later. And in their earliest form the Chinese maxims probably still date from the youth of the Old World, when the Middle Empire of Egypt was in its glory and Assyria still a dependance ruled by patesis.

At this time the qualities regarded by the black-haired people as proper to a virtuous ruler were "reverence," intelligence, unfeigned courtesy, the appreciation of merit in his subjects, and the power of conciliating the upper classes of the nation, while enforcing peace and order among the lower. If calamities befel the State, the ruler thought the fault must lie in himself, and sought for a virtuous colleague to help him in rectifying what was wrong.

The great Yu is reported to have warned his patron and predecessor, the aged Shun: "If within the four seas there be distress or poverty, your heaven-conferred revenues will come to a perpetual end:"[1] whereas, "If the sovereign can realize the difficulty of his sovereignship and the minister the difficulty of his ministry, the government will be well ordered, and the black-haired people will sedulously seek to be virtuous."[2] And the "Great Plan," a document of the Chow Dynasty, which is supposed to embody some of the wisdom of Yu, preserved in the archives of the [illegible] dynasty, contains the first version of a truth frequently rediscovered and repeated by Chinese statesmen, that crime and disorder are the [illegible] of popular distress, and [illegible] in virtue of [illegible] [illegible] summer [illegible] their ease. He [illegible] the perils of his [illegible] the obedience and ability [illegible] the people depend upon [illegible] The [illegible] and virtue of [illegible] to foster the life of the people.

[illegible]

not to enrich or aggrandize themselves. Those who have ability and administrative power are doubly bound to virtuous conduct. The fall of dynasties is caused by disregarding the awfulness of the people, as their prosperity is caused by exercise of the "essential virtue" of royalty,—benevolence or love of the people. The king must not neglect the condition of the most abject; the friendless and childless, and still more the "wifeless men" and widows, are the objects of his compassion.

The doctrine *vox populi, vox dei* was frankly proclaimed from the throne. Thang announces after his victory over the house of Hia that "Great heaven has conferred on the inferior people a moral sense, compliance with which would show their nature to be invariably right. To make them tranquilly pursue the course which it would indicate is the task for the sovereign."[1] The second king of the Chow Dynasty declares, even more emphatically, that "The people are born good, and are only corrupted by external circumstances."[2] The prosperity of the country comes from the people, while its misfortunes come from the ignorance or guilt of its rulers. And he exhorts one of his nobles to go about amongst the people seeking their judgment on doubtful points, in accordance with the saying of the ancients, quoted in a poem of the 9th century B.C.: "Consult the gatherers of grass and firewood,"[3] a class no doubt equivalent to the charcoal-burners or broom-makers of the west.

It is the duty of both kings and ministers to "practise good husbandry," tearing up evil by the roots and cultivating rich crops of merit; but the theory of ministerial responsibility is also fully developed. The prime minister of Thang the Successful, whose name signifies the "protector and steelyard," is credited with having said: "If I cannot make my sovereign like Yao or Shun, I shall feel ashamed in my heart as if I were beaten in the market place;" while if any of the people failed to get what they wanted, he said, "It is my fault."[4] Confucius was of the same way of thinking, and refused to accept from his disciples, when in office, the excuse that what was done wrong was done by their master's orders against their own desire. For, he continues, rather disrespectfully towards the masters in question, "When a tiger or wild bull escapes from its cage, whose is the fault?"[5] as if the function of a good minister was like that of the keeper in a menagerie, to chain the evil propensities of the dangerous animal in his charge.

When claiming obedience, the king speaks of himself as "the one man," but on other occasions he indulges in the self-depreciatory tone which is still *de rigueur* among well-bred Chinamen: he is the servant of heaven, and the "little child," and the duty of "reverence" is no less incumbent on him than on his ministers. When Go the treats reverence as the base of education, he includes parents and rulers with Heaven, [illegible] the powers above for whom reverence is easy; while the [illegible]

[1] [illegible] [2] [illegible]
[3] [illegible] [4] [illegible]
[5] [illegible] [6] [illegible]

for the earth below and the equal playfellow are reserved to more advanced scholars.[1] But in China it seems rather that Heaven and the People are the two spheres which overarch the rulers of men, dispensing praise and censure and looked up to by them with reverence and awe.

It may be doubted whether, from that day to this, rulers with the constitutionally unbounded rights of a *pater familias* have ever been so frankly confronted with the parental view of the obligations of royalty. Besides endorsing, as editor of the sacred books, the sentiments professed by the ancients on this subject, Confucius intersperses his views on personal propriety and character with maxims of the same tendency. In reply to a disciple, he defines the essentials of government to be "sufficiency of food, sufficiency of military equipment, and the confidence of the people in their ruler;" if one of these must be done without, let it be the military equipment; if two must be sacrificed, part with the food, "from of old death has been the lot of all men,"[2] but the foundation of the State is in the people's faith.

The head of a noble family consulted him about the best way of reducing the number of thieves in the State. Confucius said, "If you, sir, were not covetous, although you should pay them for it, they would not steal."[3] As he admired the populousness of the State of Wei, a disciple asked, since the people were thus numerous, what else should be done for them. "Enrich them," was the reply. "And when they have been enriched, what more shall be done?" The master said, "Teach them," adding on another occasion, "There being instruction, there will be no distinction of classes," a doctrine which the subsequent history of China confirms and illustrates in a manner very honourable to the sage.

[illegible]

is a great course for the production of wealth. Let the producers be many and the consumers few. Let there be activity in the production, and economy in the expenditure. Then the wealth will be always sufficient;"[1] the consumers referred to are the salaried officers of the Government, who alone are not expected to contribute to the production of wealth. The one fatal sentence, on the other hand, is for a prince to say, "I have no pleasure in being a prince, only in that no one offers any opposition to what I say."[2]

Mencius is still more uncompromising. An officer of Sung said to him that he was not yet able to abolish the duties charged at the markets and frontiers and to reduce the land tax to a lawful tithe. "With your leave I will lighten, however, both the tax and the duties until next year, and will then make an end of them. What do you think of such a course?" Mencius said, "Here is a man who every day appropriates some of his neighbours' strayed fowls." Some one says to him, "Such is not the way of a good man;" and he replies, "With your leave, I will diminish my appropriation, and will take only one fowl a month, until next year, when I will make an end of the practice. If you know that the thing is unrighteous, why wait till next year?"[3]

An oppressive ruler will not only lose his life and his kingdom, but will earn an eternity of shame. "He will be styled 'the Dark,' or 'the Cruel;' and though he may have filial sons and affectionate grandsons, they will not be able in a hundred generations to change the designation,"[4] which is a curious sort of anathema, but certainly better adapted to act upon the mind of a Chinese egoist than the scriptural warning that the sins of the father will be visited on the children to the third or fourth generation; for it is the egoist himself who has something to lose if the virtues of his children are never to be visited on *his* head, even though they should be virtuous through 100 generations to come.

When kings themselves asked the sturdy moralist for his advice, it was administered in the form of Socratic interrogation. "Is there any difference between killing a man with a stick and with a sword?" King Hway of Seang opines that there is no difference. "Is there any difference between killing a man with a sword and with bad government?" "There is no difference," was the reply. Mencius said: "In your kitchen there is fat meat; in your stables there are fat horses. Your people have the look of hunger, and on the wilds there are those who have died of famine. Your dogs and swine eat the food of men, and you do not know to make any restrictive arrangements.[5] There are people dying from famine on the roads, and you do not know to issue the stores of your granaries for them. When people die, you say, 'It is not owing to me; it is owing to the year.' In what does this differ from stabbing a man and killing him, and then saying, 'It was not I, it was the weapon'?"[6]

[1] [illegible] § 19. [2] *Analect.* xiii. 15. § 4.
[3] [illegible] [4] [illegible]
[illegible] p. 35.
[illegible] § 5, [illegible] 2 4.

King Seuen of Tsi fared no better. He was asked: "Suppose that one of your majesty's ministers were to intrust his wife and children to the care of his friend, while he himself went into Ts'oo to travel, and that on his return he should find that the friend had caused his wife and children to suffer from cold and hunger; how ought he to deal with him?" The king said, "He should cast him off." Mencius proceeded, "Suppose that the chief criminal judge could not regulate the officers, how would you deal with him?" The king said, "Dismiss him." "If," finally asked the terrible sage, "if within the four borders of your kingdom there is not good government, what is to be done?" We have no difficulty in believing the truth of the record that "the king looked to the right and left, and spoke of other matters."[1]

On another occasion the same prince was equally discomfited when his inquiry as to the proper duties of the chief ministers, bearing the same name as the sovereign, and therefore regarded as his relatives, was met by the information that the difference between them and other ministers was, that in the event of the king governing ill and refusing to amend, it was the duty of his relatives to depose him, while other ministers were only bound to abandon his service. In the same spirit Mencius maintains: "The people are the most important element; the spirits of the land and grain are the next; the sovereign is the lightest. Therefore to gain the peasantry is the way to become emperor. . . . When a prince endangers the altars of the spirits of the land and grain, he is changed, and another appointed in his place."[2]

The verdict of popular favour is to be trusted as well in regard to the selection of officers as of princes and emperors. "When all those about you say, 'This is a man of talents and worth,' you may not for that believe it. When your great officers all say, 'This is a man of talents and worth,' neither may you for that believe it. When all the people say, 'This is a man of talents and virtue,' then examine into the case, and when you find that the man is such employ him." And the same caution is recommended in regard to the verdicts, "This man won't do," or "This man deserves death." "The people killed him," is a proverbial saying to [illegible] ministers. It will be remembered that in [illegible] royal or other estates were [illegible] results to have provoked [illegible] China is perhaps the only Oriental country in which [illegible] [illegible] even in the degenerate Empire of [illegible] day.

[illegible]

The bold utterances of our two philosophers have no doubt contributed to preserve a Chinese counterpart to European "freedom of the press" in the right to criticise and even to lampoon unpopular officials; and, as an officer is liable to be thought the worse of at Peking for inspiring such compositions, public opinion exercises a real check upon abuses which exceed the customary standard.

The political economy of China squared with its ethics. The payment of taxes in kind was the rule, but even then the exaction of a fixed rent was objected to in the interests of the cultivators. An ancient worthy, quoted by Mencius, declares: "For regulating the lands there is no better system than that of mutual aid, and none that is not better than that of taxing. By the tax system the regular amount was fixed by taking the average of several years. In good years, when the grain lies about in abundance, much might be taken without its being oppressive, and the actual burden would be small. But in bad years the produce not being sufficient to repay the manuring of the fields, this system still requires the taking of the full amount:" the result of which is that the peasants are compelled to borrow, and "old people and children are found lying in the ditches and water channels."[1]

The Book of Rites contains some striking provisions expressly designed to prevent the State charges from becoming an oppressive burden on the cultivators. The amount of rice consumed per head of the population was estimated at about 1½ lbs. per diem in an average year. With a bountiful harvest it might rise to 2 lbs., and in a bad year it might fall to 1 lb.; but it was the duty of the officers in charge of the public granaries to watch the harvests and the state of the public stores, and when the lower limit of consumption was reached, to import grain from adjoining provinces, to remove the people to more productive regions, and to warn the sovereign to reduce the expenses of the State. In times of famine the king had no great feasts, and all other optional items of expenditure were curtailed, to the admiration of Wang-tchi-tchang, a commentator of the Ming Dynasty, who praises the kings of Chow for adjusting their expenditure to their revenue, instead of, like his own contemporaries, regulating the taxation of the people by the expenditure of the prince.[2]

In the first chapter of the third book of the Li Ki this theory of public expenditure is expressly formulated; the year's receipts are to be calculated as soon as possible after harvest, and the expenditure regulated accordingly. The general rate of expenditure ought, it was held, to be determined upon the average revenue for thirty years—a period long enough to allow good and bad years to balance each other. A thriving State was one in which a surplus had been accumulated sufficient to provide for a series of six bad years; a State that had not a surplus sufficient for three years was doomed to prompt extinction. Apparently a third of the produce in normal years was assumed to be available for accumulation, so that the nine years' store represents the savings of twenty-seven years; and it seems

[1] *Works*, iii. i. iii. § 7.

[2] Cf. *Tcheou-li*, i. 392 4.

that the sages who chose thirty years as the period for which an average should be struck, only expected three really bad years to occur in the time. At least they regarded the three bad years as certain to befall, six as sufficiently probable to need guarding against, and nine as the utmost limit of possible calamity. Those who had nine years' stock in hand were virtually secure against want.[1]

According to one text, a tithe of the revenue was set apart for sacrifices, and the rites of mourning for parents were allowed to absorb this tithe during the three years devoted to them. This is nearly the only recognition of a tithe for religious or quasi-religious purposes in China, and probably represents a very ancient fragment of tradition. The king received a tithe of the national produce, and he may have been anciently expected to spend a tithe of the revenue so obtained upon the rites of public worship; but an earlier passage in the same book describes the Son of Heaven as retaining nine-tenths of the produce of his domains for his own use, and employing the other tenth to defray the charges of the public offices.

Lavishness, like that of the Egyptian kings in the service of the gods, is entirely contrary to Chinese ideas of propriety and justice; and there was no spiritual hierarchy to be endowed apart from the Boards of Government. The appropriateness of all offerings to spiritual beings was held to lie in their abundance. Each class of the community is supposed to sacrifice a specimen of that in which their wealth consists, and kings, princes, and great officers were warned rather against sacrificing too much than too little. "Without sufficient cause a prince did not kill an ox, nor a great officer a sheep;"[2] and, as private festivities were restricted to the scale of expenditure thought proper for sacrifices, the latter conformed to the national standard of frugality.

The primitive religion of the Chinese probably stood nearer to that of Egypt and Babylonia, both in the kind and quantity of its observances, than modern Chinese writers would lead us to suppose. Besides all the traces of nature worship met with in the Classics and Tso's commentary, there is a personage mentioned in Ssema-tsien's Treatise on the Fong and Chan Sacrifices, who [illegible] of the Egyptian Cherheb, in his character of reading or praying priest. There were "official prayers," one of whom was called "[illegible]," whose business it was to perform a sacrifice [illegible] which, from the nature of the case, could [illegible] done [illegible] object was to cause an evil wish which the [illegible] was [illegible] to [illegible] from him to some other object.

Akkadian hymns are familiar with the idea of a scapegoat, animate or [illegible] [illegible] Chinese [illegible] and [illegible] Duke King of Sung, retired to [illegible] which a star [illegible] ominously in a

[1] [illegible] *Fong* [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

wrong constellation. The astronomer informs him: "A calamity threatens your highness, but it can be diverted upon one of your counsellors." "The counsellors," said the duke, "are those who direct the State; to divert the evil upon them would not be well." "One can divert it towards the people." "If the people die," said the duke, "over whom shall I reign? I had better die alone." "One can divert the evil upon the crops." "If the year is bad, the people will suffer scarcity and die of hunger. If, being a prince, I slay my people to save my own life, who would acknowledge me as prince? My destiny is irrevocable!" The institution was put an end to by the Han emperor Wen, in 166 B.C.: "The secret supplicator diverts the course of calamities upon my subjects. I cannot permit it. Henceforward he is suppressed."[1]

One expensive religious rite after another[2] was eliminated at the suggestion of rationalistic sovereigns or sages, until finally nothing was left but the imperial act of homage to heaven and earth and agriculture in the ceremonial ploughing.

The surplus produce from the common fields was regarded as a sort of national grain bank, and the officers in charge of the stores were allowed to make advances to the cultivators at seed-time, to be repaid in harvest. To the very poor the loans might be made gratuitously,[3] and in any case the repayment had the effect of renewing the stores with fresh grain for old, while the profit upon some of the advances served to increase the common fund which could be drawn upon in times of dearth.

The amount of forced labour exacted from the people was intended to vary under the same circumstances. In good times three days' labour may be exacted from the cultivators; but if the harvest is middling, this is reduced to two days, and if it is bad, to one. If there is a public calamity, such as an epidemic, all taxation, whether in produce or labour, is excused. Light taxation, Mencius observes, is indispensable if the objects

[1] *L. c.*, p. 39. Cf. *Tcheou-li*, i. p. 157, on the *Niu-tcho* or women charged with intercessory prayers.

[2] The character of the archaic religion can be judged from a passage in the same book of Ssema-tsien (p. 51 of M. Chavannes' version). "Formerly the son of Heaven offered a sacrifice in the spring to ward off calamities. To Hwang ti he sacrificed an owl and a tiger; to the "hidden sheep," a sheep; to the activity of the horse, a dark-coloured stallion; to T'ai i, the prince of Mount Tso and the greatness of earth, an ox; to the sages of the Mount Ou i they offered dried fish, and an ox to the ambassador of the Yin and the Yang." Ssema-tsien quotes an earlier author for the statement that "the spirit frequent" a given spot because it is a "high place," and the above passage, in which "the activity of the horse" is mentioned along with the local worship of mountains (elsewhere associated with that of rivers) may be taken in conjunction with that quote before (vol. i. p. 148) to show that the worship of animals was not unknown in ancient China. One of the undoubtedly ancient elements in Chinese religion—the practice of divining by the tortoise-shell—may not have been peculiar to them. Choo-hi says of it, "The way of divination by the tortoise was by the application of fire to scorch the tortoise-shell till the indications appeared on it;" and if such a method of divination was in use by the Lydians, the occupation of Croesus, on the day when his ambassadors were to consult the oracles, has a motive, and the happy shot of the Delphic oracle an explanation.

[3] According to a passage in the Li Ki (*S.B.*, xxvii. p. 201), corn is distributed from the king's vaults to the friendless and destitute in the last month of spring—the time when the pinch of want is most felt by a purely agricultural community.

of a sage's government are to be attained, for this is only done when grain and pulse are made to be as abundant as water and fire, which, necessary as they are, are yet so plentiful that the poorest can afford to give them away if a stranger asks for them at nightfall. In his time, three taxes were levied—one of hempen cloth and silk, one of grain, and one of personal service. To exact all three at the same time of year was regarded as an intolerable oppression, as the first ought to be paid in summer, the second after the autumn harvest, and the third during the winter leisure.[1]

In the 15th year of Duke Seuen (608–590 B.C.) an additional tithe was for the first time levied on the village lands,[2] either by simply doubling the proportion of agricultural produce formerly claimed by the State, or more probably by tithing the valuable produce of the homestead, with its mulberry and fruit trees, on account of which the personal tax of silk or cloth was already being paid. The tax was never regarded as lawful, and when Duke Gae (494–467 B.C.) complained of his financial difficulties to a disciple of Confucius, he was advised to try the effect of tithing the people. "With two-tenths," said the Duke, "I find them not enough; how could I do with that system of a tenth?"[3] To which his mentor replies that if the people have plenty, their prince will not be allowed to want, while it is an accepted principle that anything beyond a tenth is oppressively heavy.

On the other hand, Mencius received with great scorn the suggestion of a would-be reformer, anxious to go beyond the benevolence of the ancients and reduce the taxes to a twentieth.[4] Such a course might be possible among the pastoral barbarians of the north, who grow millet only, who have no fortified cities, no public buildings, no ancestral temples, no sacrifices, no system of official administration, and no feudal princes requiring to be entertained with ceremonies and gifts. But for the Middle Kingdom to banish all these relationships and recognise no degrees of superiority in mankind was out of the question. Civilization and a tenth seemed preferable to the state of nature and a twentieth.

The following passage from the Li Ki summarizes the most important and familiar of the fiscal usages of middle antiquity. Anciently the public fields were cultivated by the united labours of the farmers around them, from the produce of whose private fields nothing was levied. Travellers were examined at the different passes, but no duties were levied from them. A rent was charged for the stances in the market places, but wares were not taxed. The people went without hindrance, at the proper season, into the forests and plains at the foot of the mountains. None of the produce was levied from the fields assigned to the younger sons of a family, nor from the holy fields. Only three days' labour were required (by the State) from the people in the course of a year. Fields and residences (in the hamlets) when once assigned could not be sold. Ground set apart for graves could not be used for any other purpose.[1]

[1] [illegible] [2] [illegible] [3] [illegible] [4] [illegible]

With regard to other than agricultural produce, the Chow Li explains at length that the Inspectors of ponds received in kind the skin, horns, pearls, shells, etc., gathered by the inhabitants and forming their tax: when the requirements of the treasury are met, the surplus is divided amongst the people, and the same officer apportions the parts of the marshy ground which are not under water the whole year, and from which consequently a crop may be gathered during the summer, as is still done by the Chinese on the borders of large shallow lakes like the Tung-ting or Poyang waters, which contract during the dry season. There is also an officer of the chase, who is in charge of the imperial covers, and who, after the Emperor has hunted in any district, has power to regulate the admission of the people to kill game for themselves in the reserve. The same permission was given in the case of the marshes and rivers, and it was an unpardonable offence in the "Superintendent of waters," who collected the revenues from rivers, springs, ponds, and meres, to encroach in any way upon the rights of the myriads, so as to awaken a feeling of dissatisfaction among them against the Son of Heaven.[1]

After a royal hunt the game was scrambled for by the people, and it was considered bad manners for "the great kitchen" to put in a claim for all the spoil. According to the Li Ki, three great hunts were held, in spring, summer, and winter, not in autumn, when it would have interfered with the harvest—the three objects of the hunt being to provide flesh for sacrifices, for hospitality, and for the ruler's own use. There were regulations about the size of the fishing nets to be used,[2] the mesh of which was not to be less than four inches, and it was also forbidden to take fish less than a foot long. As in the case of the woods and forests, the regulations in force were mainly directed against the danger of exterminating valuable species; and even a royal prince, hunting in spring, is forbidden to surround a whole marsh for the purposes of a *battue*. This provision is included among the "rules of propriety" in the first section of the Li Ki.[3] "To hunt without observing the rules was deemed cruelty towards the creatures of heaven." It was also against the rule to take eggs, to throw down nests, and to kill young or pregnant animals; even the firing of the fields was supposed to be put off until the insects frequenting them had retired into the holes and burrows where they were thought to spend the winter. Consideration for the brute creation was naturally associated with regard for the interests of human beings, and so the emperor left some game for the princes, the princes left some for the great officers, and when these had had their sport, the common people were allowed to hunt for themselves.

An important commentary of the Sung Dynasty asserts that the woods

for the fact, the ground rent of the market stalls was a [illegible] rent, [illegible] number of traders applying for space was greater than could be accommodated [illegible] was not considered right to levy both the ground rent and an extra duty. [illegible] *Mencius*, by James Legge, D.D., p. 172, n.

[1] B.C., *T'ai Tsung*, i. p. 88. *S.B.*, xxxii. p. 229.

[2] *C.C.*, vol. ii. p. 6, n.

[3] *S.B.*, xxxii. p. 109; ii., *Tai Li Ki*, [illegible] p. 229.

and waters were free to all till the Chow Dynasty, and that their produce was then taxed to prevent too many of the people abandoning agriculture in favour of what might seem easier and more remunerative modes of life. The legislator wished to reduce "sport" to an orderly branch of industry, and it was always counted as an abuse and an indecorum if the Court amusements threatened to interfere with the humble trade of hunters and fowlers. By the time of Mencius, however, game preserving had already reached such a point that the slayer of a deer within the royal park was punished in the same way as one who had killed a man. Hence the magnitude of the royal park was a subject of popular discontent,[1] though it was only half the size of that ungrudgingly enjoyed by King Wen, who allowed the grass-cutters and fuel-gatherers and the catchers of hares and pheasants to pursue their avocations freely within his enclosure.

Mencius helps to complete our view of the old market regulations by describing the various abuses which had come into play in his time, and the reforms which still did not seem hopelessly out of reach. After informing a king of Tse who is ambitious of empire that it is "like climbing a tree to look for fish" to expect to secure the empire for a small State by warlike preparations, he sums up the functions of the Imperial Government substantially as they are set forth in the Rites of Chow. A benevolent government, he tells the king,[2] "will cause all the officers in the empire to wish to stand in your majesty's court, and the farmers all to wish to plough in your majesty's fields, and the merchants, both travelling and stationary, all to wish to store their goods in your majesty's market places, and travelling strangers all to wish to make their tours on your majesty's roads, and all throughout the empire who feel aggrieved by their rulers to wish to come and complain to your majesty;" for the people turn to a benevolent rule as water flows down hill and wild beasts fly to the wilderness; they can no more be kept back from giving their allegiance than the rain ready to fall from bursting clouds.

One of the signs that foretold the ruin of Tse was that after the duke had tampered with the grain measures, or in other words, debased the local currency, a powerful family began to bid for popularity by taking the opposite course, lending according to their own (large) measures and accepting payment in the public measure which was deficient; and while the State was absorbing two-thirds of the people's wealth, leaving them only one third for food and clothes, this family caused its wood, fish, salt, and frogs to be sold at the same rate in the market as at the water or the hills, *i.e.* at cost price: "Though such an one wished not to win them to himself, how could he help doing so?" asked the loyal minister of the doomed State.[3]

The service of the markets was considered to be in a sense a part of the public service. A dealer who succeeded in effecting a "corner" in cattle

[1] Mencius, *Hoeh*, [illegible]
[illegible] p. 18.
[2] C.C., v. pt. i. p. 58[illegible]. The date of the record is 537 B.C.

in the State of Loo was treated as a criminal by Confucius, and was said to have secured immunity in his malpractices only by bribing the officers who should have denounced his guilt. Yet he is not accused of any action which would be considered dishonest or even discreditable in the mercantile world of the West. He had gradually bought up all the cattle of the neighbourhood, and all the available pasture land; whoever wanted to sell, he was in a position to buy, and by making advances to smaller dealers, when in difficulties, he had gradually also got them into his power; and all the shepherds and herdsmen of the district were in his employment. Meat was not generally in everyday use: but on certain festive occasions, even poor families were required by custom to provide it for their guests, so that the high price the monopolist was able to charge amounted to a considerable tax on the whole community. Confucius required him, as a condition of pardon, to give up the profitable industry and make restitution to the community he had plundered, of all his wealth beyond what was necessary for a decent maintenance. The cattle dealer consented, and the point of economic morality was settled once for all in Chinese opinion.[1]

A low rate of taxation never ceased to be regarded as an essential part of good government; the minister who increased the royal revenue by increased exactions from the people was denounced; and to combine low taxes with a sufficient revenue, it was necessary for the taxpayers to be numerous. Hence, with brief exceptions, the influence of the Government was steadily employed to perpetuate the conditions favourable not to the accumulation, but to the substantially equal distribution of wealth.

[1] Pauthier, *La Chine*, i. p. 156. *Menchen*, ii. ii. xi. § 7.

## CHAPTER IV.

### *THE RURAL ECONOMY OF THE CHOW.*

Like the city of ancient Egypt and Babylonia, the ancient Chinese village consisted of clustered groups of houses. The traditions embodied in the Chow Li as to the size and grouping of the clusters are not quite clear or consistent, but the discrepancies may only reflect the different usages of the three first dynasties.

The institution of the *tsing*[1] with its nine plots is regarded as the special creation of the men of Chow. The nine squares cover the area of a square *Li*, which contained 900 *mow*, or nine squares of 100 mow each, of which the central square (X) formed the public field, which was cultivated in common for the benefit of the State. Throughout the first three dynasties it was held that taxation could not lawfully exceed a tithe of the produce, and accordingly the area of the public field was reduced by deducting from it the ground required for the separate houses and gardens of the eight families, so that the public land was really 80 mow and the private 820, or rather more, instead of less, than ten times as much.

The imperial editors say that the character *Li* is used in three senses: 1. means 1, a group of 25 houses, *i.e.* the hamlet; 2. a length of 1,800 feet, of which the square forms a tsing; and 3. a habitation.[2] From this it seems that the term tsing was sometimes used to describe the smallest, and sometimes the smallest but one, of the groups described in other passages of the Chow Li. The rural unit consists for administrative purposes of a group of five families, which is called a "neighbourhood." Each family was supposed to include three generations, and to consist normally of [illegible] and [illegible], husband and wife, and three or four

[illegible]

[illegible]

children, making seven or eight persons in all, the husband being the grandfather's eldest son.

The dwellings of the neighbourhood are enclosed by a single wall, and the residents are bound to mutual aid and support; but an average group of forty persons of all ages is manifestly too small to constitute a village, and probably rather represents the family community. The present Chinese average is five persons to a family, counting parents and children only: but if the family or household here includes three generations, the family *group* would certainly include the families of younger sons, and thus the numbers of the "neighbourhood" would easily be made up. The elder of the group was responsible for its internal government, and ranked as a graduate of the lowest class.

The counterpart of this community is the "hamlet" of five neighbourhoods, including twenty-five families of perhaps about 200 souls. It appears incidentally from one of the amatory poems of the Shi-King that this larger group is the one within which public opinion and "the talk of people" makes itself felt as a social force. A prudent young lady, while avowing her love for a certain Mr. Chung, begs him not to leap into her hamlet, breaking the willow trees which grow by its encompassing ditches, for she fears her parents and their words; she begs him not to leap over the wall which encloses the dwellings of the neighbourhood, and break the mulberry trees which it cultivates in common, for she fears the talk of her "brothers"—a word often used interchangeably for relatives of the same surname, or with a common ancestor, in fact the clan or cousinhood;—lastly, she begs him not to leap into her garden and break the sandalwood trees, which are the private property of the family, for she dreads the talk of the village. That is to say, the opinion of the household, the family group, and the village are respectively invoked to condemn the lover's intrusion within the three sets of boundaries, in the inverse order of privacy.[1] In the *Analects* we have an appeal to the same tribunals, for "he whom the circle of his relatives pronounces to be filial and whom his fellow-villagers and neighbours pronounce to be fraternal"[2] is judged to be only one degree inferior to a worthy officer.

The village system in one form or another is practically of world-wide extension, but in connection with the hypothesis which brings the Chinese from the highlands west of Central Asia, it is interesting to note the resemblance between these clusters of associated households in China and Wood's description of the communities he found living in the valleys of Badakshan. It is customary, he tells us, "for relations to live in the same hamlet, often to the number of six or seven families" (by which no doubt he understands the natural household of parents and children).

[1] *C.C.*, vol. iv. pt. 1. *Shi-King*, p. 125.

[2] xiii. 2[illegible]. The "circle of relatives" is still a reality in China: and [illegible] families" were one of the strongholds of the [illegible] system, [illegible] [illegible] degrees of relationship [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] family. Cf. Appendix L.

"An outer wall surrounds this little knot of friends, within which each family has its separate dwelling-house, stable and cattle shed; and a number of such hamlets forms a *kishlak* or village."[1] The kishlak thus answers exactly to the group of neighbourhoods forming the Chinese hamlet. Two independent authorities, midway in time between Wood and the Chinese Book of Odes, note a similar trait in the adjacent kingdoms of Yarkand and Khotan, where Fa-hian (400 A.D.) and Hiouen-thsang (630 A.D.) speak in almost identical terms of the people "building their houses in clusters."[2]

The functions of the village headman who presides over the twenty-five families of a hamlet, are to keep an account of the numbers of the community, to apportion the taxes both in produce and labour, and to preside over the work of seed-time and harvest, for the hamlet is the unit in the system of common cultivation or "mutual aid," always referred to as an essential feature of the Chow regime.[3] Four of these communities form a Hundred, or, as M. Biot calls it, a commune, which is presided over by a graduate of the first rank. He revises the decisions of the local headmen, and is responsible for the military levies which are proportioned to the agricultural divisions. Five hundreds form a shire, or a department, and two further multiplications by five bring us to the largest administrative districts, the county and the province.

The solidarity of the hundred extends to the sharing of funeral expenses, the childless and destitute being interred by their fellow-villagers. The expenses of religious ceremonies are borne jointly by the county: living merit is rewarded by honours extending over the whole province, and the list of persons of special capacity handed in triennially by the Governor of the province is preserved in duplicate by the Recorder of the Interior.

This system is evidently theoretical, and the empire can never have been mapped out into equal areas counted either by fives or nines. But Mencius mentions a tradition that "the 50 mow allotment of Hia, the 70 of Yin, and the 100 of Chow were actually of the same dimensions."[4] And in another section of the Chow Li[5] the divisions after the Tsing system by tens, giving groups of 30, 144, and 576 families, which answer roughly to the 25, 100, and 500 families contemplated by the group-in-hundreds and shires. So that it is possible that the real usage will lie between the descriptions of Mencius and Biot. Mencius can only have had no access to the original text of the Rites of Chow, and must have known only what tradition and surviving practice still preserved of them. But he is perhaps not the more [illegible] on the antiquity of the system, and his contemptuous proverbial phrase in honour of the kings Wen and Wu shows that tradition had got a [illegible] in the [illegible].

[1] [illegible] 1872, p. 174.
[2] [illegible] 1848, p. 8.
[3] [illegible] Paris, 1875, p. 24.
[4] [illegible] p. 22.

The saying went, "The Chief of the West knows well how to nourish the old." According to Mencius, in the good old times which inspired the proverb "around the homestead, with its five mow, the space beneath the walls was planted with mulberry trees with which the women nourished silk-worms, and thus the old were able to have silk to wear. Each family had five brood hens and two brood sows, and thus the old were able to have flesh to eat. The husbandmen cultivated their farms of 100 mow, and thus their families of eight mouths were secure from want. . . . It has never been," concludes the philosopher, "that the ruler of a State where such results were seen, the old wearing silk and eating flesh, and the black-haired people suffering neither from hunger nor cold, did not attain to the imperial dignity."[1]

Another ode, very short and obscure, and therefore all the more likely to be old, speaks of the mulberry planters standing about among their *ten* acres, to discuss the bad times and talk of abandoning their homes;[2] and in another place Mencius speaks of the people within the nine squares as rendering each other all the mutual good offices which are set forth in the Chow Li as incumbent on the members of the hundred. Though there was no one strictly universal usage, there was a perfectly well known and familiar *type* of usage, any decently close approximation to which was accepted as lawful and satisfactory, just as the expression "a hamlet of ten families" was used proverbially[3] for the smallest centre of social life.

One point is significant in connection with what we know of communal cultivation elsewhere. The *mow* as a measure of land represents a rectangular strip of 240 *pou* in length by one in breadth, *i.e.* just such a furrow-long as was used to divide the ploughlands of western Europe. The allowance of land to each village group was supplemented by pasture and the various rights of common allowed upon the hills and wastes, and this allowance of both pasture and arable land was doubled or trebled if the arable land was of inferior quality. Enclosures were forbidden on the hill pastures, but the allowance was never less than the arable, *i.e.* at the rate of from 100 to 300 mow to each household. Perhaps the simplest view is to suppose that, as long at least as land was plentiful, the hamlet occupied about as much land as it wanted, and divided its settlement into nine squares, taking the actual size of the squares for granted, as in the case of other conventional measures, and calling the enclosure always by the same name as long as it occupied the same place in the district administration. Whatever its acreage and numerical strength, the enclosed hamlet tilled in common, by the system of mutual aid, fields enough to provide food and clothing in simple abundance for old and young.

Chinese criticism is so far to be trusted that we may probably accept a song, supposed to have been sung by the peasants in the age of Yao, as one of the earliest remains of popular poetry. They sing as they work:

[1] *Mencius*, iv. i. 13; vii. i. 22. [2] *Ch. Ch.*, iv. ii. p. [illegible]
[3] Legge, i. p. 47. De Mailla, iii. p. 3[illegible].

"We [illegible],
We [illegible],
[illegible],
[illegible]—
What [illegible] the strength of the Emperor to us?"[1]

For 4,000 years the strength of the empire has been in the agricultural peasantry, who ask nothing from the emperor but to be let wisely alone.

Pictures more or less circumstantial and poetical of the life of the rural communes are to be met with in the Book of Odes. One of the many poems attributed to the Duke of Chow is a sort of poetical almanack, consisting apparently of several sets of weather verses welded into one; but parts of it at least must be older than the duke, as the seasons followed are those of Hia, the first historical dynasty. It is called an ode of Pin, and, as there is nothing in the text to cause the name to be invented, it is probably traditional, and therefore shows at least that the descriptions of the poem were originally supposed to refer to the settlements in Pin rather than Chow, *i.e.* to life in China *before* 1335 B.C.

The ode begins with the seventh month, in which "the fire-star passes the horizon;" it answers to our August, and owes its place to the fact that in the days of Yao this occurred at midsummer. There are eight stanzas, each of which runs through the various occupations, productions, and characteristics of the various months in turn. The first month is cold, they go after badgers, and take foxes and wild cats to make furs for the young princes. In the second they hunt and drill, the people take the boars of one year, those of three years are for the prince: they hew out the ice with harmonious blows: in the third month they convey it to the ice-houses, and they take their ploughs in hand. In the fourth month they take their way to the fields: the small grass is in seed; the sacrifice of a lamb is offered before the ice-houses are opened for use. In the fifth month the cicada gives out its note, and the locust moves its legs: in the [illegible] the spinner [illegible] its wings, they eat the sparrow plums and grapes: in the seventh month the shrike is heard, the cricket is in the field, they [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible], and eat the melons. In the eighth month are the sedges and reeds; the women begin to spin the silk, the [illegible] the [illegible] for the lower garments of the young [illegible] they eat the [illegible] the [illegible]. In the ninth month it is cold, with [illegible] given out for winter use, and space [illegible] for the [illegible] of wood and grain: they

[1] [illegible]

gather the hempseed. In the tenth month the leaves fall, the crickets enter under the bed, windows and crevices are closed, they reap the rice, and make spirits of it for the aged; they convey the sheaves to the clearing ready swept in the homestead, with the millet, early and late, the hemp, pulse, and wheat, and every other grain.

The harvest home ends with simple feasts and sacrifices, and songs with the innocent burden, "Oh, my husbandmen, the harvest is all collected, let us go to the town, and be at work on our houses;"[1] for in the two winter months, which might pass for holiday, when no out-door avocations are described, the diligent people are still busy, gathering grass by day, and twisting ropes of it at night, to mend their roofs before the season of sowing comes round again. An ode of the 9th century might pass for a subdued Chinese Christmas carol. "The cricket is in the hall, and our carts stand unemployed; the year is passing away. If we do not enjoy ourselves now, the days and months will have gone."[2]

The "silkworm month" is so styled because the date of the different processes is more liable to vary with the season than the ordinary farming operations. In the spring days, when warmth begins and the oriole utters its song, the young women take their baskets and go along the narrow paths between the mulberry trees, gathering the tender leaves of the young trees, and stripping the branches, while the young men lop off with axes and hatchets those that are out of reach.

Other passages in the odes and the Chow Li confirm and complete this picture of orderly rural life. The sweeping and levelling a place[3] within the private homestead for the grain stacks was not merely an epoch in the work of the farm, it marked the period when the military forces might be assembled, and the chariots of war passed in review and manœuvred, because the fields were clear of crops.[4] After this, in winter, traps and pitfalls were dug for wild animals, and sometimes set with spring-bows; rabbit nets were set in the woods where nine paths meet; but all holes and ditches were required to be filled up before the summer, to guard against accidents among the cultivators. At the end of the autumn the reeds and withered branches and weeds were cut and burnt for charcoal, which was used as a disinfectant and insecticide, as well as for fuel.

It was lawful to burn the woods and herbage in the vicinity of an imperial cover, or when it was desired to clear the ground for cultivation, but this was only permitted early in the year, no doubt for fear of loss from prairie fires. At a prescribed time of year, in spring and autumn, a special officer performed the rite of "taking the fire out of doors" and bringing it in again, which probably announced the time when the cultivators should leave their houses for the fields, and when they should return home for the

[1] *C.C.*, iv. *Shi-King*, p. 232.
[2] *Ib.*, p. 175.
[3] The Jesuit Father who accompanied Kang-hi on his hunting tour in Mongolia, illustrated the completeness of the preparations made along the route by saying the road was made as smooth and clean as the swept clearing for the grain crops.
[4] *Tcheou-li*, ii. p. 175.

winter.[1] A penalty was inflicted on the townspeople who "lose fire"—or let it go out by inadvertence, when the villagers are gone afield: a regulation which takes us back, if not to the very origins of civilization, at least to traditions derived from them.[2] It is specified that in summer, after "putting out the fire," clothes must be dried in the air, and the precautions to be taken in the army against conflagrations are also laid down. The art of obtaining fire by friction was still practised when Confucius wrote, and different woods were to be used for this purpose in different seasons.

The work upon the public and the private fields seems to have been done in the same way by joint labour, at least at seed-time and harvest, though the crops of each square were probably garnered separately, as nothing is said about the principle on which they were divided. One of the sacrificial odes of the Chow Dynasty gives a graphic description of the work of the associated farmers; it is said to be the one used at the solemn ceremony in the spring, when the Emperor worships Heaven and Earth, and turns a furrow with his plough. The laconic verses begin with the clearing of the ground from grass and bushes: two and two the labourers clear away the roots (a phrase which shows that the Chinese were still continually reclaiming untilled jungle for the plough). The whole family is there to the third generation, loving husbands and modest wives. For the six summer months they live in huts on the south-lying acres, and the village is deserted by the working population, as the families of Swiss cultivators migrate bodily with their cattle to the Alps for the summer months. The old folks and women bring out their food; masters and servants feast together, and the noise of their eating resounds cheerily.[3] The surplus of the old stores of grain is brought out to feed the husbandmen. Having selected the seed, and looked after the implements, the various grain is sown, the blade rises in even lines; gourds are trained along the bounding divisions; troops of weeders go amongst the furrows; the insects that attack the part of the plant are carefully removed, not without appropriate [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

"The clouds form in dense masses,
And the rain comes down slowly.
May it rain first on our public fields, and then on our private."[1]

Then comes harvest time, with its multitudes of reapers, and fresh stacks of grain to be piled up in granaries, for sacrifices and ceremonies, and the comfort of the aged, while the "hundred houses" of the village[2] open to receive their share of grain. One of the most interesting of the Odes closes with an impressive recognition of the long endurance of these good gifts: "It is not here only that there is this—it is not now only that there is such a time:—from of old it has been thus!"[3] And so it is still, to the admiration of every Western traveller, 3,000 years or so after the composition of this pious and large-minded hymn of thanksgiving.

Meanwhile the surveyor of the fields looks on well pleased, and his officers have nothing to do but to see that all are provided with the implements of husbandry, and that the new fields and fallows receive their proper treatment as well as the old arable land. Besides the regular cultivation of the fields there are enclosures for the breeding and cultivation of fish for food, and the wild fowl of the marshes are regarded as the source of a regular food supply, so that if the scenery of the Chinese odes could be translated into a series of wall pictures we should have an almost exact counterpart to the surviving representations of the rural economy of Egypt. Only in one respect is there a marked difference.

As an instrument of government, the bamboo plays quite as large a part in ancient and modern China as the courbash or stick in Egypt; but unlike the Egyptian, the Chinaman does not *work* under the stick. In both countries food is abundant, and the means of subsistence as a rule easily obtained, and in both it was regarded as a part of the duty of Government to provide stores of grain for the relief of the people in years of scarcity. But in China forced labour was the exception, not the rule. The soldier was a reluctant conscript, not a mercenary or a volunteer, but the hardships of a military campaign were felt all the more because the experience was infrequent; and the occasional employment of forced labour for a specific purpose, such as the walling of a town, the repairing an embankment, or even embellishing an officer's residence, partook more of the nature of taxation than servitude. In China 4,000 years ago, as now, the common people employed themselves, and as a natural consequence formed a standard of comfort fully equal to that reached under the rule of the most liberal and benignant masters. At the same time, a customary standard of economic independence was also set up, in the strength of which the threatened encroachments of feudalism were successfully defied.

In one section of the Li Ki the salaries of different officials and the rulers of the feudal States are calculated in terms of an agriculturist's

[1] This is one of the famous Lits of Chinese verse, a stock quotation to illustrate the virtues of antiquity.
[2] *i.e.* the commune of four hamlets of twenty-five houses.
[3] *C.C.*, iv. pt. ii. p. 603.

wages. The cultivator's portion of rice now is here stated to suffice, according to the quality of the land, for the support of so many individuals, ranging from five to nine. The salary of the lowest officer is equal to that of a husbandman on the most fruitful soil, and represents the food of nine persons: a great officer has wherewithal to feed seventy-two individuals: a minister can feed 288, and the ruler ten times the latter number, *i.e.* 2,880.[1] As official salaries were to a great extent paid in kind, this arrangement was probably not an imaginary one. Translated into cash, it would mean that if the peasant earned the equivalent of 6*d.* a day, the great officer would receive about £150 a year, a minister about £1,000, while the ruler of the State received about £10,000. The very fact that all salaries were calculated at the rate of so many days' rations would tend to check any inclination to underestimate the amount of that unit.

The Chinese cultivator had no master with the right or power of forcing him to labour against his will, but the law did something to encourage industry by taxing indolence. The cultivator was legally entitled to do as he pleased with his own lot, but fiscal pressure was exercised to ensure its not being neglected. If the ground of the homestead is left "bald," that is, not sown with hemp or planted with mulberry trees, the owner has to pay a money tax equal to the tithe on the same extent of arable land; if the arable land is not cultivated, grain equivalent to the taxes of three families[2] is exacted from the delinquent; and persons of no occupation pay a poll tax equivalent to the sum paid by a householder.

In the later history of China, so many deliberate attempts were made to check the growth of large estates and a landless class that it is quite possible these stringent provisions may have been directed, not only against idleness among the peasants, but also against the ownership of land by any person not actively engaged in its cultivation. In any case it tends to show that ownership and occupation went normally together and that the occupier who did not cultivate his holding was accountable to the State for the omission. As in Egypt, houses in the capital were not taxed, as the imperial edicts say, because there was no vacant ground to be sown or planted. The only distresses taxed to the amount of five to ninetieths of the produce were the woods and thickets, which do not owe their value to human labour, and were consequently regarded as a legitimate source of revenue to the State, like the natural pasturage of Egypt than wastes.

The concluding section of the Chou Li is understood by M. Biot and the Chinese commentators as assigning further penalties of a sumptuary character to the slight infractions of the laws. But it is more in accordance with the spirit of Chinese ethics to see in the passage a solemn statement of facts, a record of the eternal necessities, by which certain crimes entail with unerring justice appropriate effects, against which it is the part of a wise Government to give its subjects timely warn-

[1] [illegible] p. 2[illegible] [2] [illegible], i. 279, n. 4.

ing. "In general," it is said, "those amongst the people who do not rear cattle cannot offer animals in sacrifice; those who do not cultivate their plots of land cannot sacrifice grain; those who do not plant their orchards cannot have a complete coffin with external case; those who do not rear silkworms cannot wear robes of silk, and those who do not spin cannot wear a complete suit of mourning with an under-garment."[1]

The force of these particular deterrents may seem unequal, but the political wisdom of the Chinese legislator shows itself in observing and drawing attention to those natural sanctions, which enforce the precepts accepted by the national conscience, rather than by direct legislative interference. Mencius' enumeration of the consequences of good administration is conceived in the same spirit. "If the seasons of husbandry be not interfered with, the grain will be more than can be eaten. If close nets are not allowed to enter the pools and ponds, the fishes and turtles will be more than can be consumed. If the axes and bills enter the hills and forests (only) at the proper time, the wood will be more than can be used. When the grain and fish and turtles are more than can be eaten, and there is more wood than can be used, this enables the people to nourish their living and bury their dead without any feelings against any one,"[2] which is the first step in the way of royal government.

It would be easy to multiply examples of this keenly rationalistic appreciation of natural sequences. When Duke He of Loo, in the 7th century B.C., wished, in consequence of a long drought, to burn (or expose in the sun) a suspected witch and an emaciated person, the sagacious minister of the moment advised him that this was not the proper course: "Put your walls, the inner and the outer, in good repair, lessen your food; be sparing in all your expenditure. Be in earnest to be economical, and encourage people to help one another. What have the witch and the emaciated person got to do with the matter?"[3]

On the other hand, to cut down trees upon a hill as part of a sacrifice for rain is punished as the greatest of crimes, which is Chinese for a blunder.[4] Notwithstanding the clearances effected by successive heroes, the hills of China were not yet stripped of their natural forests, and these were administered by a special officer. Certain kinds of trees were reserved; but even in the plantations of the State, the public were admitted to cut for themselves under prescribed regulations for a limited number of days during the year. In cases of public necessity (as to procure coffins[5] or make an embankment) trees might be felled at irregular times, but otherwise the common people were restricted to one lopping season for each kind of wood. A passage in Mencius shows incidentally how the fatal process of denudation went on, when no longer controlled by a strong

[1] *Tcheou-li*, i. p. 282.
[2] *Works*, i. i. iii. § 3.
[3] Legge, *Chinese Classics*, ii. 6.
[4] *Ib.*, v. 663.
[5] In the Welsh laws of Howel there is a somewhat similar provision: "There are three trees which are free to be cut in the king's forest: timber for the roof of a church, for spear shafts for the king's use, and wood for a bier."

and watchful Government. He illustrates the possibility of men losing the virtues which are natural to them, by the loss of natural beauty undergone by the mountains on the east of Tse (near the present Tsing-chow). Being on the borders of a large State, the trees were hewn down with axes and bills, and when new buds and sprouts sprang up from the roots, cattle and goats came and browsed upon them, so that the once finely wooded mountains appeared bare and stript—as man becomes vicious when evil circumstances trample down all his good impulses and inclinations.[1]

Some measure of the length of time during which China has had a civilized history is given by the fact that the more enlightened provisions of the Chow Li were made the subject of quite modern sounding comments in what Europe calls the Middle Ages. Towards the time when England was suffering from the afforesting of whole counties under the Norman conqueror, one of the Sung commentators on the Chow code combined his admiration for the liberality of the ancient monarchs—who divided the produce of the woods, mountains, and watercourses with their subjects—with remarks on the necessity of regulating the human greed for profit, which ends by exterminating the sources of wealth, unless the State intervenes for the protection of natural species by imposing a close time. Exclusive devotion to agriculture has led in China to the neglect of woodcraft, but the destruction of forests which goes on in countries colonized by Englishmen has not that excuse; it is simply that our political philosophy allows to the private proprietor license which the political philosophy of ancient China denied to princes.

The regulations still in force respecting the pasturing of the imperial herds[2] differ little from those set forth in the Chow Li. Under the heading which describes the functions of the "valuer of horses," it is said: "In general when an officer of state receives a horse from the hands of his chiefs, he writes down the age and colour and price of the horse. If the animal dies within ten days, it must be paid for in full. If it dies after ten days, the ear is given as a proof; the payment is made with the body. Beyond that term there is no reclaiming."[3] From this it appears that the "boarding-out" of the royal cattle, which reappears in the Irish laws as the "giving and taking of stock," was an ancient Chinese institution, not invented or introduced by the present Mantchu dynasty.

As in ancient Egypt, the charge was not converted into a burden or treated as a source of revenue, and the keeper of the herds was not bound to make good losses for which he was not responsible. It was also the duty of the royal herdsmen to provide the six species of animals used for sacrifices—the ox, the horse, sheep, pig, dog, and pheasant. All animals for sacrifice were required to be of a uniform colour, and without spot or blemish; but the commentators observe that the difficulty of observing this rule had caused it to be relaxed. It is possible that Sumerian scholars may find in

[1] *W*[illegible], vi. [illegible] viii. § 2.

[2] *P*[illegible]*t*, p. 373.

[3] *I*[illegible]*u-li*, ii. p. 189.

the provisions on this subject some trace of kinship with the sacrificial usages of ancient Babylonia. At present this and other equally inviting lines of inquiry have not been followed up, on account of the difficulty of finding a scholar interested at once in the subject matter of both classes of texts, and master enough of both archaic languages not to be misled by accidental or superficial resemblance.

## CHAPTER V.

### *INDUSTRY AND TRADE IN THE MIDDLE ANTIQUITY OF CHINA.*

In the first book of the Chow Li, which describes the administration of the Imperial court and the branches of government, nine classes or occupations of the people are recognised by the legislator. The first class of course is that of the cultivators—the men of the hills, the plains, and the marshes, who produce the nine kinds of grain. Then follow (2) The gardeners. (3) Wood and watermen. (4) The herdsmen of the cultivated marshes, who look to the breeding of the beasts and herds native to them. (5) The artisans of a hundred trades, by whom the eight sorts of raw material are manufactured, *i.e.* the workers in stone, wood, metal, jade, ivory, pearls, skins, and feathers. (6) Shopkeepers and wandering dealers or pedlars. (7) Lawful wives, by whose labour silk and flax are wrought into cloths. (8) Servants of both sexes, including the inferior wives who are employed in domestic services. (9) Individuals without fixed profession, who change their occupation from time to time, in whom a commentator at the beginning of our era recognised the counterpart of the wage-earning class of his own time.[1]

In the section of the Shoo King called the Officers of Chow, four classes are mentioned: the scholars or officers, the cultivators, the mechanics, and the merchants or traders: a classification chiefly remarkable for its omission of a noble or military caste. This is the classification referred to in the Thsi-yu, when it is said: "The sons of officers ought always to be officers: the sons of artisans ought always to be artisans; the sons of merchants ought always to be merchants, and the sons of agriculturists ought always to be agriculturists."[2] The Tso Chuen tells of a prisoner from Tsoo, in the sixth century, who, when questioned by the marquis of Tsin about his family, replied, "We are musicians; and when asked it be could by: "Music," said he, "was the profession of my father: dared I learn any other?" According to tradition, a certain quarter was assigned anciently in Chinese towns and cities for mechanics, and all of one art were required to have their shops together. The son followed the father's profession, and it was supposed that, seeing nothing else around him, he would think of nothing else, and so become the more proficient.[3]

[illegible]

A certain number of the offices described in the Chow Li are also characterized as hereditary; especially such as might reasonably be supposed to require hereditary skill, like the snarers of birds, and the tamers of wild beasts, or inherited knowledge of minute forms and ceremonies, such as those appropriate to the reception of foreign guests. In another passage mention is made of "hereditary professions," which are explained to be those referring to magic, medicine,[1] and divination.

With these exceptions, the oldest and the ruling idea with the Chinese is that office should not be hereditary, but that ordinary employment should be so. Mencius quotes as one of the maxims accepted by a confederacy under one of the Chiefs of the Presiding States: "Let not offices be hereditary, nor let officers be pluralists."[2] The *primâ facie* right of the eldest son of the king's lawful wife to inherit the throne was asserted less in the interest of the heir than of the Government, which would be distracted by the intrigues of rival pretenders, and endangered if the king were induced weakly to listen to the favourite of the moment, pleading for her own children. Functions or obligations might be hereditary, but inherited privileges were equally dangerous to the giver and the recipient. There was no feeling about the right of children to inherit, or the duty of parents to bequeath, wealth. A story is told of a retired statesman in the 1st century B.C., who was reproached with spending his acquired wealth so lavishly that none was likely to be left for his sons; and he defended his conduct on the ground that it would be injurious to the latter to inherit the means of living in luxury without industry.[3]

As in Egypt the position of the scribe was open to the ambition of every class, so in China the lower offices of State were open to all, and promotion by merit was, in theory at least, an essential part of the constitution.

So far as the common people were concerned, each adult was registered as following some lawful pursuit—as a matter of course that of his father, unless otherwise stated; if he ceased to follow that calling without being enrolled in any other, the presumption would be that he was an idler, seeking to evade the payment of his lawful tax, and so obnoxious to the police. But changes of occupation in the case of individuals would be discouraged by the mere fact of their having to be reported, while the Government would consider any large displacement of industry as matter for regulation, so as to prevent any disturbance of the existing social order such as would be caused, *e.g.* by the desertion of agriculturists taking to sport or traders abandoning commerce for domestic industries. The migration of households or individuals was recognised as a normal incident. The persons quitting a "neighbourhood" received a pass or permit from

were strictly hereditary, even the rich being compelled to follow their father's calling to the exclusion of any other.

[1] According to the rules of propriety, "The physic of a doctor, in whose family [illegible] has not been practised for three generations, should not be [illegible]."

[2] *Wo*[illegible], vi. ii. vii. § 3.

[3] Giles' *Gems of Chinese Literature*, p. 97.

the elder whose jurisdiction they were leaving; and unless distance forbade, they were introduced by him in person to their new chiefs.[1]

The provisions regarding internal commerce and markets[2] are as full and elaborate as those respecting agriculture. The duties of the provost of the market are singularly extensive. They include, of course, the regulation of weights and measures, the maintenance of order by the help of a rod, made of the standard measure,—and the punishment of theft, fraud, or adulteration, if the proportion of the inferior article exceeded 20 per cent.; the levying of the octroi duties on the goods brought in and taken out for sale; and when, in case of plague or famine, the duties were remitted, he had still to keep an account of the goods that passed the barrier. But besides all this, the officers of the market were required to regulate and equalize the quantity and prices of the goods offered for sale, as the superintendents of agriculture were required to regulate the cultivation of the ground and equalize the burdens of the cultivators; and the legislator evidently regards one task as no more arduous than the other.

According to Ma-twan-lin, the system of State purchases was not primitive, and the official "purchase of grain at a fair price," as it was called, was only introduced in the 7th century B.C. This was followed by "the sale of grain at a fixed price," and the establishment of granaries to supply the sale. It was argued that if the State began to sell grain at a moderate price in times of scarcity, private dealers would be driven to lower their prices, by the fear of not disposing of their stocks, and the idea is economically speaking in advance of the mere attempt to fix the price of corn by edict. But, like most well-meant experiments in the way of State trading, this ended by opening the door to fresh abuses. The State was tempted by the near view of the profits of commerce to make its benevolent granaries a source of revenue; and when once the sale of corn had been carried on for the sake of profit, arbitrary measures became necessary to secure a sufficient supply for sale, and the demand on individuals to furnish a given quantity of grain, irrespective of the market price, became in time a serious tax.

But the Government was not content with trying to lower prices when abnormally high, it also aimed at preventing the depreciation of prices in times of exceptional abundance; and with remarkable financial enterprise, it undertook to buy from the traders when goods were plentiful as well as to sell to the public when commodities were scarce. It was the business of the [illegible] to attract dealers by preventing a fall of prices below remunerative rates, and to attract customers by a constant supply of provisions at uniform prices. If any commodity became, for a season, a drug in the market, the profit was reserved to the State, which [illegible] at an advance upon the [illegible] its ultimate sale was thus

[illegible]

secured to the community instead of being scrambled for by commercial speculation. In the same way, if curiosities or valuables of any kind hung long on hand, they were purchased on account of the treasury and reserved until there was a demand for them.

In the code of laws now in force it is specified that if the Government requires any material for State use, the commissioners and the prefects and district magistrates shall consult and apportion the contribution, and decide whether it shall be levied in kind or purchased in the market, "having regard to whether it is a time of great plenty or the reverse."[1] With the same object, money is to be coined in a time of scarcity, to enable the people to buy necessaries; and, though this expedient may seem more well meant than scientific, it might be resorted to occasionally without perceptible damage, if the State continued its purchases at the old rate on a large enough scale to prevent a nominal fall of price. An early commentator admires the wisdom of this device on the ground that gold and copper, which are always valuable, are not subject to the uncertainties of the seasons.

Ma-twan-lin says of the duties of the Chow treasurer that his operations are analogous to those of the officers of later dynasties who are charged to regulate the price of commodities by the purchases and sales which they effect in the name of the State. And Yang-chi[2] describes him as benefiting the merchants by buying their unsold stock without trying to profit by its low price, and benefiting buyers by allowing them the advantage of purchases made in the favourable season; but it is evident that this sort of commercial administration could only be practised, on a comparatively small scale, when the services of the ablest and most disinterested statesmen were not pre-engaged with matters of larger imperial concern.

Traditions current in the 7th century B.C. claim for Yu and Tang the casting of metallic money for the relief of the people; but metal was bartered by weight before any approach was made to a currency. The annals of the first Han (206 B.C.–25 A.D.) give an account of the monetary arrangements of the 11th century B.C., which, though not very intelligible, is probably founded on authentic materials. According to this, gold was moulded in cubes weighing 1 *kin*, and bronze money was round or "tongue-like," and its weight estimated in *tchus*. M. Terrien de la Couperie estimates the tchu at 4·06 grains, and the kin or gold unit at 1,950 grains, *i.e.* one-fourth of the hwan, the royal standard of 7,800 grains (about 505 gram.), which is identifiable with the light Babylonian talent.[3] M.

[1] *China Review*, vol. viii. p. 359. G. Jamieson. Translations from the *Lu-shi Chun-tsiu*, *Chinese Classics*, *Li-ki*.

[2] *Post*, pp. 202–5.

[3] *Origin of Chinese Coins in the 7th century* B.C. to A.D. 621, by Terrien de la Couperie. Nearly all the following particulars are derived from this valuable work. There is coincidence of size between any two weights, large or small, gives, however, by itself, little presumption in favour of a common origin, because [illegible] weights or coins—serving nearly similar purposes—[illegible] variations. To be convincing, the resemblance must extend to the various sub-divisions, and the relations of coins, weights, and measures, to each other.

Biot, the only other writer who has dealt with the subject, estimated the kin at one-third of the hwan.

Ma-twan-lin's authorities speak of barter as followed by the use of shells, to which, under the Hia and Shang dynasties, three metals, yellow, white, and red, were added. Ssema-tsien understands by these gold, silver, and copper, though one of his commentators supposes the red metal to be iron. In 554 B.C. a large copper money was issued, as appears from the text of a remonstrance addressed to the king describing the practice of his predecessors, who issued two sizes of coins, called the Mother and the Son, of different sizes, according to the needs of the people. Subsequently a prince of Tsoo attempted to give the value of the large coins to the small ones, with the result that merchants deserted his markets.[1]

A very interesting book of the Shoo King,[2] which is the foundation stone of the Chinese penal code, is assigned by Dr. Legge to the 10th century B.C. In this the system of pecuniary commutation of penalties is applied to various offences, the fines ranging from 600 to 6,000 "ounces" in Dr. Legge's translation; "rings" according to Mr. Terrien de la Couperie,—copper in each case being of course understood. The oldest existing money is certainly in the form of rings, without any inscription, and no other is known to have been used till the introduction, early in the 7th century, of metal knives as a currency. Large bronze knives of regular weight, with a rude inscription, were also circulated by traders in S. Shantung, serving, like the earliest pi-tchan or spade-money, both for use and exchange. "Hoes and riches," "hoes and cloth," are general terms for wealth.

Hwan, prince of Tse, the first of the "presiding States," attempted to regulate the weight of the metallic currency, and had spade money cast from native mines; he also issued knife-coins of practical shape and size, bearing the important inscription, "returnable-reviving currency of Tse," and on the reverse "30 units" and "yuen"—a ring, doubtless an allusion to the old metal rings. Other early inscriptions are "exchangeable," "return," "work," "sprout," "star," "family," and "currency of Tsih-moh city." Two things are very remarkable. Coins of all kinds were issued during the feudal period by individual merchants, trading firms, guilds and private families, as well as by cities. And the legends of all seem to show that, like the first issues of paper money many centuries later, the coin was put forward rather as a bond—something returnable, a promise to pay value to such an amount—than as a mere medium of exchange for universal currency.

About the middle of the 7th century the old ring-money of Chow began to be inscribed and become a coinage, but this use for metal is still only third or fourth in importance. About the same time one feudal prince, in giving a present of metal to another, stipulated that it was not to be used for making weapons; and accordingly the recipient cast three bells with it—a more respectful way of using it than for tools. In the next

[1] *J. [illegible] A.*, 3rd [illegible], iii. p. 431.
[2] *[illegible] Shu*, in pp. 254–264.

century a prince of Tsin refused to accept a ransom paid in coin, and demanded silk. Small bean-shaped coins, called metallic cowries, were issued about 600 B.C., and a little later we have large knife coins issued by traders' monetary unions, and bearing the inscription: "Returnable-reviving currency of all travelling traders of Tsi and Kwang-tching" (Shensi). Another knife-coin issued by the same class is singular in having a well-executed figure, as well as characters, inscribed on it; a lad bearing a flag appears as a sort of rebus for the word "to travel."

In 523 a king of Chow issued coins of four times the customary weight; but they were not accepted by the people, so the old type of flat rings was reverted to. Spade-money was in use for at least three hundred years from the 7th to the 4th century, and for half that time it was the common currency. The spades had hollow handles so as to be useable, and, being really intended more for tools than coins, were only roughly inscribed. The knife-money was confined to the Shantung peninsula and its neighbourhood. About the middle of the 5th century we hear of three Boards of Finance being established in Yueh by the help of the king of Tsoo, for the currency of gems, gold, and coins and silk; coins, *i.e.* metal, and silk being bracketed together as utilities, apart from such merely precious things as gold and gems.

In 423 a prince of Wei is said to have stimulated the use of metallic currency by State purchases, which shows that the mass of the people still did not feel the need of a currency for every-day affairs. Many coins bear the names of two towns—doubtless those that had a common market; and the relative position of towns in the larger monetary unions indicates the lines of old trade routes. Ping-chow, in the State of Tsin, was the centre of four monetary unions. Coins were issued by such unions from 580 to 380 B.C.; but towards the close of the "Warring States" period, trade as well as everything else suffered.

Other forms of coin were called weight-money, or "riding-money," from the resemblance of its shape to a saddle; and pu-money, in use from the 6th to the 3rd century B.C., but confined to the triangle bounded on the west and south by the Yellow River. The name is translated "extended," and the coin has been taken to represent a cloth or garment: it consisted of a piece of flat, inscribed metal, not unlike a spade with an indentation at the bottom, and was more of a mere coin than either spades, knives, or the rings, which were a survival from the time when metal for general use was cast in that shape for convenience in porterage or storing. Down to the 4th century unwrought metal continued to be used for purposes of exchange, but in the 5th small spade and pu-money, of no intrinsic use, were also circulated. The knife-money, as it approaches to a token, has less and less blade, in proportion to the round perforated handle by which it could be strung; but the modern cash is descended from the still older ring-money, not from a knife with completely atrophied blade.

The frequent issues of money by towns seems to imply that municipal independence advanced during the feudal period in China exactly as was

the case in Europe, while the number and energy of the trading guilds is shown by the same evidence. Their coins give reality to the passages in Mencius, where princes are promised, as a reward of good government, that "the traders will all seek to buy and sell" in the markets of the virtuous ruler. The habit of self-government and respect for local liberties, which characterize the Chinese, must have established their deepest roots when the government of the States and the Empire was in the worst disorder. But the lines followed by the independent townships, which coined money, were probably substantially the same as those embodied in the ideal legislation of the Chow Li.

Written deeds and agreements were in common use in the Chow Dynasty, especially a sort of indenture consisting of a tablet of bamboo, upon which the terms of the contract were written in duplicate, and which was then divided between the contracting parties. According to the Chow Li, these were used for all loans and lesser transactions regarding things which pass "from hand to hand;" nothing could be sold without either an indenture or a deed of warranty,[1] which was used for the greater sales, *i.e.* of slaves, horses, and cattle. These documents were submitted to an officer of the market and presumably registered; and, in accordance with the curious Chinese tendency to regard all law as penal, any dispute as to a debt or contract was decided before a judge, who called for the two parts of the agreement, and punished whichever party had attempted to infringe it. Mere default was punished either by the cangue, fine, or blows; the expression "to be beaten in the market place" is used in the Shoo King to represent the utmost depth of ignominy.

The booths of the market were grouped as far as possible in accordance with the analogy of the rural divisions, every twenty booths having a headman, who was responsible for the conduct of the sales and the payment of the Government dues. Three markets were held in the day: in the morning shopkeepers and costermongers make their purchases; the great market is in the afternoon, when the townspeople and those from a distance come in and buy for themselves; while in the evening the retail dealers sell off the remains of the stock which they purchased wholesale in the morning. A commentator of the Han Dynasty observes that these regulations are only based on the convenience and actual practice of the mass of purchasers and traders.[2]

The section of the Chow Li which is missing is the one devoted to the ministry of public works, which would have been among the most interesting to us. Its place has been supplied to a certain extent by a treatise older than the Burning of the Books, but later than the rest of the Classic, of which the subject is the "Examination of the work of the artisans."[3] The title suggests that it is a manual intended for the use of inspectors of the Government departments and workshops, and the limited number of trades and manufactures described in it makes it seem probable that only those industries were dealt with which were carried on under the immediate direction of the

[1] [illegible] i. p. 318. [2] [illegible] i. p. 312. [3] [illegible] ii. pp. 45?–611.

State, and as a branch of the public works department. The work is full of technical details of little general interest or intelligibility, but passages in it help the imagination to enter into the kind of workshop tradition which must have prevailed in Egypt, while intensifying our regret that we have no similar record of the rules by which "wise artists in their art" built up statues and temples in the valley of the Nile.

As a specimen of the more philosophical portions, the following specimens may suffice. Four different provinces are mentioned: in one, "He who has no mattock cannot do without. Every man there can make mattocks." In the next, armour is indispensable, and every one can make armour; in the next pike-handles are essential, and every one can make pike-handles, even as, among the nomads of the North, where bows and chariots are indispensable, every man can make bows and chariots. "Sages invent. Men of skill continue what the first began. The artisans preserve (the arts) from generation to generation. All the operations executed by the hundred artisans are the work of the sages. They forge metal to make swords. They harden clay to make pots. They make carts to go on the roads. They make boats to go on the water. All these arts were created by sages. Four things must come together to produce good work: the season of heaven, the emanation of earth, good material, and a skilled workman. If the material is good, and the workman skilled, and the result of his work is not good, the fit season has not been chosen; the emanation of the earth has not been favourable."[1] In illustration of which view, the excellence of the knives, swords, and axes of certain districts is ascribed to the earthly emanation; the bows and arrows of other parts owe their quality to the goodness of the material, the wood and horn to be found there, while plants depending on climate and water owe their excellence to the seasons of heaven. No doubt much of the traditional geomancy of the country started from speculations and experience of this degree of rationality. The skill of the artisan was rewarded by a celebrity akin to that of the artist in Europe. Kung Chiu, the Chinese Giotto, who could draw an exact circle with the unaided hand, is called an artisan.[2]

The Li Ki enumerates six kinds of public works—terraces and masonry, metal work, stone work, carpentering and furniture, leather work, or the preparation of skins, and basket work, or the working of twigs[3]—but the "Examination" goes into minuter details. The manufacture of chariots is the first industry described, and the art is said to be a special favourite with the Chow Dynasty, as that of the potter was with Shun, that of house-building with Hia, and that of making cups of metal with Yin. Elaborate numerical proportions are given for the different parts of the vehicle, and each piece is to be separately examined and tested before it is used. The wheels are tested by a compass, the straight parts by a square, the uprights

[1] *Tchou-li*, ii. pp. 459, 460.
[2] Giles' *Chuang Tzu*, p. 115.
[3] *S.B.E.*, xxvii. p. 110. The "Six Treasuries" and the "Six Manufactures" of the "Son of Heaven" are somewhat variously described.

by a plumb line, the horizontals by a water level, and the comparative size of corresponding parts by weighing the pieces and measuring their cubic content with grains of the large millet; the men who understand these processes are called royal workmen.

Whenever reasons are given for any precept, they are of the most naïve description; but it is characteristic of the Chinese mind, which has been content for 4,000 years with wheels of an elaborately clumsy kind, that quite early in the time, they thought it worthy of solemn record that large wheels go over the ground more easily than small ones, and that narrow tires sink into the mud less hopelessly than wide ones. In wheels, as in everything else, the test of good workmanship is for a thing to be serviceable till it is worn out equally in all its parts by use, and the rules about doing everything at a prescribed time of year allow ample leisure for "seasoning" the materials.

The next chapter is devoted to the workers in metal: knives for writing on bamboo tablets, arrow-heads, javelins, swords, bells, and measures of capacity are made by different workmen. Then follow the makers of leather armour and drum makers. The dyers and silk dressers are treated next, with all who work in colours, then the jade cutters and polishers, the arrow-makers, potters and moulders of culinary utensils,—among which we recognise the prototype of a modern patent cooking pot, for preparing food by the use of steam alone.[1] The workers in precious wood make the cases for musical instruments. Wooden targets and the handles of pikes and javelins are made by the same class; and a long and very elaborate chapter is given to the manufacture of bows, which were made of wood and bone, cunningly fitted together to form an arc of greater or less curvature according to the strength of the bow, and strung, not like the English long bow—by the simple bending of a straight sapling—but by a *tour de force*, involving the reversal of the curve, or, so to speak, turning the unstrung, manufactured bow inside out. A list of the workers was kept according to their skill, and extra rations of wine and meat were given to the best.

Builders or architects form a separate profession, and the occasion for their services is considered to arise when a capital city is to be founded. All the streets are at right angles, and the general plan of the typical city follows the analogy of the nine squares; but instead of the central plot only being occupied for public purposes, that is assigned for the palace of the prince, which has the public market on one side and the place of audience and the ancestral temple on the other. The width of the streets is measured in carriage breadths, and the narrowest are required to give a [illegible] way for [illegible] in the middle, and a path for men on one side and one for women on the other. The proportion between the height and thickness of the city walls is prescribed; that of private dwellings is left to custom or choice, but the angle of all roofs is determined by law, a greater slope being required in the case of thatched than of tiled roofs, as the

[1] [illegible], ii. p. 538.

water runs off them less easily. The roofs of barns and warehouses and the copings of walls are allowed to be still flatter.

The construction of the canals and water-courses belongs to the same department of public works. A double spadeful makes a furrow a foot deep and wide; it is with such channels that the cultivator waters his own field; a little ditch of double this size separates each field or lot of 100 mow, and the earth dug out from it is raised and forms a little foot-path between the plots; the water-course which surrounds a tsing (the nine plots, with a central well, which form a hamlet) is four feet deep and wide, and is called a little canal, and has a footway along it. The hundred is surrounded by a channel of eight feet and a roadway. All five sorts of footway are planted at the edges with wood, which serves for a defence.[1] In theory the departments are bounded by canals drawn direct from the large natural streams which have names of their own, and are, in fact, rivers controlled for irrigation purposes. The size of the rivers and the necessity of providing against inundations caused by their overflow was always a force working in favour of centralization. Mencius contrasts the administration of Yu, which convoyed the waters safely to the outer seas, with that of his contemporaries, who were content if they could only carry their floods off into the territory of the adjoining States: a waste of water hateful to the benevolent mind of the sage.

The care of the highways was regarded as of equal importance with that of the water-courses and the markets. The system of post houses and hotels at stated distances, by which mediæval travellers were so much impressed, dates from the Chow Li; there was a post house at the distance of every ten and an inn at every thirty li, and a market-place with hostelry at every fifty li. There are five recognised sorts of roadway, from the foot-tracks along the hills, which are trodden by use and filled up by the wild grass if not frequented, and the paths along the water-courses of the homestead, to the roads for local traffic and the great imperial highways, kept open, in theory for distant tribute bearers, feudal princes coming to pay their homage at court, and the imperial progresses.[2] One of the few signs of national unity to which Confucius could point, was that the same written character was used, and that all over the empire "carriages have all wheels of the same size," which modern travellers find to their cost is not the case now in all the provinces of China.[3]

The Chow Li, besides contemplating a uniform scale of proportion for wheeled vehicles and prohibiting "furious driving," also provides for the regulation of traffic at crowded crossings, whether by land or water: boats

[1] According to the Li Ki, "Hills and mounds, forests and thickets, rivers and marshes, ditches and canals, city walls and suburbs, houses, roads, and lanes took up one-tenth of the whole country, the rest being cultivable fields." (*S.B.*, xxvii. p. 245.)

[2] *Tcheou-li*, ii. pp. 198, 280, 564. The day's work of the labourers employed in digging canals is determined afresh for each job, after the nature of the soil, and consequent difficulty of the task, has been ascertained. *Ib.*, p. 570.

[3] All the ordinary roads are cut into deep ruts, in which alone the wheels can run, so that the axle-trees of vehicles have actually to be changed on entering a district where the ruts form, so to speak, a wide instead of a narrow gauge, or conversely.

and carriages were only allowed to pass in a prescribed order, which policemen stationed at the critical spots were instructed to enforce. The same police were charged to arrest persons of doubtful reputation, or who are found in the streets at improper hours or under suspicious circumstances. No one save a criminal, or "one hastening to the funeral rites of a parent," was expected to commit the eccentricity of travelling by starlight.[1]

Uniformity of costume was already established, and, as now, the chief mandarin of the district gave the signal for all under his government to begin or leave off their summer hats. It was one of the duties of the Minister of Instruction to secure uniformity of costume, which the Han commentators supposed to have been desired as a check on the extravagance of the well-to-do. But the only law of a directly sumptuary character is one limiting the expenditure on weddings: presents of silk were an essential part of the rites of betrothal, but not more than ten pieces were allowed to be given as the marriage offering.

[1] *S.B.*, xxvii. p. 339.

## CHAPTER VI.

### *SOCIAL AND DOMESTIC RELATIONS IN MEDIÆVAL CHINA.*

With regard to the social and domestic usages of the people, the Odes show us things as they were between the rise of Chow and the time of Confucius; and the Li Ki shows us things as it was thought they ought to be between the age of Confucius and the restoration of letters after the fall of Tsin. But as the Li Ki deals systematically with subjects only touched on incidentally in the Odes or the Rites of Chow, it does not follow from the silence of the latter that customs first mentioned in the Book of Rites were unknown to the men of Chow. All the Chinese Classics received their present form at latest during the rule of the Han, and accordingly, the least ancient passages in the least ancient books must at least be as old as that period. And the customs of Chinese society are so slow to change, and change so gradually, that the Li Ki, which contains many passages certainly due to the disciples of Confucius, may be treated as continuing the evidence of the Odes and Tso's commentary.

Technically speaking, "Middle Antiquity" in China means the period during which the Chow Dynasty nominally held the empire; but the 1,000 years (from 800 B.C. to 200 A.D.) during which the latest classics were composed and the whole canon compiled, have so much in common, and are so far marked off by that fact from later ages, that they may be treated as forming, in a sense, a single period—the Chinese Middle Ages.

The relations between husbands and wives as exemplified in the Odes are far from unpleasing, and it is significant of the moral tone of the community, that this classical collection of popular poetry does not contain the slightest hint of an approach to indecency, and only a few very simple versions of the world-old village idyll of unfortunate or unauthorized courtships. Whether in the Chinese version of "Comin' through the Rye,"[1] and "Oh, had I wist before I kissed," in the maiden's [illegible] to the adventurous Mr. Chung, or in the rather pretty allusive poems hinting at moonlight, midsummer, or woodland assignations, the Chinese Burns never approaches to the laxity of speech or morals usual with the popular muse elsewhere. The love of nature and the appreciation of [illegible] effects of sky and foliage, to which the national arts bear witness, show themselves also in the short but significant and [illegible] which most of the stanzas begin, like the Italian [illegible]

[1] [illegible]

[illegible]

There are poems expressive of a lover's longings and a bridegroom's joy, of womanly devotion, from the wife who sighs in triplets[1] for her absent husband—a day without him is as long as three months, three seasons, three years—to the constant widow who mourns :—

> "The [illegible] grass, covering the thorn trees ;
> The [illegible] is all over the waste."

But the beloved is no longer here, she must dwell alone

> "Through the days of summer,
> Through the nights of winter,
> Till the lapse of a hundred years :
> When I shall go home to [illegible]." [2]

The ideal of conjugal duty and happiness is "to grow old together," and the poets are on the side of the old wife when the husband neglects her for a new flame ; this is as wicked as to use the honourable yellow dress-stuff for trousers and linings, and the vulgar green for an upper robe ! In small household affairs, the husband as well as the wife was required to conform to the dictates of social propriety, and a stinging epigram would be launched against the rich miser who allowed "the delicate fingers of the bride to be used in making clothes" during the three months' holiday honeymoon of custom, or who had his old clothes mended up, instead of starting housekeeping with a proper trousseau, as if he were a poor fellow who could only afford canvas shoes in frost.[3]

A common type of poem expresses the sorrows of soldiers on a distant expedition, forced to leave their homes and families. Sometimes the anxious thoughts of the family about the absent one are expressed, but the commonest topics are his anxiety as to how his parents will get food when he is not there to plant rice and maize for them, his concern at the thought of his mother's having to cook the dinner, and his overwhelming grief if they both die when he is not there to bury them, or to requite that parental kindness, which, according to a famous line, is "like great heaven, [illegible]."

They cry out in longing to return to their ordinary life : "We are not [illegible] tigers to be kept in these desolate wilds," [illegible] every man torn from his wife and kept constantly on the march ! One [illegible] is rather [illegible] who thinks he [illegible] "[illegible] if I [illegible] woman." [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] their wives :—

and this cannot be if married soldiers are marched off to die in the distant south.[1]

A somewhat similar piece is ascribed to the Duke of Chow himself; but here—after describing the sufferings of the soldiers on a three years' expedition to the rainy east, while their hearts were in the west, and deer grazed in their paddocks and caterpillars crawled over their mulberry trees, wild flowers choked their gardens and spiders' webs hung over their doors—the fortunate return of the troops is also commemorated, and all ends happily as the younger warriors receive the rewards of valour from young ladies with bay and red horses, whose mothers have "tied their sashes." But admirable as are these new marriages, the poet concludes, "How can the reunion of the old be expressed?"[2]

A variety of terms are used by Dr. Legge to describe the position of the one lawful wife, whose eldest son is entitled to perform the mourning rites for his father. This lady is spoken of as the "established," the "confirmed," the "commissioned," the "acknowledged" or the proper wife. A Chinaman can have only one such wife at a time,[3] whose hand was formally solicited from her parents with the customary present of pieces of silk. According to the Li Ki, "after three months she presents herself in the ancestral temple, and is styled "the new wife who has come." A day is chosen for her to sacrifice at the shrine of her father-in-law: "expressing the idea of her being the established wife."[4] There was an ancient custom by which a bride after a short interval returned on a visit to her parents, and it seems as if the marriage was not regarded as complete or final till after these months of probation. If the bride dies during this interval, "she should be taken back and buried among the kindred of her own family, showing that she had not become the established wife."[5]

These lawful wives took part in most solemn ceremonies; the eldest son, however aged, was required to have such a wife to preside over the funeral rites, and the confirmed wives of great officers reproduced among themselves the ceremonies practised by their husbands. The ruler and his wife owed certain observances to the acknowledged wife of a great officer. The language of a ruler, when demanding the hand of a neighbouring prince's daughter, was, "I beg you, O ruler, to give me your

[1] Of course only strictly moral and moderate sentiments are to be expected in the King, but fearful romance lurks [illegible] extravagances, and Chang-an has preserved [illegible] the memory of a Chinese Leander. "Wei Shang made an assignation with a girl [illegible] bridge. The girl arrived, one and the waters rose, but Wei Shang would not leave; he grasped a pillar and died." (H. A. Giles [illegible], p. 305.)

[2] Legge, *Ch.*, p. 235.

[3] The lawful ruler, according to Dr. Legge, could only in [illegible] lady, the [illegible] Sometimes [illegible] of the West seems to have [illegible] down to the Tang kings. [illegible] was by [illegible] presents were [illegible] [illegible] the great vessels, and [illegible] the [illegible] officers. [illegible] Ki [illegible] "[illegible] eldest son." [illegible] ii., p. 87. [illegible]

[4] *Ibid.*, [illegible] p. 322, 300. [5] [illegible] p. [illegible]

elegant daughter, to share this small State with my poor self, to do service in the ancestral temple, and at the altars to the spirits of the land and the grain." The status of such a wife was equal and honourable; and, as in the course of history, the participation of women in public receptions and ceremonies gradually ceased, we are justified in believing that the position of the lawful wife was most distinguished in the remotest times.

A curious circumstance which may be connected with a forgotten sense of the importance of female kinship is the existence of three distinct terms to describe affinity through women. There are two words, answering approximately to the Latin agnate and cognate; the former (*nei k[illegible]*) comprehends all kindred derived by descent in the male line from the same stock as the individual. The latter has three subdivisions, translated by Sir W. H. Medhurst as "mother's kin," "wife's kin," and "daughter's kin," including all varieties of relations by marriage.[1] In historic times these relationships were regarded as unimportant, and calling only for the slighter degrees of complimentary mourning; but if this had always been so, it is difficult to see why such pains should have been taken to name them, or why marriage with relatives on the mother's side should have been as strictly prohibited as is still the case.

Confucius was a great believer in the due subjection of women, and though he was incapable of falsifying the classic texts to favour his own opinions, as editor and commentator he naturally gave precedence to the [illegible] and interpretations most in harmony with his views of propriety. In a book which bears the title *Cheng-tsung Dykes*, there is a passage which may refer to a conflict between the modern and the archaic custom. Confucius is made to describe the proper forms of marriage. The bridegroom comes forward to meet his bride, and her parents bring her forward and give her to him. "In this way a duke is raised in the interests of the people; and yet there are cases in which the bride will not go" [illegible] bridegroom.[2] To found the Egyptian, the Chinese, or any other family involving community of property and religious rites, it is necessary that [illegible]

worn for the son of a brother should be the same as for one's own son, the object being to bring him still nearer to oneself. An elder brother's wife and his younger brother do not wear mourning for each other, the object being to maintain the distance between them."[1] A man did not wear mourning for his step-father, unless they had lived together, the step-father having no son of his own, and contributing to the sacrifices which the son was bound to make to his real ancestors. And as a further illustration of the effect of this "companionship of the cupboard," in giving reality to the remotest ties, we learn that even "the husband of a maternal cousin and the wife of a maternal uncle," should wear the three months' mourning for each other, "if they have eaten together from the same fireplace." In the same way the more distant relatives of a parent are mourned for by such of the younger generation as were personally acquainted with them, but not by any living at a distance to whom they were unknown.

The existence of fostering as an institution in ancient China, rests mainly on a saying of Mencius: "The ancients exchanged sons, and one taught the son of another."[2] In the time of Confucius, it was considered a doubtful point whether mourning should be worn for a foster mother; the sage thought not,[3] and endeavoured to represent the doing so as a modern innovation; but as he implies that the institution was more general in antiquity than then, we may respectfully venture to question his infallibility. The foster mother was one of the inferior wives or concubines,—in fact a step-mother,—and if the lawful wife died, she might for some purposes take her place, and the diversity of usage was probably owing to the fact that the character of the relation varied much in individual cases. The statement of the Li Ki, that a man did not wear mourning for the parents of his nurse,[4] would hardly have been called for unless the relation were so close as to make it in some cases appear natural that he should do so.

Reference has already been made to the principles followed in the formation of new branch families.[5] Mourning was worn in theory for four generations of ascendants and descendants in the direct line, and for contemporaries descended in the same fifth generation from the "honoured head" of the family. If a family is kept up longer than this, each fresh generation superannuates the "honoured head" recognised by the last; that is to say, his tablet is removed from its place, by the father, grandfather, etc., into the general collection of such monuments preserved in the ancestral temple. In the case of a clan or ruling house, claiming descent from some high ancestor of remoter antiquity, the high ancestor or great honoured head keeps his place unaltered "for a hundred generations:" but with ordinary private households or branch families, the person of the honoured head changed in each generation, so that the honours appropriate to the position were always given to an ancestor of the same degree of remoteness from the sacrificer.

[1] [illegible] 147. [2] [illegible] 3. [illegible]
[4] [illegible] 51. [5] [illegible] 552. [illegible]

The position of the paternal grandfather in China bore some resemblance to that occupied by the maternal grandfather in Egypt. The grandson is conceived, for some purposes, as actually nearer than the son, and it is he who acts as personator of the dead. A curious and burdensome privilege enjoyed by eldest sons, throws light upon the train of thought which gives its character to this relation. Only an eldest son is required or permitted to wear the three years' mourning for his own eldest son, and he may do so because this son represents the direct line of the father and grandfather. The share taken by the established wife in the important business of founding a family is evidenced by a similar rule, a man, who is the lineal head of a new branch family, being allowed to mourn the full period (of three years) for his wife, even though his own mother may be living.

The commentators are perplexed by this provision, which is inconsistent with the general rule, requiring a wife to mourn three years for her husband as for a parent, while he only observes one year's mourning for her. But it becomes intelligible and reasonable if viewed as a survival from a forgotten period, when the mother, as well as the son, was considered an essential link in the genealogical chain. Complimentary mourning (for three months) might be worn for the head of a clan, not on the ground of relationship, which was not counted for this purpose through more than five generations, but on the ground of his representing the remote high ancestor, from whom all the different branch families claimed descent.

A curious proof of the tenacity of Chinese usage is afforded by a passage in the Chow Li, *forbidding* a custom which is still in use. The officer of marriages, according to this clause,[1] forbids the removal of the bodies of those who have died unmarried to fresh tombs, where, by a sort of posthumous marriage, they are united to girls who have died before reaching the marriageable age. It is not quite clear whether betrothed pairs whose marriage had not been culpably adjourned might be united after death, but the intention seems to have been to promote marriages by closing a too easy way of [illegible] attached to celibacy. One of the odes of Chow, which [illegible] commentators, becomes intelli[illegible] [illegible] to have taken his [illegible] [illegible] to prevent love matches [illegible] [illegible] "Do not I think of you," is the burden of the quatrains the maiden addresses to her lover, "but I am [illegible]." And she consoles herself [illegible]

[illegible]

[1] [illegible]

A youth was considered marriageable at twenty, and a girl at fifteen: thirty and twenty respectively marked the lawful limit for celibacy; single men and women above those ages were liable to be exhorted by the officer of marriages, for it was a part of good government to have no unmarried persons in the country.

An account of the nine provinces and their produce in the Chow Li mentions the proportion of men to women in each province,[1] which varies extraordinarily, from five to one to one to three. The average of the nine is possible enough, as it is at the rate of twenty-five men to twenty-four women; but it is difficult to believe that the statistics give an accurate account of such variations as might be noted, for instance, in the United States between Massachusetts and Nevada, though there is no other conceivable explanation of the discrepancy if historical.

Children were registered at three months old, the time when they received from the father their first or childish name. A record was made of the child's birth on such a day, month, and year, and the secretaries of the hamlets made two copies of it, one of which was kept in the village office, and the other passed to the officer of the district. It is thus evident that in well ordered departments the materials for a census of some kind must have existed from very early times. Indeed, the very reasons given against the proposal, when a prince in the 9th century B.C. was anxious to number the people of a certain district, betray some experience of the results of statistical inquiries. The wise minister of the period observed[2] that it was the business of the local officials to know the number of families and of persons in their departments; the officers in charge of public works must know how much labour they can command, and the military officers know how many soldiers can be raised, and that is all the knowledge required for practical purposes. But, though the district in question was one of the most populous in the country, the total number of the inhabitants was sure to fall short of the emperor's expectations, while the report of his disappointment would be sure to reach the neighbouring princes, and encourage them to presume on his supposed weakness.

A rural calendar of the Hia Dynasty, supposed to have been found in the grave of Confucius in the 3rd century A.D., adds to our former list of times and seasons, the information that at such a day of the second month (*i.e.* towards the end of March), "they execute the dance *wan*, they enter the school." Boys were sent to school at eight years old, to learn the elements of writing and arithmetic. The lives of both Confucius and Mencius contain anecdotes of their school days, and the mother of the latter fixed her residence opposite a school, in order that her son, who was apt to imitate what he saw around him, should have nothing but examples of studiousness and decorum in sight.

[1] Book xxxiii. §§ [illegible].

[2] De Mailla, [illegible] *Chine*, [illegible] *Kiang-Kiou Kang-mou*, 1777, ii. p. 42.

According to the Li Ki,[1] there was anciently a school for every twenty-five families, a college for 500 or the department, an academy for 2,500 or the county, and a university for the whole kingdom. The ordinary curriculum extended over seven or nine years; examinations took place every other year, and selected candidates from the ordinary colleges were transferred to the Imperial college. The competitors were exempt from forced labour in their own villages, and the students of the imperial college were excused from all manual work. Not less authentic and more graphic accounts of the common schools are given by two writers of the first century A.D.[2]: "When the plough has been brought under cover, the harvests gathered, and the operations of the year ended, the unmarried youths go to school, at fifteen to the lower school, at eighteen to the higher; at the winter solstice they leave school for forty-five days (as is the usage even until now), and prepare for the labours of cultivation." So far Maiyong, while Pankow (58–76 A.D.), in his history of the first Han Dynasty, adds that in winter, to save lights and firing, the villagers assembled in the common hall, the women with their work, while the young men not yet taxpayers repaired to the school-house. The lads who entered the elementary school at eight begin at fifteen to learn music and the Rites. The teachers in these schools were not appointed by the State, but the district officers were expected to keep an eye on their efficiency.

It would be an anachronism to assume from these particulars that during the Chow Dynasty or earlier a system of graduated schools provided a complete ladder of learning from the village to the court. The Grand Director of Public Works is required by the Chow Li to teach the people "the six virtues, the six praiseworthy actions, and the six branches of knowledge;" *i.e.* music, dancing, archery, charioteering, writing, and arithmetic. But so wide a curriculum warns us to understand the word "to teach" as referring to the educational effects of good government, [illegible] of the schools, where virtue can [illegible]

[illegible] first dynasties [illegible] the Court of the Heir Apparent [illegible] "It was [illegible]

[illegible]

federal leagues formed by the feudal States, was credited with a desire to revive the educational as well as the other good customs of the kings of Chow. His allies pledged themselves to "Honour the aged, protect the orphans, name the deserving to office, nourish capable men, and bring forward virtuous ones"—all of which undertakings would anciently have been included under the head of "teaching" the six virtues.

Ma-twan-lin saw plainly that the system of examinations was only a modern and not very successful expedient for the detection of capacity and virtue, and he supposes that in the good old times men were first recommended for employment on account of their character and reputation, and were then examined to see if they possessed the special knowledge required for the discharge of their duties; whereas subsequently scholars applied themselves to one kind of study with a view to the examinations, and, as soon as the examination was over, all that they had learnt was put aside and neglected, while they began a fresh education in the practical work belonging to their offices, so that science and government were divorced.

The enumeration of the duties incumbent on filial children in families of official rank[1] is our best guide as to the indoor, domestic life of the Chinese during the period of Middle Antiquity. The housework, as we should say, is expected to be performed by the children or inferior wives. These, "at the first crowing of the cock, should wash their hands and mouths, gather up their pillows and fine mats, sprinkle and sweep out the apartments, hall, and courtyard, and spread the mats, each one doing his proper work." The sons and sons' wives dress and wash with care, and hang at their girdle or sash "their articles for use." Both sexes carry the "duster and handkerchief, the knife and whetstone, the small spike and the metal speculum to get fire from the sun, and the borer to get fire from wood," to which are added the implements of writing and archery for men, and for women a needle-case, silk, and thread. When fully dressed the children go to inquire after the health of their parents (or parents-in-law), bring them water to wash, and then the best of food. They "should not move the clothes, coverlets, fine mats or undermats, pillows, and stools of their parents." They should reverently regard their staff and shoes, but not presume to approach them, nor should they meddle with their food or utensils, unless it were to eat what was left from their parents' meals. "Sweet, soft, and unctuous things" left by the grandparents should be given to the little children, who are also allowed to go to bed, [illegible] and to take their meals when they please.

It shows the force of ideas in China that the young married people, to whose interests the older generations are sometimes sacrificed in other communities of the same type, are here subordinated to the old [illegible] young. It was considered proper that children should be petted and indulged, as they still are in modern China. At eight they begin to learn [illegible]

[1] [illegible]

and the art of yielding to others; and after that, advancing years only bring fresh duties till the son becomes himself a husband and father. Elder children, however, are only subject to a constitutional rule. We have heard much about the duties of the sovereign, but they are all summed up in the phrase, he should be the father and mother of his people. The father and mother therefore, in private life, have to consider the interests and inclinations of their children, as the ruler should those of the multitudes. Before his parents a son should not speak of himself as old, and, though he might speak of the duty owing to parents, he might not speak of the gentle kindness due from them;[1] but the latter duty was not the less recognised, and it would evidently be a proper topic of conversation in a company of parents. If children do not like the food or clothes provided for them, they are required to taste or put them on without demur; but the parents are expected to divine from the *nuances* of still respectful deportment that they are not altogether pleased, and the children await their further commands with a reasonable expectation that their tastes will be considered.

On the whole we should judge modest comfort, with an absence of display, to have characterized the family life of ancient as of modern China. The extent to which the family waited on itself reminds us of what we are told of the Nabatæans.[2] Life was more decorous than among the Egyptians, more formal than in Babylonia, and more elaborate than in any other community not dependent on slave labour. One note of material civilization, a free use of the bath, is conspicuous. It was the duty of filial children to prepare tepid water, and invite their parents to take a bath every fifth day; and the bathing tub of Thang the Successful was [illegible] with the inscription, "If you can one day renovate yourself, do so from day to day: yea, daily renovate yourself."[3]

The constant efforts after self-[illegible] of the Chinese sage stand midway between the self-discipline required from the Christian saint and the purely secular *Bildung* or culture of which the greatest German poet was an [illegible]. The "[illegible]" in China "cultivates his person;" [illegible] he keeps watch over himself when [illegible] strengthens himself in [illegible] want of restraint [illegible] are the outward [illegible] "Courtesy is near to propriety;" [illegible] kept within the [illegible]

[illegible] only [illegible] Take the following [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 512 [illegible] 5

[illegible]

"He who is condoling with one who has mourning rites on hand, and is not able to assist him with a gift, should put no question about his expenditure. He who is inquiring after another who is ill, and is not able to send (anything to him), should not ask what he would like. He who sees (a traveller), and is not able to lodge him, should not ask where he is stopping. He who would confer something on another should not say, 'Come and take it:' he who would give something (to a smaller man) should not ask him what he would like." [1]

The first clauses require no comment, though they show that the exercise of hospitality and the interchange of friendly gifts were common; but the last sentence shows that in giving and receiving presents the self-respect of both parties was to be protected with the utmost refinement. A poor man will not *ask* for what he wants, he must be entreated to accept it. No one will *take* a gift; it must be offered or presented to a private person just as much as to a ruler.

During a famine a gentleman had food prepared on the road to wait the approach of hungry people. A particularly famished-looking wretch came up, and he held out food and drink, saying, "Poor man! come and eat." "The man, opening his eyes with a stare and looking at him, said, 'It was because I would not eat "Poor man come here food" that I am come to this state.' Khien Ao immediately apologised for his words, but the man after all would not take the food, and died." It is not clear at once to the coarse Western mind where the wrong-doing of the story lies, but the opinion of one of Confucius' chief disciples is recorded. The gentleman in his judgment had certainly behaved amiss, but his error did not deserve the severe punishment inflicted. "When he expressed his pity as he did, the man might have gone away; when he apologised, the man might have taken the food." [2] Must we not, however, admit that European falls short of Chinese civilization, while they do and we do not feel it to be unseemly for a gentleman to bid a pauper "Come and eat," without further demonstrations of courtesy and respect?

The common people were not expected to observe all the minuter rules of ceremony. Such rules as that "In a house of mourning one should not laugh;" "When eating (with others) one should not sigh;" "When there is a body shrouded and coffined in his village one should not sing in the lanes;" and that in "Walking with a funeral procession one should not pick his way,"—these might be observed by everybody; but it is only the superior man who is required to sacrifice his convenience to decorum: he, "though poor, will not sell his vessels of sacrifice; though suffering from cold, he will not wear his sacrificial robes; though he wants wood to build a house, he will not cut down the trees on his grave mounds." [3]

The superior man must act consistently, at whatever cost; thus Confucius happened one day to be carried away by sympathy, so as to wail more

[1] *S.B.*, xxvii. p. 89.
[2] [illegible]
[3] [illegible]

bitterly than was demanded by the strict rules of propriety, at the mourning rites of an old host. On leaving the house he bade his companions unharness two of the horses from his carriage and present them as his gift. It was [illegible] that such a gift was excessive, considering the slightness of the relationship. The master said, "I found (the mourner) so dissolved in grief that my tears flowed. I should hate it if those tears were not followed. Do it, my child."[illegible] Friendly regard and helpful action ought to go together; it is equally improper to offer help without expressing friendly feeling, and to manifest friendly feeling without offering help, and having done the one the superior man will not fail to do the other in due proportion.

The same refinement of feeling is to be noted in a variety of other rules. It is not proper for a man to take office while in mourning for his parents; but if his services are needed by the State, he may give them gratuitously.[2] During the same period he might speak of public affairs concerning his superiors, but not of those in which he himself had an interest.[illegible] On the other hand, a prince may call at the house of a minister to inquire for the sick or to condole with mourners, but he must not visit there for amusement. It is not proper for men to praise their seniors or superiors; but at all times it was a point of good manners to give somebody else the credit of whatever merit one was supposed to possess. A private citizen gave the glory to his parents, a minister to his prince, and the ruler to high heaven;[illegible] "it was thus that they showed submissive deference."

Minor instructions on points of etiquette are equally rational. "When sitting by a person of rank, if he began to yawn and stretch himself, to turn round his tablets, to play with the head of his sword, to move his shoes [illegible] the time of day, one might ask leave to retire."

[illegible]

Several other passages recall fragments of the Egyptian rules of propriety —one should not speak positively if one has the slightest doubt: but if one has no doubt, one should not seem to be expressing one's own opinion only. In the presence of a superior one should not answer a question without looking round to see if any one else is going to speak. It is not stated anywhere that unpalatable advice or criticism ought not to be delivered point-blank, but should be wrapped up in the most delicately suggestive of allegories. But this sort of diplomacy came too much by nature to the Chinese official for it to need enjoining. One such example of ministerial politeness may be quoted, which serves also to illustrate the deeply rooted Chinese conviction that the art of government begins at home. Duke Wen of Chin was going to a confederacy of feudal princes to plan an attack on the State of Wei. On the journey his minister laughed. The Duke asked what amused him, and he replied, that he was laughing at the thought of a neighbour of his, who was escorting his wife on a visit to her parents, when he espied a pretty girl picking mulberry leaves. He stopped to talk to her, and then, turning his head, he saw somebody else paying attention to his own wife. The Duke took the hint and turned back, just in time to hear that an enemy had attacked his northern frontier.[1]

As in Egypt, all classes anciently carried staffs,[2] but about 500 B.C. the right to do so was restricted to men of rank, because a wheelwright was seen using his as a tool. "There was nowhere such a thing as being born noble."[3] By ancient custom a piece of jade or a number of shells were placed in the mouth of the deceased, while the tuft of hair worn by boys and the observance of the feasts of lanterns and of the moon are other traits common to both countries.

[1] F. H. Balfour, [illegible] New York, p. 132.
[2] See Appendix M. [illegible] S.B.E., xxvii. p. 430.

## CHAPTER VII.

### *FEUDALISM AND THE FALL OF CHOW.*

The Odes confirm the witness of the other classics upon a point as to which otherwise we might have felt some scepticism. That the extension of the royal authority, described in the Rites, was not always a fiction appears from the regrets expressed, especially in the smaller States, after the setting in of its decay. In one of the odes it is said, "The way to Chow should be level and easy." It used, according to the malcontents, "to be straight as an arrow, trodden by officers coming willingly to court."[1] Oppressed citizens of Kwei or Tsa'ou regret the good old times "when the States had their sovereign" to defend the weak and receive their appeals; and for centuries after there had ceased to be any real hope of a deliverer from the West, they would gaze with sad longings upon the road to Chow, and "sigh as they wake in the night to think of its capital city."

The orthodox way of maintaining the unity of the empire, notwithstanding its unwieldy growth, was for the subordinate princes to present themselves regularly at court, and for the kings to make periodical progresses throughout the States and receive appeals against evil-doers, to remove usurpers and oppressors, and encourage each court to reproduce in miniature the harmonising influence of the One Man. While this was the case all went well; but, on the other hand, "when government is not correct, the ruler's seat is insecure. When the ruler's seat is insecure, the great ministers revolt, and smaller ones begin pilfering. Punishments are made severe and manners deteriorate."

In the [illegible] this process of deterioration had begun, but the traditions of Wan and Wu were still strong enough to enable virtuous ministers to [illegible] king without being either suspected or guilty of disloyalty to [illegible]. King Li was dethroned or compelled to fly [illegible] and till his death, in 827, the Government was carried on by a sort of protectorate of virtuous ministers, who reconciled their duty to both king and people by holding the Government in trust for the king's son, till his [illegible]. [illegible] the king was deposed by a popular rising, he had not only been admonished in various odes, but also warned against suppressing the [illegible] could be repressed by silencing its expression. "It [illegible] who held the reins during the subsequent [illegible] knows how to govern when poets

[illegible]

are free to make verses, and the populace to act plays, historians to tell the truth, ministers to give advice, the poor to grumble in paying their taxes, the students to learn their lessons aloud, the workmen to praise their skill and seek for work, the people to speak of all it hears, and the old men to find fault with everything. Then things go on without much difficulty: the tongues of the people are like the rivers and mountains from whence the riches and necessaries of life are drawn."[1] Is there any other text of the same antiquity as essentially modern in tone?

Later political odes take the form of laments or denunciations:—

> "Alas for the men of this time!
> Why are they such cobras and efts?"

The wheels of the chariot of State drive heavily, but no one looks after the coachman nor helps the wheels out of a rut. In a word,

> "The majestic honoured capital of Chow
> Is being destroyed by Sze of Paou,"

the favourite concubine of the king. Another poem belonging to the reign of King Yew (780–770) denounces "women and eunuchs" as the twin sources of court disorder. "A wise man builds up the wall, but a wise woman overthrows it; she is at best an owl, a stepping-stone to disorder. Men had their lands and fields in times past, but these are now seized by the unworthy favourites. For a woman to leave her silkworms and weaving to meddle with public affairs is as unseemly as for a statesman to seek for the 300 per cent. profit of trade." The same author in the next ode speaks of the people as abandoning their homes on account of famine: "In the settled regions and on the borders all is desolation," and the kingdom, instead of increasing its boundaries as heretofore, is diminishing daily.[2]

Among the provincial poems, two of the odes of Wei apostrophize the swarms of corrupt or oppressive officials in terms that would admit of tolerably world-wide application. The woodman's axe rings upon the trees, he hews the wood for wheels and spokes, by the banks of the rippling stream: but as for these ministers—you sow not nor reap:—

> "How do you get the produce of these 300 farms?
> You sow not nor reap
> How do you get your three million of sheaves?
> How do you get the paddy for your 300 round kinns?
> You do not follow the chase
> How do we see the badgers, the three-year-olds and the quails
> Hanging up in your court yards?"[3]

Another poem has the significant refrain, "Large rats, large rats, do not eat our millet, our wheat!"[4]

The abuses complained of in the middle State spread to the feudatories, though from time to time ambitious princes sought popularity by displaying an ostentatious regard for the welfare of the multitudes. Such [illegible]

[1] De Mailla, ii. p. 25.
[2] *C.C.*, iv. ii. p. 564.
[3] [illegible] 17 [illegible]
[4] iv. p. 5[illegible]4.

was shown in these latter days towards the ruling dynasty was inspired by the mutual jealousy of the States ambitious to succeed it, and was as fitful and exacting as the loyalty of the great Scotch nobles towards the Stuart kings. And just as in Scotland, when the monarchy was weakest, the nobles multiplied leagues and bonds or covenants, to secure whatever end was at the moment desired by the strongest subjects, so in China the intercourse between the States contemplated by the constitutional law of the empire tended to be superseded by leagues and alliances for special purposes.

Such covenants were often of the same order as the agreement of 1772 for the partition of Poland, and thus the gradual absorption of the minor States went on till only three or four of the most powerful retained enough independence to resist the conquering armies of Tsin.[1] The consequences to the mass of the population can be inferred from the fact that Mencius gives the second rank among unpardonable offenders to "those who unite the princes in leagues," midway between those who are guilty of skill in war, and those who enclose grass commons and make the cultivators pay taxes for them as for arable land. For several centuries the consolidation of new States and the breaking up of old ones went on together. The princes who had no allied houses of feudal nobles were regarded as weak, brotherless and unfriended,[2] but where such houses were numerous or powerful, they ended by overshadowing their chief, as the States had overshadowed Chow, and the most masterful of the feudatories became independent, and in their turn leaders of a new confederacy.[3]

The border States had the advantage of being able to strengthen themselves by incorporating friendly tribes, instead of merely redistributing old [illegible] adherents. The large, and at one time formidable State of Tsoo included many more than half-barbarous tribes,[4] who are probably [illegible] for the human sacrifices sometimes offered in that State. And the Chinese commentators themselves give the same explanation [illegible] 170 persons were buried [illegible] Tsin, three of them being officers of distinguished [illegible] protest and lamentation was [illegible] was followed in the State of Sung [illegible]

for a century or two there seemed to be some danger of such sacrifices becoming usual; but reason and humanity prevailed, assisted, perhaps, by the fact that the closeness of the fraternal relation in China made it an open question whether the deceased should be accompanied to his tomb by wives or brothers; while any relation who desired to honour the deceased in such a way, was liable to be invited to lead the way in person.

The forms in which the ambition of the encroaching States displayed itself are characteristically Chinese. One symptom was to express curiosity about the nine vases of Yu, the possession of which was associated with that of the imperial sceptre; another was to offer a sacrifice to heaven and earth, or to the progenitors of the royal house, as to the sacrificer's own ancestors. In the Tso Chuen, on the other hand, the loyalty of virtuous ministers frequently shows itself by their refusal to accept excessive honours offered on their arrival in other States. If odes proper to the reception of the princes by the emperor are sung in their honour, they take no notice, though they bow and respond politely when pieces of less lofty import succeed. They "do not presume to seem as if they heard" what it is contrary to propriety for them to acknowledge.

As in Scotland, the tradition of the royal supremacy retained just so much vitality that the rebels were always anxious to obtain its nominal support. One of the odes refers to the request of a usurper to be lawfully invested with the fief which he intends to retain whether or no; and in the case already referred to, when the Imperial sacrifice to heaven and earth is presumptuously offered by a prince of T'sin, his excuse is that a part of the ancient patrimony of the imperial house has just been conceded to him, including the spot where the rite used to be performed. After this, the Prince of Loo applied for permission to offer a similar sacrifice, and, by way of compromise, an imperial officer was sent from the court of Chow to do it for him, whom he detained, in order to be able to repeat the ceremony at discretion. In 720 B.C., and again in 615, an envoy was sent from Chow to Loo asking for contributions to the king's burial, which is equivalent to a demand for tribute.

It is curious to note how, in this state of general anarchy, a few rough principles of feudal law struggled to the front, which are the more interesting to us because of their dim resemblance to the expedients spontaneously adopted in mediæval Europe. They were not inspired either by the ancient classics or their modern admirers, but were the natural outcome of the new state of things which required and developed an etiquette of its own. Thus, if an army passed through neutral territory, usage required that the prince (presumably an inferior) should man the walls of his capital and send an embassy to ask wherein he had offended, otherwise he was liable to be treated as an enemy. Chinese etiquette and knightly generosity were sometimes curiously mixed, as in the story of the small State of Yen, which had been attacked by Tatars and effectively helped by Tse; upon which the Prince of Yen accompanies his departing ally beyond his own frontier, a compliment properly due to the emperor alone. Tse there-

upon makes the prince a present of the lands he has committed the incorrectness of crossing, so as to put them both "in order."

It is unchivalrous to inflict a second wound, to take prisoner a man with grey hairs, to fall upon the enemy in a defile, or to sound drums to attack an unformed host. The Tso Chuen is full of stories of Chinese chivalry and very Chinese magnanimity. Famous warriors are slain because they cannot resist the appeal of an enemy to let him shoot first, and a rather pretty bit of courteous bravado is described, in which two heroes, who are being hotly pursued, shoot, not at their enemies, but at a passing deer, stop courteously to offer the game to their pursuers, and then set off again, repeating the process till the chase is abandoned. The mediæval counterparts of these heroes would, however, hardly understand the view of good manners, which requires self-depreciation to be carried so far that the warrior must always pretend politely to be the greatest coward present, like the general praised by Confucius for saying, after he had brought up the rear of a retreating force, "It is not that I dare to be last; my horse would not advance."[1]

The men of letters, of whom Confucius is the best known, and Mencius the ablest representative, could scarcely be expected to exercise much influence during these ages of turbulence. The mental activity of the class was nourished from three sources: the doctrines of the ancient worthies, whose ideal of a paternal democracy was preserved in the Shoo and the earliest odes; the satirical protests of virtuous ministers out of work, embodied in the later odes; and lastly, the mental restlessness of their own time, when political instability and social disorders had stimulated a new, if somewhat niggling, intellectual activity, corresponding in circumstance to that of the mediæval Scholasticism, and approximating in its character to that of the Greek Sophists.

[illegible]

[illegible] avoid disgrace.

[illegible]

governed State to seize the empire, but they did not see that first States and then the Empire were to be had for the winning by military adventurers without their help; and that therefore, any adventurer, who would restore enough of the good old usages to enlist the sympathy of the masses, would have a chance of conquering power for himself and his advisers without being orthodoxly "employed" at all.

Confucius, notwithstanding his pedantic enthusiasm for "ceremonies," was not wanting in practical ability, and tradition represents him as restoring the golden age of Yao and Shun in any town or government that was entrusted to his care. But he could not adapt his doctrine to the changed political conditions of the time, and his employers practically found themselves without compensation for the sacrifices entailed by his scruples. The Prince of Tse, pleased with some of his remarks, wished to give him certain estates, and was dissuaded by his prime minister, upon grounds not in themselves unreasonable. These scholars, it was objected, are impracticable, arrogant, lavish in expenditure upon useless ceremonies, full of frivolous "rules of propriety," to which statesmen have no time to attend. "It would take generations to exhaust all that this Mr. Chung knows about the ceremonies of going up and going down."[1] Moreover, as the customs he wished to restore had fallen into disuse, to enforce them would be an innovation tending to unsettle people's minds and cause discontent.

It speaks volumes for the faithfulness of the Chinese records that we can really gather from them an intelligible summary of the curious intellectual movement which gives its significance to this question about the employment of sages, and the subsequent Burning of the Books. On the one hand the champions of antiquity represented the principles of law and order; but the laws and the order belonged to a bygone state of things, and their restoration would imply the destruction of the present. But the state of things present in China from the 5th to the 3rd century B.C. was not wanting in vitality any more than those days of feudalism from which the kingdoms of Europe date their origin. If the power of Chow had wasted, that of the various "presiding States" had increased, and in those States where the titular prince was as feeble in proportion as the emperor, the minor nobles were as ready to take the role of local *maire de palais* as the various kings to usurp imperial prerogatives. It was the age of soldiers and sophists and the event justified the forecasts of those statesmen who felt that the impending re-organization of the empire must be effected by force of arms, and that the orthodox school of literati were more likely to hinder than help during the process. Neither they nor the philosophers foresaw that the ultimate victory would rest with the latter, and that the princes who reunited the empire would end by re-conquering 2,000 years of more than imperial power for the pedantic Mr. Chung.

Several centuries had to pass before the beginning of this "revenge," and

[1] C.C., vol. i. Prolegomena, p. 66.

the Taoist writers of the interval hardly exaggerate the ill-success which up to this time attended on his teaching. One of them preserves an anecdote which we should be glad to think authentic. A disciple once asked Confucius why he was sad, notwithstanding his own doctrine that one who was contented with his lot, and prepared for the appointment of fate, had no occasion to feel sorrowful. To which the sage replied that he grieved, not for himself, but at beholding in his own State the neglect of all the obligations of loyalty and charity which he had sought to teach for the benefit of posterity. If, therefore, truth cannot prevail in one State for a single lifetime, how, he asked himself, can it prevail throughout the world for all the generations to come? And at this thought he felt the sadness of despair.

In a stock passage, repeated with variations in the works ascribed to Chuang-tze, his sufferings and persecutions are enumerated: he was twice expelled from Loo; his tree (*i.e.* that under which he used to teach) was cut down in Sung. Wei renounced him; he was a failure in Shang and Chow, and he passed seven days without food, surrounded by his enemies, in Chen and Tsai.[1] The same author represents him as saying to Lao-tze, "I arranged the six Canons—of Poetry, History, Rites, Music, Changes, and Spring and Autumn. I spent much time over them, and I am well acquainted with their purport. I used them in admonishing seventy-two rulers, by discourses on the wisdom of ancient sovereigns, and illustrations from the lives of Chou and Shao. Yet not one ruler has in any way adopted my suggestions. Alas! that man should be so difficult to persuade, and wisdom so difficult to illustrate."[2]

These confessions of failure are put into his mouth by avowed critics: but their criticisms rest, partly at least, upon the fact that Confucius aimed at regulating the States by his doctrines, and producing definite, practical results, and that he had failed in his aim. The Taoists criticised his aim, but their evidence is good for the fact, that throughout the latter years of the Chow Dynasty "no ruler in any way adopted his suggestions." His [illegible] became familiar to all the scholars of the empire, and exercised a [illegible] ting effect alike upon opponents and disciples. But it was not till [illegible] Chow that the [illegible] which now separates him from [illegible] writers of China [illegible] recognised; while it was [illegible] Dynasty that Mencius [illegible] was promoted to a place upon [illegible] alone.

[illegible]

## CHAPTER VIII.

### *THE PHILOSOPHERS OF THE HUNDRED SCHOOLS.*

"THERE are 20,000 Ralph Waldo Emersons in China," said Mr. Burlingame, the United States Consul, to Mr. Motley, the historian, who records with mild surprise, the "great admiration of the pigtails" expressed by all who have become intimately acquainted with them in their own land.[1] If we had to describe what is at once best and most characteristic in Chinese thought in terms of Western literature, we might say that the Chinese philosopher was a compound of Goethe, Emerson, and Madame de Genlis. He has something of the calm, cool, rational humanity of the author of Faust, and a great deal of the same faith, in the efficacy of social, literary, and dramatic discipline, as a moral force, displayed by the author of *Wilhelm Meister*. For the rest, his affinities with Goethe are included in his affinities with Emerson, whose obligations to the great German are not so easily defined. Like Emerson, the Chinese sage has broad, vague sympathies and intuitions of a righteous kind, and a strong, though hazy, apprehension of the analogies and sequences in the world of nature and man. Like Goethe, he has the courage of his discernment, and asserts the moral and political importance of social minutiæ; but he dwells on them with an affectionate diffuseness which suggests the court or the schoolroom rather than the study. Confucius himself is credited with the observation that the failing which may arise in connection with the practice of rites and ceremonies is "fussiness,"[2] while the corresponding virtue is a modest, courteous, and respectful gravity. But there is nothing in the standard classic texts to oblige the intelligent Chinese to exaggerate the importance of forms. Confucius is quoted for the sentiment: Exceeding reverence with deficient rites is better than an excess of rites with but little reverence;[3] and enlightened conservatism can hardly go beyond a saying in one of the most esteemed books of the Li Ki: "Rules of ceremony are the embodied expression of what is right. If an observance stand the test of being judged by what is right, although it may not have been among the usages of the ancient kings, it may be adopted on the ground of its being right."[4] A

[1] *Correspondence of John Lothrop Motley*, 1889, vol. ii. p. 211. "It is strange what stories they all bring back from the Celestials,—Richard Dana, Burlingame, Sir F. Bruce. We have everything to learn from them in the way of courtesy. They are an honest people than Europeans. Bayard Taylor's stories about their vices do them great injustice. They are from hasty impressions got in seaport towns."

[2] *S.B.*, xxviii. p. 254. [3] *Ib.*, xxvii. p. 141. [4] *Ib.*, xxvii. p. 390.

sentence or two further on this is explained: "Humanity is the root of right, and the embodying of deferential consideration."

The effect of such consideration in mitigating the defects to which different classes are chiefly prone is acutely recognised. Propriety is the application of humanity to all the circumstances of life. "When the rich and noble know to love propriety, they do not become proud or dissolute. When the poor and mean know to love propriety, their minds do not become cowardly."[1] The small man, when poor, may be tempted to steal, and when rich, may proceed to deeds of disorder; the rules of propriety serve as dykes to keep these opposite tendencies within bounds.

Confucius was, perhaps, the most acute of Chinese psychologists; but his popularity is a sign that his talent in this direction was appreciated.

Western moralists perplex themselves to find one formula for all right doing, though it is known that the motives and propensities of individuals vary. Confucius recognises three virtues—wisdom, magnanimity, and fortitude; but observes that "Some are born with the knowledge of these (duties), some know them by study, and some as the result of painful experience. Some practise them with the ease of nature, some for the sake of their advantage, and some by dint of strong effort;" but if the knowledge and exercise of virtue are attained at last, "it comes to one and the same thing"[2] to society as a whole, which enjoys the fruit of all objective good behaviour.

Mencius occupies a place midway between Confucius and the various phases of heterodox mysticism.

But there is nothing in the Analects to be compared to the fine, disinterested and generous morality of a few passages in the later writer. Mencius protests again and again against being consulted by princes as to what will "profit" their kingdoms. He is willing to speak of benevolence and righteousness, but not of profit; for if that inducement is once recognised, "ministers will serve their sovereigns for the profit of which they [illegible] the thought; sons will serve their fathers, and younger brothers will serve their elder brothers, from the same consideration; and the issue will [illegible] benevolence and righteousness, sovereign and minister, [illegible] younger brother and elder, will carry on all their intercourse with the thought of profit cherished in their hearts. But never [illegible] without [illegible] being the result of it."[3]

[illegible]

[illegible]

take the bear's paws. So I like life, and I also like righteousness. If I cannot keep the two together, I will let life go and choose righteousness. I like life indeed, but there is that which I like more than life, and therefore I will not seek to possess it by any improper ways. I dislike death indeed, but there is that which I dislike more than death, and therefore there are occasions when I will not avoid danger. If, among the things which man likes, there were nothing which he liked more than life, why should he not use every means by which he could preserve it? If, among the things which man dislikes, there were nothing that he disliked more than death, why should he not do everything by which he could avoid danger? There are cases when by a certain course men might preserve life and they do not follow it; when by certain things they might avoid danger and they will not do them. Therefore men have that which they like more than life, and that which they dislike more than death. They are not men of distinguished talents and virtue only, who have this mental nature. All men have it; what belongs to such men simply is that they do not lose it."[1] And he goes on to contrast the proper pride of a starving beggar, who will not accept food that is offered to him with contumely, with the unreasonableness of one not in urgent want who will accept large gifts stained with impropriety and wrong.

The age of the Sophists in China may be said to extend from the 7th century, when Lao-tze, the founder of Taoism—or the Doctrine of the Way—was born, to the fall of Chow, or more accurately the rise of T'sin in the middle of the 3rd century B.C.

Confucius was born 551 B.C.,[2] and is said to have once seen Lao-tze, while later writers are fond of inventing conversations between the two, in which the honours of debate are awarded as their own personal sympathies prompt. Mencius was born 371 B.C.[3] Mih Teih, the founder of one of the rival schools, flourished between the two, and Yang Choo, another leader, was nearly or quite contemporary with Mencius. Chuang-tze, the Chinese Hegel, flourished about half a century later, but must have reached manhood before Mencius' decease; Hui-tze, the most sophistical of all the philosophers of the period, was contemporary with him. During all this period teachers and disciples occupied themselves with discussions concerning the practice of charity and duty to one's neighbour, the identification of like and unlike, the separation of hardness and whiteness, and about making the not-so so, and the impossible possible; they examined into the distinction of like and unlike, the changes of motion and rest, the canons of giving and receiving, the emotions of love and hate, and the restraints of joy and anger,[4]—till the philosophers themselves grew weary and practical politicians became indifferent and exasperated.

It may be doubted whether any substantial addition has been made since this period to the range of speculative thought in China; the doctrines and in most cases the works of these writers are still familiar to the learned;

[1] *Ibid.* vi. 1. x.
[2] Ibid. 478 B.C.
[3] Ibid. 288 B.C.
[4] *Chuang-tzu*, pp. 214, 218.

and even those which are not officially recognised as books to be "taken up" at the Government examinations, have a more than merely literary interest, because they show how comparatively slight are the widest differences which spontaneously divide the beliefs and opinions of the black-haired people. The teaching of Confucius himself may be summed up as inculcating imperial democracy, filial piety, and the rules of propriety. The conception of the duty of rulers and the duty of sons met with in his written sayings did not originate with him, and rites and ceremonies undoubtedly were observed long before his time: but it seems probable that he brought into prominence the idea to which China owes, perhaps, most of her merits and defects,—that, namely, of turning every moral precept into a rule of propriety: so that every point of conduct from least to greatest may be embraced under the same set of regulations, while every virtue for which occasion can be foreseen may be enforced as "proper," and vice discountenanced as unfashionable.

Confucius appeals to the reason and self-respect of individuals, while inviting them to reform themselves, or to adhere spontaneously to the rules of propriety; the ruling classes of his day declined to accept the invitation, and to such a flat rejection he had no answer ready. Active resistance or vehement denunciation are courses for which no rules can be given, since they imply the want of mutual respect and consideration upon which the rules of propriety are based. The revolt of disinterested energy against oppression finds no prompting in his works: but Mencius, though not himself a revolutionist, might have inspired revolutionaries, and perhaps (also in Persia centuries later.[1]) Potentially there was more difference between Mencius and the minister he condemned, than between either of them and Mih or Chuang-tze, but Mencius did not point to any practical outlet for the feelings he may have stirred; and public opinion in China, as soon as it felt the need for an official philosophy, pronounced itself unequivocally in favour of the tamer and less militant teaching of Confucius.

Disinterested philosophizing, about the hard and white or which a philosopher of the Chou State devote his pamphlet treatise, the like and the unlike, the infinity of opposites, leads to no practical result, good or evil. The Chinese comment on Hwitze and his followers is: "For what purpose was all this work?" . . . . Alas for his talents. He is [illegible] process. He investigates all creatures [illegible] Tao. He makes a noise to drown [illegible]. He [illegible] Alas! Alas! All that [illegible] Western [illegible] it is strength to stand against [illegible] of a man to [illegible] with [illegible] after [illegible] trial, as of no [illegible] to the [illegible] The chief object of the typical sophist is [illegible] overturning all others.[2] But this is "a dark and narrow way:" Confucianists and Taoists agree in desiring a

[1] [illegible] p. 12.

[2] [illegible] p. 454.

doctrine which shall unite and harmonise instead of provoking controversy, and they agree also in desiring to embrace ethics and physics alike in their theory of the universe.

Yang and Mih, the founders of two opposite schools, which Mencius regarded it as his mission to confute, had a narrower ambition, and their leading principles applied only to human conduct. Yang's doctrine, as stated by Mencius, is "Each one for himself,"[1] and the reports of his sayings (none of his writings exist) represent him as a despondent Hedonist and Egoist. According to him the pains of life outweigh its pleasures, and the imagined compensations of posthumous renown are a delusion. Death comes soon or late to all, and the infamous tyrant who is cut short in his sins may have got more enjoyment out of his life than the ruler who has spent his days in hardship, toiling for the service of his people. "The virtuous and the sage die; the ruffian and the fool also die. Alive they were Yao and Shun; dead they are so much rotten bone. Alive they were Këeh and Chow; dead they were so much rotten bone. Who could know any difference between their rotten bones? While alive, therefore, let us hasten to make the best of life; what leisure have we to be thinking of anything after death?"[2]

It is sometimes argued at the present day, in the West, that this doctrine, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die," must prevail both logically and in practice, wherever the human taste for pleasure is not controlled by revealed religion. Confucius himself, as Dr. Legge observes, though not irreligious, is emphatically *un*-religious, and the same remark applies to the mind of the people of whom Confucius is the chosen teacher; yet so far from the crude Epicureanism of Yang Choo having proved dangerously attractive, he alone has found no champions in posterity, and has added nothing to the common stock of Chinese ideas, except so far as the Taoists have borrowed from him some phrases in disparagement of laboured virtue.

The leading doctrine of Mih seems so entirely edifying that the general reader will doubtless share the surprise expressed by Dr. Legge and the Prince of Literature, Han-wen-kung, at the zeal with which he is denounced by Mencius, and the habit, which seems to have been common, of bracketing Yang and Mih together, as the authors of disturbing speculations. Mih's principle, according to Mencius, is: To love all equally, and he objects to this as ignoring and denying the special regard due to a father or a sovereign. But from the summary of his views given by a disciple, it seems more as if it were the universality and reciprocity of such affection than its equality which is meant to be insisted on. Mih does not wish people to love their fathers less, but to love everybody else as well.[3] In this he seems to go somewhat beyond Confucius, who explains "reciprocity," the one word upon which a rule of practice might be based, by

[1] *Works*, iii. ii. ix. § 9, vii. ii. xxxi. § 1.
[2] *Text and Works of Mencius*, by Dr. Legge, 1875, p. 95.
[3] *Works*, iii. ii. ix. § 9.

a negative version of the golden rule, not to do to others what we would not have them do to ourselves. But Confucius avowedly regarded the "loving of relatives" as the chief field for the exercise of the human virtue of benevolence. When questioned concerning the principle of returning kindness for ill-treatment, he said, "With what then will you recompense kindness? Recompense injury with justice,[1] and recompense kindness with kindness."

Mih is said to have rebuked Confucius for standing in awe of great men, and not blaming the officers of the State where he resided; and the criticisms of the existing state of society, in which Mih indulges, to show the consequences arising from the want of universal love, might seem somewhat offensive to the strictest champions of authority, since it is from some points of view disrespectful to suppose that the duties of rulers and subjects to each other are identical. Mih holds, with the orthodox school, that it is the business of the sages to effect the good government of the empire; they must therefore examine into the causes of disorder, and point out, with a view to their removal, whatever is injurious to the kingdom. Under this head he includes, "The mutual attack of State on State; the mutual usurpations of family on family; the mutual robberies of man on man; the want of kindness on the part of the sovereign and of loyalty on the part of the minister; the want of tenderness and filial duty between father and son; these, and such as these, are the things injurious to the empire."[2]

All this would be remedied if mutual love and mutual benefits were universal, as they might become, Mih supposes, if the doctrine were accepted by the superior class, and rewards and punishments enlisted on its behalf. It is difficult, he admits, to get everybody to love everybody [illegible], but they might be induced to try if their rulers insisted on it; and having tried, they would need no further pressure to make them persevere because they would at once feel the advantages of the change. At this point Mih lays himself open to condemnation as one of those who recommend virtue for the sake of profit; and, in fact, his argument on behalf of mutual benefits and love is distinctly utilitarian; men are to love and benefit other people's parents, in order that other people may be induced to love and benefit their parents.

When we consider the history of Confucianism, it cannot be said that Mih overestimated the power of organized public opinion in producing [illegible] of belief; but he seems to have been at variance with the Confucianists, not merely in wishing to denounce ministers and rival princes more [illegible] than they thought respectful, but apparently also in contemplating an extension of the imperial prerogative, if the sovereign [illegible] adopted his [illegible] system. In an essay on "The estimation to be attached to [illegible]" he is [illegible] of asserting: "What the sovereign

[illegible] 2, 3. [illegible] Ebn. Z. [illegible] 332 ff. The [illegible] Ch. [illegible]

[illegible] 2.

approves, all must approve; what the sovereign condemns, all must condemn;" and that the rule of truth and right must be accepted from him as "Infallible head." He has already illustrated the possibility of inducing men to become universally affectionate by quoting the unreasonable things done and suffered by officers and courtiers to please their ruler: and though we cannot suppose him to mean that universal hate would be right if approved by the prince, it is possible that his teaching really pointed towards political centralization and the establishment of a less conservative and less anarchically democratic doctrine than that of Confucius. The politics of Hobbes and the ethics of Adam Smith are not essentially incompatible. As a utilitarian, he advocated simplicity and economy in funeral rites, while the aim of his adversaries was to restore and amplify every ancient ceremony; and it is possible that his contemporaries had better reasons than we can now discern for regarding his school with mistrust, such as would have been justifiable if its actual tendency was to pave the way for Li-sze and the burner of the books.

The alternative is to believe that there was no really fundamental difference between the two schools, and that their hostility was owing to the jealousy felt by rival dialecticians for every one using a different vocabulary from his own. This opinion seems to have in its favour the high authority of Han-yu, who concludes his reconciliation of the two sets of opinion: "The literati and Mih equally approve of Yao and Shun and equally condemn Këeh and Chow; they equally teach the cultivation of the person and the rectifying of the heart, reaching on to the good government of the kingdom with all its states and families; why should they be so hostile to each other? In my opinion, the discussions which we have are the work of their followers, . . . there is no such contrariety between the real doctrine of the two teachers."[1]

It only remains for us to consider the doctrines of the philosophers who had the audacity *not* to approve of Yao and Shun, and the ingenuity to give profounder reasons for the paradox than those advanced by the cynicism of Yang. Confucianism and the Classics agree in conceiving it to be the business of the individual to rule his passions and regulate his conduct so that his life may be in harmony with the permanent influences of heaven and earth, and they agree in considering that the true wisdom of the ruler of men lies, not in imposing his own will upon them from without, but in enabling them to follow, with the tranquillity of external nature, the satisfaction of their normal impulses and desires. The familiar names of Yao and Shun represent to Chinese imagination the realization of this ideal.

At the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. this version of the teaching of antiquity had become again, thanks to the exertions of Confucius, thoroughly familiar to the generations whose lot was cast in the historic period known as the Warring States. The orthodox opinion was that the Middle Kingdom had degenerated, for the third time, as it had done

[1] Legge's *Mencius*, p. 120.

before, prior to the restoration of the virtues of antiquity under Thang the Successful and the never-to-be-forgotten Wen and Wu.

There may have been some excuse for Confucius, who had, as it were, like Hilkiah, re-discovered the Book of the Law, and might hope to inspire a new restorer of the empire; but when centuries had gone by without this result doing anything but recede in probability, it was not unnatural for men to say, If the doctrine of Yao and Shun presided over the foundation of our State, Yao and Shun must have advised amiss or the Commonwealth would not have reached this hopeless plight. But, while Yang and Mih diverge from the ancient paths in directions which bring them nearer to the erratic individualism of Western Europe, Chuang-tze and the philosophic Taoism, of which he is the ablest exponent, differ only in an classic orthodoxy in going yet a degree or two beyond the point at which this orthodoxy appears to us most characteristically and exclusively Chinese.

Chuang-tze represents the orthodoxy of his time as regarding the "discussion of holiness and wisdom and the practice of charity and duty to one's neighbour, as the utmost points attainable."[1] The adherents of Taoism, on the other hand, make it their aim "not to interfere with the natural goodness of the heart of man." "The people have certain natural instincts; to weave and clothe themselves, to till and feed themselves. These are common to all humanity and all are agreed therein. Such instincts are called 'Heavenesent.' And so in the days when natural instincts prevailed, men moved quietly and gazed steadily. At that time, there were no roads over mountains, nor boats, nor bridges over water. All things were produced, each for its own proper sphere. Birds and beasts multiplied; trees and shrubs grew up. The former might be led by the halter; you could climb up and peep into the raven's nest. For then men dwelt with birds and beasts, and all creation was one. There were no distinctions of [illegible] men. Being all equally without knowledge, their virtue could not be lost. Being all equally without desires, they were in a state of natural integrity, the perfection of [illegible]. But when sages appeared, tripping people over charity and [illegible] with duty to one's neighbour, doubt found its way into the world. And then with their pleasing over music and fussing over ceremonies, the empire became divided within itself."[2] And [illegible] "charity and duty to one's neighbour are [illegible] instincts; yet they may be [illegible] yet will hear reproach. The practice of [illegible] charity, [illegible] duty to their [illegible]."

[illegible] Hence [illegible] is represented as the first [illegible] which [illegible] the [illegible]. Hereditary [illegible] charity and duty to one's

[illegible] [1] [illegible] p. 18.
[illegible] [2] [illegible]

neighbour to interfere with the natural goodness of the heart of man. Thus these deluded princes "wore the hair off their legs in endeavouring to feed the people, and exhausted their energies in framing laws and statutes. Still they did not succeed."[1] They made it customary "to honour the virtuous, advance the able, give precedence to the good and useful." But with what result? "If the virtuous are honoured, emulation will ensue. If knowledge be fostered, the result will be theft."[2] "It was the appearance of sages which caused the appearance of great robbers."[3] "There has been such a thing as letting mankind alone; there has never been such a thing as governing mankind,"[4] and the abortive attempts that have been made towards doing it by way of rewards and punishments, have only deprived them of all leisure "for adapting themselves to the natural conditions of their existence." "Only bald men use wigs; only sick people want doctors;" and if the State is in a healthy condition, it will only want to be let alone.[5]

This thesis is insisted upon in a variety of forms, with copious illustrations; the wisdom of statesmen is likened to the bootless ingenuity of those who secure their valuables in corded trunks, with locks and bolts as a precaution against thieves, but are at the mercy of the sturdy villain who carries off box and bolts together. But the argument is evidently exaggerated in protest against such teaching as that of a later philosopher, Seun-king, who, unlike Mencius, insisted that the nature of man is evil, and "self-denial and yielding to others are not to be found in it,"[6] and that it can only be converted to propriety and righteousness by the influence of teachers and laws.

Notwithstanding the quaintness of the style, and the looseness of the reasoning, it is evident that the ideas which Chuang-tze represents are those of a rather aged society. It is always a sophisticated age that believes in the prehistoric bliss of a state of nature; the last word of philosophy is generally a doubt as to the possibility or the value of philosophic certainty: religions begin by inculcating moral duties, and end by denouncing the worthlessness of mere morality, and the spirit of antinomian quietism flourishes when the law and morality of a period have visibly broken down. In the age of the Warring States, robbers of every degree abounded, princes, ministers and heads of clans robbed one another, and private adventurers who adopted the same career in some cases obtained a renown co-extensive with the empire. At the self-same time, philosophers and philosophic schools were multiplied, and sages sprang up everywhere, and the people crowded after them excitedly. If the sages did not produce the robbers, the robbers must have produced the sages, unless both alike were the fruit of a general disregard of Tao.

Lao-tze teaches that perfection does not consist in charity and duty to one's neighbour, but in yielding to the natural conditions of things. "Therefore the truly great man, although he does not injure others, does

[1] [illegible] p. 12[illegible]. [2] [illegible] p. 2[illegible]. [3] [illegible] p. 113. [4] [illegible] p. 11[illegible].
[5] [illegible] p. 1[illegible]. [6] [illegible] p. 77. [illegible] 271 [illegible]

not credit himself with charity and mercy."[1] He does not seek wealth, nor yet praise for disregarding it: perfect wisdom and virtue are spontaneous, easy, and unmeritorious: their crowning fruit is inaction and indifference, the former so far as the man himself, and the latter so far as his relation to external objects is concerned. Vice is not represented as good, or virtue as evil; but laborious virtue is proved to be a mistake, because the virtue of sages and sovereigns has not availed to keep the world at peace. It is not a virtue, according to Chinese philosophers, to labour in vain, and the Taoists, having satisfied themselves that action modelled upon the examples of Yao and Shun was socially unfruitful, proceeded to include abstention from such vain efforts in their ideal of personal morality. Men have the same duty to the State as to their own body, and the weariness which comes of much serving is an offence against the latter. "Let there be absolute repose, and absolute purity; do not weary your body, nor disturb your vitality, and you will live for ever. . . . Cherish and preserve your own person, and all the rest will prosper of itself."[2]

The original idea of philosophic Taoism was no doubt that to apprehend all truth it was necessary to cultivate a state of intellectual passivity, in which the superficial distinctions between Being and not being disappear. But the disappearance of these distinctions has a further result: for if Not-being is the same as Being, why should not inaction produce the same results as action, or rather, since inaction is the higher and purer state, results much greater and more valuable? The Classics themselves recognise the idea of immaterial influences radiating from the person of the virtuous sovereign, and the occult action attributed to the possessors of Tao is scarcely more mysterious than that; but while the Confucianists practically contemplate only an imitative or contagious virtue, among those exposed to the humanising and instructive influence of a Yao or Shun, the Taoists, having lost sight of the limitations of ordinary experience, so [illegible] way the inactive master of the Way should not remove in an[illegible] and live for ever, as well as ramble at pleasure in transcendental [illegible].

[illegible] does not indulge in much more magical [illegible] [illegible] and his main idea is only a degree more radical than that of [illegible]. He looks upon life and death as immaterial, because [illegible] [illegible] of matter, and neither affect the eternal essences of [illegible]. [illegible] comes in for some of the [illegible] which [illegible] social gratitude for any benefit [illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible] nature. A man must [illegible] [illegible] there is nothing terrible in the [illegible] [illegible] over the [illegible] of the world [illegible]. "For those who accept this phenomenon [illegible] lamentation and sorrow have no place. [illegible] of minds; and the desire "to prolong life, and [illegible]

[1] [illegible], p. 127.

to do away with one's end," incurs the condemnation due to one who misunderstands his destiny.[1]

The later Taoists, who practise legerdemain and seek for elixirs of immortality, grossly misunderstood the doctrine of their masters;[2] but abstract philosophy is not the *forte* of the Chinese, and it is easy to see how the doctrine, that mind is superior to all the restraints imposed by phenomenal existence, and that the preservation of the body is at once a duty imposed by nature and proof of conformity therewith,—should lend itself to the corrupt reading which has enjoyed a vogue equal in duration if not in extent to that of the established orthodoxy.

Philosophic Taoism is cultivated now mainly by the literati who do not take office, or by officials who have retired; and as the only criticism of any weight which can be directed against orthodox Confucianism proceeds from this quarter, it is notable that the critics plead always for less, not different government, and undervalue the charms of office instead of competing for it. The opinion of the school on this subject was epigrammatically expressed by Chuang-tze, when the prince of Ch'u sent two high officials to invite him to undertake the administration of the State. He was fishing when they reached him, and, without turning his head, said to the envoys: "I have heard that in Ch'u there is a sacred tortoise which has been dead now some 3,000 years, and that the prince keeps this tortoise carefully enclosed in a chest on the altar of his ancestral temple. Now would this tortoise rather be dead and have its remains venerated, or be alive and wagging its tail in the mud?" "It would rather be alive," replied the two officials, "and wagging its tail in the mud." "Begone," cried Chuang-tze: "I too will wag my tail in the mud."[3]

On the whole, the criticism, assigned to Confucius by this author himself, can hardly be improved upon. "These men," he said, "travel beyond the rule of life. I travel within it; consequently our paths do not meet."[4] China has two ideal characters—the sage or scholar in office, who "turns night into day in his endeavours to compass the best ends," and the sage or scholar in retirement. Confucius wishes the sage to be employed, though admitting that it may be his duty to retire if debarred from executing his virtuous intentions. The Taoists, on the other hand, see in this daily and nightly toil itself a divergence from the true way, and regard the retired scholar as having chosen the better part.

Buddhism as a religious philosophy, appealed to the same class of minds as Taoism, and its greater vogue in China since its introduction is only owing to the fact that it provides for the "retirement" of persons who are neither scholars nor sages. Buddhism, like Confucianism, has something

[illegible] *China* [illegible] J. H. [illegible] 1887, [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] "He [illegible] "[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] "They [illegible]

[3] *Chuang-tze*, p. 217. [4] *Ib.*, p. 84.

for all classes, but it provides no formula for practical every-day life: and as the Chinese, like their national teacher, are practical and positive rather than devout, all their serious interests are regulated by Confucius, and only the idle after-beliefs, superstition pure and simple is left for Buddha.

The two social ideals of Chinese thinkers are anarchy with the ills of nature tempered to the masses by imperial benevolence, and anarchy with the ills of nature tempered to the wise by philosophic quietism. And the course of Chinese history for more than 2,000 years has been so much influenced, positively and negatively, by this fact, that it can hardly be passed over in the most summary account of the nation.

# CHAPTER IX.

## *THE USURPATION OF T'SIN AND THE BURNING OF THE BOOKS.*

THE fall of the Empire, as distinct from that of the State of Chow, practically dates from the fall of Tsao and Wu (two of the States founded some six centuries and a half before by King Wu) in 485, an event which immediately preceded the régime of the Warring States. This period (480–221 B.C.) begins just two years before the death of Confucius, and the coexistence of political and philosophic discord which characterized it was a matter of general observation. The official history of the first Han Dynasty observes: "Amid the disorder and collision of the Warring States, truth and falsehood were still more in a state of warfare, and a sad confusion marked the words of the various scholars." [1]

The great agent in the revolution which threatened to destroy the influence of the literary class and the whole classic literature, was the State of T'sin, which included virtually all the settled part of China west of the State of Chow, and the eastern reach of the Yellow River in its great bend, while the borders of Chow itself were narrowed by grants made to T'sin of the oldest possessions of the ruling house. This cession encouraged the prince to commit the tentative usurpation of offering a sacrifice to Heaven with imperial ceremonies and establishing a bureau of state historians. But it was not till the first half of the 4th century B.C. that T'sin became a formidable candidate for the reversion of the empire. From the 8th century onward the north and western States had been disturbed at intervals by incursions of the Tatars. The troops of T'sin, in consequence of their position on the frontier, thus became practised in war, and the State came to be regarded by all the neighbouring princes as the most desirable of allies and the most dangerous of foes.

The reign of Heaou (360–336 B.C.), whose son and successor took the title of king, was memorable for other innovations, which ended by introducing private ownership of land and abolishing the Chow system of common fields. Apparently the revenue of T'sin was [illegible] sufficient as the power and ambition of its rulers grew. The State [illegible] large, but less populous than its neighbours, and wide tracts of land [illegible] remained uncultivated between the village enclosures. Chang [illegible], the duke's minister and adviser, whose name deserves to be recorded, since China owes to him her first experience of an agrarian difficulty, was an able and original but unscrupulous statesman; and he conceived the [illegible]

[1] Legge's *Classics* (6th Ed.), vol. i. p. 3.

increasing the fighting population of the State, by abolishing the Chow system of grouping the village households for purposes of cultivation and taxation, while retaining the corresponding arrangement for military levies.[1]

Separate ways were made between the homesteads, and each plot was taxed separately. According to some authorities the taxes were raised so as to amount to one-third of the whole produce, but the change seems to have been more radical than a mere increase of taxation, and it is probable that the innovation really consisted in the substitution of a fixed and uniform contribution for a proportion of the varying annual crop. Such a change has always been found profitable by financiers and burdensome by the agricultural masses, and it is certain that the measures taken were unpopular, and gave rise to disturbances which called for severe repression.

As an attraction to settlers from other States, land was ceded for the first time in absolute ownership; vacant lands were sold in freehold, and both these classes were freely saleable, which the village allotments never had been. With increase of population, of course inequality and distress began; war impoverished some and enriched others, and after a time we find a Chinese author lamenting: "The owner of the land is one, but those who cultivate it are ten."[2] Another complaint to the same effect was that T'sin "neglected the fields and taxed men,"[3] the taxes on persons being largely increased, while the State ceased to provide all its subjects with lands out of which they could both live and pay the ordinary land tax. The holders of large estates brought the poorer cultivators into a state of dependence by paying the personal tax for them, and thus assuming towards them the place of the State and the rights of a political superior: a transaction which has far more to do with the origin of rent than the competition of cultivators for land of a superior quality, but which in China has always been discouraged instead of favoured by the laws.[4]

In De Mailla's account of the innovations of Kong-sun-yang, as he calls him, he is said to have grouped the families by fives and tens for the

[1] [illegible] *[illegible] territorial in Chin* [illegible] 255 [illegible] This article [illegible] M. Stan[illegible]

[illegible]

maintenance of order by mutual responsibility; idleness was punished, and skilled artisans were exempted from the great corvées. The tutor of the heir apparent was put to death when the latter joined the party of malcontents. The separation of families was forbidden during the father's lifetime, and scattered families were brought together and settled in townships, so that, according to this version, the tendency of his measures was to restore rather than to abrogate the system of Chow. It was said at this time that while T'sin possessed a fifth of the territory of the empire, it only possessed a tenth part of the troops, and the prince was accordingly urged by his admirers to encourage the growth of population, and to avoid the dangerous hostility of neighbouring States by extending his possessions only towards the west at the expense of the barbarians.

De Mailla's original is so late that his authority cannot over-ride that of any earlier texts, and, in fact, the policy here attributed to Chang-Yang bears a suspicious resemblance to that of a less notorious worthy. The Tso Chuen records a successful attempt made in the 6th century B.C., in the small State of Ching, to restore the system of common fields, and, though at first the people murmured at having "to count their fields and villages by fives, and accept a mutual responsibility," within three years the burden of the popular songs was changed, and they hailed the innovating minister as their own and their children's benefactor.[1] This appears to have been the last of the thoroughly popular restorations of the Tsing system, though it is difficult to tell how far the unpopularity of Wang Mang[2] was due to his attack on private property, and how far to his other measures. But from the days of the T'sin innovations onwards it seems to have been usual for those politicians who aimed at the aggrandisement of the central authority to disguise their encroachments by a professed desire to restore the ancient forms of communistic agriculture.[3] The distrust, which seems to have been generally felt towards such professions, rested, so far as we can judge, upon a correct impression that local self-government was a better protection to the proprietary rights of individuals and communities than any extension of the imperial authority, which was never likely in practice to stop short at enforcing the joint enjoyment and use of village lands.

Early records of primitive custom sometimes omit to mention just those points which are of most importance, and so are treated as too notorious to need description. And this is probably the reason why, as already observed, there is nothing in the Chow Li concerning any redistribution of the village lands at intervals, in the manner recognised by most archaic systems of village ownership.

[1] Legge, *C.C.*, v. pt. ii. p. 557.
[2] *Vide* [illegible] p. 116.
[3] The [illegible] experiment of the kind was made as recently as 1724, when [illegible] Mongols, and fifteen [illegible] "Rites of Chow." It was [illegible] 173[illegible] [illegible] above everything, a [illegible]

According to Ma-twan-lin, under the first three dynasties, all lands belonged to the State, but not to the Emperor, whose authority over the feudal princes was like theirs over the cultivators on their appanages. The T'sin were the first to "make one man master of everything," but when they did away with the ancient redivisions, and abandoned the ownership of land to the people, so as to form a divisible inheritance, they gave what they had no right to give, and took what they had no right to take." In other words, the clan or primitive community was conceived as having a title to the land it occupied, superior to that of the sovereign or any individual tenant of his. But Ma-twan-lin obviously regards the joint ownership, subject to redistribution, of the village lands as the essential feature of the Chow system; and he writes as if this feature had survived, as it easily might, the more conventional nine-square division of the *Tsing*.

With the institution of private property in land, the State ceased on the one hand to consider itself responsible for providing each individual with land enough to live by; and at the same time it ceased to regulate its demands upon the taxpayer by his known circumstances and ability. From the days of Yu the land was divided into nine classes, which were taxed in proportion to their fertility; but T'sin "neglected the fields and taxed men," making the same demands upon all to the ruin of the poorest.

We cannot pretend to trace in detail either the course or the consequences of this economic revolution. It was the first example of an experiment made more than once in the future, an attempt to combine political absolutism with economic individualism, or in other words to subvert at once the two mainstays of social life and morals in China. The heroes of these adventures have never won the final victory, which carries with it the right to tell their own story to posterity; but the judgment due to the unsuccessful revolutionaries is implied in that passed upon the [illegible] they tried to subvert; and those who value what survives [illegible] of Chow will join in the [illegible] condemnation of the Emperor, who, in the year 255 B.C., founded the famous [illegible] of T'sin.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Chinese scholars, whom M. Chavannes follows, to the King of T'sin, reigning 327–294 B.C. Its authenticity is not quite unimpeachable, but the balance of opinion is in its favour. It denounces the king of Chow for his improprieties, cruelty, and impiety, and represents T'sin as only defending itself and its altars against unjustifiable aggressions. A suspicious phrase is, "He came to take possession of my rampart and my new ditch;" but it is possible that a wall against Chow was begun by an ancestor of the emperor, who completed the wall against the outer barbarians.

The second inscription, by Tsin-chi-hwang-ti himself, speaks of his ordering the measures and standards of length and capacity to be made uniform. It is dated the 26th year of his reign, when he had "united all the earth in his hand, so that the lords and the black heads enjoyed great tranquillity."

The third inscription disappeared in the 10th century A.D., but was engraved on stone by a scholar, who had received a cast of it from his teacher. The remaining inscriptions, by the son and successor of the founder of the dynasty, and by his officers in his praise, are preserved by Ssema-tsien. They are diffusely eulogistic, and suggest that the flattering premier, Le Sze, had a hand in their composition. If the black heads had been as virtuous and prosperous as the inscriptions declare, it would hardly have been necessary to tell them so at such length.

The fall of T'sin was caused, in the belief of posterity, by ten follies, among which the erection of the Great Wall was counted. But parts of it had been erected by different States before Hwang-ti's accession, and if he had given no other offence to the prejudices or principles of his subjects, it is not probable that he would have been condemned merely for completing and connecting the defensive works already begun, the need of which, as already observed, had been specially felt in his own State.

The first, though by no means the last, of his unpopular innovations was the extension of the new agrarian system of T'sin to the rest of the empire. It will be remembered that the founders of the Shang and Chow dynasties both came forward, not as destroyers or innovators, but as restorers of the good old usages of the past, which had fallen into neglect in the degenerate hands of the last kings. There was probably no constitutional principle better known to the mass of black-haired politicians than those regulating a change of dynasty. That T'sin should take the empire was one thing, that it should impose its own new laws was another, and [illegible] can be no doubt that every student of Chang and Mang who [illegible] to reverence the divine memory of the Duke of Chow, would be prep[illegible] to [illegible] as soon as any proposal to abolish the common fields, [illegible] lands, with their virtuous ditches, and the [illegible] system of [illegible] tillage. What had provoked [illegible] the interested and scattered population of T'sin [illegible] elsewhere, and while the scholars would [illegible]

of the populace, the nobles and princes would not be on the side of the Crown: for every State had the memory of some injury or affront to redress, to say nothing of the humiliation inflicted on all the princes, who found themselves deprived of their virtual independence by the restoration of a central authority.

Bearing these facts in mind, we shall be able to understand the proceedings of the great council held in the year 212 B.C., as reported by the historian, Ssema-tsien, a century later, and translated by Dr. Legge in the prologomena to the first volume of his invaluable edition of the Chinese Classics. In the eighth year after his recognition as emperor, and the thirty-fourth of his reign as king of T'sin, Chi-hwang-ti gave a feast to the seventy great scholars of the empire, whose official position very likely gave the suggestion of the still famous Hanlin College, founded at the beginning of the Tang Dynasty. The emperor was of course concerned to conciliate these potentates, and Chinese usage warranted him in expecting more or less extravagant compliments from his guests.

The first to speak was one of his chief ministers, who, after giving a glowing picture of the happy tranquillity of the whole empire, concluded: "This condition of things will be transmitted for 10,000 generations. From the highest antiquity there has been no one in awful virtue like your majesty." The emperor was pleased with this flattery, but one of the great scholars, a native of Tse—the latest and most formidable of the rivals of T'sin—advanced and said: "The sovereigns of Yin and Chow, for more than a thousand years, invested their sons and younger brothers, and meritorious ministers, with domains and rule, and could thus depend upon them for support and aid; that I have heard. But now your majesty is in possession of all within the four seas, and your sons and younger brothers are nothing but private individuals. . . . Without the support (of relatives), where will you find the aid which you may require? That a state of things not modelled from the lessons of antiquity can long continue: that is what I have not heard. Tsing (the former speaker) is now showing himself to be a flatterer, who increases the errors of your majesty, and not a loyal minister."

The question here raised was not new. The creation in the 12th [illegible] held by branches of the ruling house. [illegible] the dynasty of Chow was supposed to have [illegible] [illegible] multiple [illegible] In [illegible] the 7th century [illegible] State [illegible] to the Ts[illegible] [illegible] but we are [illegible]

[illegible]

degrees to the sons of his ministers, so as to create an artificial set of branch families. The end of this State, however, did not form an inviting precedent, for after figuring as one of the presiding States and a rival of T'sin, Tsoo, and Tse, about 400 B.C., Tsin had been broken up into three marquisates and lapsed into insignificance. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that politicians, of what we may call the new Imperialist School, suspected the provincial scholars of invoking the authority of the ancients, to weaken the imperial power, by restoring the disorganization and turbulence of the period of feudalism.

The emperor, we are told, invited others of the assembly to express their opinions, upon which the premier, Le Sze, spoke as follows: "The five emperors were not one the double of the other, nor did the three dynasties accept one another's ways. Each had a peculiar system of government, not for the sake of the contrariety, but as being required by the changed times. Now, your Majesty has laid the foundations of imperial sway, so that it will last for 10,000 generations. This is indeed beyond what a stupid scholar can understand. And moreover, Yue only talks of things belonging to the three dynasties which are not fit to be models to you. At other times, when the princes were all striving together, they endeavoured to gather the wandering scholars about them; but now the empire is in a stable condition, and laws and ordinances issue from one. Let those of the people who abide in their homes give their strength to the toils of husbandry, and those who become scholars should study the various laws and prohibitions. Instead of doing this, however, the scholars do not learn what belongs to the present day, but study antiquity. They go on to condemn the present time, leading the masses of the people astray and to disorder.

"At the risk of my life, I, the prime minister, say,—Formerly when the empire was disunited and disturbed there was no one who could give unity to it. The princes therefore stood up together; constant references were made to antiquity to the injury of the present state; baseless statements were dressed up to confound what was real, and men made a boast of their own peculiar learning to condemn what their rulers appointed. And now when your Majesty has consolidated the empire, and distinguishing black from white has constituted it a stable unity, they still honour their peculiar learning and combine together; they teach men what is contrary to your laws. When they hear that an ordinance has been issued, every one sets to discussing it with his learning; in the court they are dissatisfied in heart; out of it they keep talking in the streets. While they [illegible] a pretence of vaunting their master, they consider it fine to have extraordinary views of their own, and so they lead on the people to be guilty of murmuring and evil speaking. If these things are not prohibited, your Majesty's authority will decline and parties will be formed. The best way is to prohibit them. I pray that all the records in charge of the historiographers be burned, excepting those of T'sin; that with [illegible] officers belonging to the Board of Great Scholars, [illegible]

empire who presume to keep copies of the Shi-King, or of the Shoo-King, or of the books of the hundred schools, be required to go with them to the officers in charge of the several districts and burn them; that all who may dare to speak together about the Shi and the Shoo be put to death, and their bodies exposed in the market place; that those who make mention of the past so as to blame the present, be put to death along with their relatives; that officers who shall know of the violation of those rules and not inform against the offenders, be held equally guilty with them; and that whoever shall not have burned their books within thirty days after the issuing of the ordinance, be branded and set to labour on the wall for four years. The only books which should be spared are those on medicine, divination, and husbandry. Whoever wants to learn the laws may go to the magistrates and learn of them." The imperial decision was "Approved."

As the possession of a common writing and a common literature has always been one of the strongest influences at work in maintaining the unity of the Chinese Empire, it is curious that this attack upon letters and the literati should have been made in the interests of centralization. But the same minister who is made responsible for the burning of the books addressed another memorial to the emperor, when it was proposed to banish all natives of other States, in which he urged the importance of employing all the talents of the empire. So that it is probable that the real aim [illegible] was rather to substitute a hierarchy of practical statesmen for the arrogant and unworldly students of antiquity, than to do away with the [illegible] Chinese notion of absolute government, subject to the advice of intelligent ministers.

The condemned books included the [illegible] poetry and sacred literature [illegible] the legends, and the history of antiquity. So far as Confucius can be said to have founded a religion it was the religion of [illegible], and this religion was to be [illegible] by a new Inquisition. Martyrs were not wanting. The persecution cannot have raged [illegible]

[illegible]

favour, to restore the ancient books. "What do I want of your books?" he asked with some scorn. "I have conquered the empire on horseback and made myself your master without any help from Shoo or Shi." To which of course it was replied, that the empire may be conquered from the back of a horse, but that it must be preserved and administered by the help of wisdom and justice, as the disasters of the house of T'sin abundantly showed. The temporary misunderstanding which had led to the scholars appearing as the champions of feudalism was cleared up, and they began again to take the position which they regarded as their due, as advisers and spiritual auxiliaries of the strongest depository of temporal power.

One traditional classification gave as the four sources of disorder "equal queens" (or the concubine put on a level with the first wife), "equal sons" (younger or half-brothers put on a level with the heir), "two governments" (*i.e.* favourites on a level with ministers), and "equal cities,"[1] or provincial towns allowed to rival the capital. The orthodox doctrine was distinctly in favour of a strong central government, and though it was also in favour of a benevolent government, the Han Dynasty soon came to understand that they could afford not to oppress the masses of the people, if they could succeed in abolishing the feudal aristocracy and establish themselves as its only heir. The soldierly emperor paid a solemn visit to the grave of Confucius and rendered imperial honours to his memory (195 B.C.), "which had never been done before;" he employed scholars to prepare official treatises on government, music, tactics, and the like, and his successors not only had the ancient texts restored, edited and commentated by the learned, but also listened favourably to the advice of scholars, who wished to have all doctrines save those of Confucius proscribed, and to have the doors of office closed against all who had not passed through the schools established for the study of orthodox learning.

The T'sin Dynasty was allowed to bear all the odium of the change from a feudal to a centralized government, but the Han emperors surrendered none of the ground gained by their unpopular predecessor. They made no attempt to restore the feudal system, the destruction of which was counted among the ten great follies of the fallen dynasty. On the contrary, they were on their guard against the growth of a new aristocracy of royal kinsfolk, and when the great emperor Wu-ti was warned that many princes of the imperial house held territories of 1,000 li in extent, he issued an edict (128 B.C.), compelling all the feudal nobles to divide half their domains equally amongst their younger sons, leaving only the other half to the eldest, whose portion would be again subdivided in the next generation.

It is more difficult to estimate the effects of another of the ten follies, the erection of the Great Wall of China; but it is remarkable [illegible] once admired contribution to the wonders of the world, [illegible] by native writers as a costly and injurious blunder. [illegible] Richthofen has suggested that the strength of this barrier [illegible] indirectly to the fall of Rome; that the Tatar hordes which [illegible]

[illegible] 71

had been seeking an outlet on the east, finding their path blocked in that direction, turned their faces westward, and gave the first impetus to the fall of that human avalanche, which afterwards swept like a flooded mountain torrent over Europe.[1] There is something fascinating in the hypothesis which establishes an unconscious link between the histories of the greatest empires of the East and West; and there can be little doubt that the military revival of the Chinese empire was one of the causes which contributed to make the line of least resistance to barbarian invasion point Romewards.

But the disapprobation with which serious Chinese politicians always regarded the Great Wall was not based merely on prejudice against its maker, nor entirely upon the useless and oppressive expenditure connected with it; and the safety of the Chinese border province after its erection was not believed to be owing to its protection. The safety of the frontier depended on the existence behind it of a force strong enough to take the offensive against an insolent neighbour, and the early Han emperors used the wall rather as a base for their own campaigns in Central Asia than as a rampart behind which to shelter themselves from attack. The feeling of the historians in regard to frontier defences is like that concerning the varying preferences of successive emperors for the Western or the Eastern court, as the cities of Si-ngan-fu and Loyang (the modern Honan-fu) are respectively called. Loyang means luxury and love of peace in the heart of the kingdom, and probable encroachments from the neglected enemy on the borders. Si-ngan-fu means a strong government, and a ruler prepared in his own person to stand between the peace-loving masses and the presumption of barbarians beyond the pale.

Something of the same idea no doubt underlies the dictum of the Li Ki:[2] "Many ramparts in the country round and near (its capital city), are a disgrace to its high ministers and great officers." With slight variation the experience of Chow repeated itself so often in the revolving centuries that it became an historical commonplace at last that the safety of a province depended on the army, or the general, and not upon the wall. The decay of a dynasty was always at hand, when the emperor sought ease and luxury in the centre or southern provinces, instead of heading campaigns himself beyond the frontier, or giving peace to the frontier provinces by his vicinity.

In general, it may be doubted whether the usurpation of T'sin, and the [illegible] of the Hans, did not together do more to restore the monarchy [illegible] position it occupied under the first kings of Chow than to alter or [illegible] the national constitution. T'sin chi hwang ti certainly aimed [illegible] Empire in fact and name, and the performance of [illegible] which he vainly sought to consolidate [illegible] as meritorious, when effected by the [illegible] The correct form of these ceremonies was not [illegible] to [illegible] owing to their [illegible] normally repeated only after an

[illegible] [2] *S.Z.*, xxvii. 62.

interval of centuries. The account of them by Ssema-tsien no doubt embodies all that was ascertainable by the learning of his age. For the *fong* ceremony the Emperor ascends a high hill towards the east, raises a mound upon it, invokes the gods, and adjures them to favour the Hundred Families. Then he descends; a space is levelled on some adjoining hill, and there he invokes the gods of earth, and this completes the *chan* ceremony, the idea clearly being to worship heaven upon a site naturally and artificially raised, and earth upon one artificially levelled.

Han-wu-ti chose an auspicious time for his celebration; two years before (112 B.C.), he passed by Loyang, and granted thirty *li* of ground and the title of Prince of Chow, to a representative of the Chow Dynasty, to enable him to accomplish the sacrifices to his ancestors;[1] and for a Chinese ruler to deal in this way with his predecessors is always an indication that the "Appointment of Heaven" has declared unequivocally in his favour. After the important ceremony,[2] the emperor bestowed an ox and ten measures of wine on every group of 100 hearths, while orphans, widows, and octogenarians received a piece of silk and cloth. The places through which he had passed were also exempted from corvées, and those in the neighbourhood of the place of sacrifice from all taxes, to make up for the expenses thrown on them by the royal progress. A general amnesty was also proclaimed, and all charges which had been pending for two years or longer were to be dropped.

[1] *Journ. R.A.S. Or. Ser.*, iii. p. 59. [2] *Ib.*, p. 86.

# CHAPTER X.

## *REIGN OF THE HAN DYNASTY.*

(206 B.C.–229 A.D.)

The disorders which had preceded the rise of the Han Dynasty had impoverished all classes, except the speculative traders, whose nets generally secure the largest haul when cast into the troubled waters of a long war. Prosperity was long in returning. The able-bodied men had been taken off to the army, the old and young were employed in carrying food; the rich drove in bullock-carts for chariots, and even the emperor could not afford a team of horses to match. Corn was scarce, and monopolists drove up prices, holding out for a rise till rice was 3*d.* a pound and famine was in sight.

The traders, who alone had prospered during the war, were held answerable by the impoverished people for their sufferings, and the soldier Emperor found it popular as well as convenient to levy additional taxes upon this class in order to keep them down, while they were also forbidden to wear silk, or drive in carriages; and when a few years later, these restrictions were withdrawn, the sons of traders were still disqualified from holding official rank.[1] At the same time money was raised by selling titles of honour and rank to rich persons willing to contribute grain for [illegible] criminals were allowed to commute their penalties for a [illegible]. By this means the burdens of the cultivators were [illegible] stead to swell the gains of unprofitable idlers.

[illegible] Village elders [illegible] of Wei and Wu [illegible] Govern[illegible] were well [illegible] mouldy because there were none to eat it, though horses were again plenti[illegible]

[illegible]

123rd book of Ssema-tsien's history, which treats of the trading expeditions and commercial wars of the first Hans, during the years between 140 and 97 B.C., has been translated,[1] and gives a very graphic, circumstantial and, to all appearance, accurate account of the Chinese campaigns with the kingdoms east of the central desert and the motives which led to them. The chief of these kingdoms, Ta-ouan and Ou-sun, were identified by Klaproth approximately with the modern districts of Ili and Ferghana. They were reported to be populous, civilized, resembling the Han in their government, and to contain rare and valuable commodities. It was therefore represented to the emperor that they *might be induced by presents to bring the homage of their commerce*.[2] Caravans were accordingly sent to explore alternative routes; those to the north of the desert were rendered insecure by the Huns and other barbarians, while to the south food and water were lacking, so that half the members of a single expedition perished.

The number of caravans sent, notwithstanding these difficulties, varied from five to ten in a year, the longest journey occupying nine years. Embassies were exchanged, and the Emperor of China was particularly anxious to obtain horses of a rare breed from Ta-ouan. But the Western kingdoms had apparently as much trade as they wanted, and believed the Hans to be too far off to be dangerous, so even food was refused to the Chinese caravans. "One was discredited in the exterior countries."[3] The Huns were near and formidable, so traders protected by the Huns were secure, while "those of the Hans, on the contrary, only obtained food, baggage animals and admission to the bazaars by producing their wares."[4]

Finally war was declared, and expeditions sent both against Ta-ouan and Ou-sun. The Chinese, who seem to have begun where Western kingdoms end, went through the experience common to Europeans who indulge in the luxury of little wars; they suffered much loss and privation before learning how to manage their campaigns,[5] but when at last they succeeded in bringing an army to the gates of the hostile capital, their victory seemed certain. After a siege, the capital hoped to escape a capitulation by offering to send the horses previously refused and by appointing a ruler approved by the Chinese. The army was evidently thankful to accept any approach to submission, and the minor kingdoms on the road also rendered homage. This successful expedition lasted four years, till 97 [illegible], and was comparatively inexpensive.

The pains taken in the vain endeavour to open up a trade route to India made it possible to introduce a less valuable commodity, the wor[illegible] but the drain upon the resources of the country was so great that the spreading reputation of the Sons of Han proved to be too dearly bought. To provide for the army the currency was debased, and even

[illegible], 1828, vol. ii. p. 418.
[illegible] 127. [illegible] 435. [illegible]
[illegible] 72.
[illegible]

victories proved expensive because every band of tribute-bearers was entertained at the Imperial cost, and dismissed with presents far exceeding the value of their own offerings. This magnificence, which was politic in a power aiming only at an honorary protectorate over the whole continent, was found by the weaker princes of the line to be so heavy a burden, that it was once seriously proposed to decline to receive an envoy from the Huns on the ground of expense. And when the records of the Han Dynasty were closed, the chief moral which they seemed to posterity to point was a warning against military ambition and the sacrifice of the internal administration to a brilliant foreign policy.[1]

It was the boast of the Tang Dynasty that it accomplished by peaceful policy more than was attempted unsuccessfully by the warlike Hans. The ideal of the native statesmen was a government too formidable to be attacked and too prudent to be aggressive; and the Hans, notwithstanding their brilliant campaigns in Central Asia, were exposed to incursions on the east and south of so formidable a character that in one case the people of a border principality were removed *en masse* to a more sheltered settlement north of the Kiang.

Trade with foreigners is said to have been carried on at Canton since 176 A.D.,[2] but it is doubtful from what distance the traders may have come. The Cingalese told the ambassador of the Emperor Claudius that they traded with the Seres, but as they described the people so designated as tall, with blue eyes and red hair, the name in this case clearly does not refer to the Chinese.

The rumours about the remote people of silk makers, which had reached the Western world in the days of Augustus, refer to the China of the Hans: and we can judge from them how far the native historians are from exaggerating the strength and fame of the empire. While intelligent criticism at home was pointing a remorseless finger at social and economic evils, which, however real, are only explicitly recognised as such by a comparatively advanced civilization, the inquiries of distant *savants* like Pliny and Ptolemy, elicited nothing but praise of the powerful, wealthy, and humane community.

Sir Henry Yule has brought together all the passages in classical literature referring to the Seres, and his summary of their substantial purport may be [illegible] as a fair account of what well-informed Europeans knew of China [illegible]. "The region of the Seres is a vast and popu-

[illegible]

[illegible] 157

[illegible]

lous country, touching on the east the ocean and the limits of the habitable world, and extending west nearly to Imaus and the confines of Bactria. The people are civilized men, of mild, just and frugal temper, eschewing collisions with their neighbours and even shy of close intercourse, but not averse to dispose of their own produce, of which raw silk is the staple, but which include also silk stuffs, furs, and iron of remarkable quality." For a report like this to travel from the inaccessible kingdoms of Central Asia to Imperial Rome, it is obvious that China must have been well known in regions that were in constant communication with the western parts of Asia, accessible to the commerce of the Mediterranean. The impression so transmitted was vague, and liable to mistakes of the sort embodied in Virgil's pretty confusion of the mulberry leaves with the silkworms;[1] but it rested upon a ground of real knowledge, and it is significant to note that the widest-spread rumours spoke of a civilized and industrious trading population rather than of a mighty emperor.

For descriptive purposes it is natural to regard the Han Dynasties as forming a single period, and this period is so much foreshortened by its remoteness in time that we do not at once remember that it represents an interval like that which separates the accession of Queen Victoria from that of Henry V. Evidently, therefore, there is room for a good many discordant estimates of the national prosperity to be appropriate in their turn. The reign of the warlike Wu-ti was marked by the spread of luxury; many wives, many horses, many clothes, and a thousand costly ornaments seduce the prince to abandon the antique simplicity of his ancestors. A memorialist in a subsequent reign (48 B.C.) reiterates the same complaints, and is particularly scandalized at the thought of horses eating grain and growing so fat and frisky that they have to be taken out to exercise merely to subdue their spirits, and this while the emperor's subjects are dying of hunger. "Is this to be the father and mother of his people? Is great heaven blind?"

These remonstrances are not mere literary exercises in the manner of Mencius; they have a direct bearing on the most crying evils of the times, and the chroniclers always record whether any action was taken in consequence. The men of letters for the most part remained faithful to the belief that poverty and wealth were equal and correlative evils; but there were not wanting apologists for the existing state of things, who forestalled, after the Chinese fashion, most of the arguments, which have been invented since, in praise of the social utility of wealth. Poor people, it was said,[2] who have no property of their own, are able to take a farm from the rich and live as tenants. In time of want and famine, the poor apply to the wealthy for a loan of bread or money. Shopkeepers, artisans, and all the minor industries are supported at the expense of the rich. They make special contributions to the revenues of the State, officials apply first to

[1] *Georgics*, ii. 121. Pliny calls silk "wool [illegible] trees."

[2] *Un [illegible] Handelsherr in China*, J. Schlarbaum. *[illegible] Kaufmannsleben*, p. 14, tr. by Meiland Mecklenburg.

them for assistance, and thus they are the support of high and low alike. It is true they enjoy great advantages, but when their labours and sacrifices are considered, it will be admitted that they deserve a proportionate reward; even if some act as heartless oppressors of the poor, that must be dealt with in other ways, not by depriving them of property acquired by their personal exertions! If the modern Chinese undervalue the deserts of the trading class, it is evidently not for want of having had the opposite doctrine set before them.

In the year 163 B.C. an imperial manifesto, issued in a season of scarcity, suggests among the points to be considered by the contrite rulers: "Is there unoccupied land or a surplus population? Is agriculture neglected for commerce? Is too much grain used for making wine?" To guard against the neglect of agriculture, the rite of the Imperial ploughing had already been revived (178 B.C.), and the classical doctrine as to the connection between crime and poverty found an able exponent in Cha'o Tso', a general who fell a victim (155 B.C.) to the hostility of the nobles, provoked by his steady resistance to any revival of the feudal system.

"Crime," he says, "begins in poverty; poverty in insufficiency of food; insufficiency of food in neglect of agriculture;"[1] and he dwells upon the moralizing effect of the tie which holds a man to the soil from which he draws his nourishment in exactly the same spirit as the modern Chinese scholars, whose conversation is reported by M. Eugene Simon.[2] Jealousy of the merchant's larger profits is frankly expressed and justified; these men rear no grain crops, their women spin no silk, yet they draw from the labour of others rewards far exceeding those which compensate the husbandman for his necessary toil. The love of gold, silver, and jewels seems to this early economist to be the root of all social evil. "Man makes for grain as water flows down hill. Gold and jewels are easily portable, [illegible] thieves and traitors; grain and cotton come from the earth by the [illegible] of man, and a few hundredweight are more than a man can carry. They offer no inducement to crime. Therefore the wise ruler holds grain in high honour, but degrades gold and jewels." Faith and honour, that would be proof against bulky bribes[3] in common articles of use, yield to [illegible] valuables, warranted to buy luxury in any quarter [illegible] The conclusion, that grain should, as far as possible, be [illegible] satisfactory. But there is an [illegible] and at [illegible] events the [illegible] China has been [illegible]

[illegible] the price of grain, as expressed in copper, [illegible] was exceedingly low during this whole [illegible] than the authorities approved. It was

[illegible]

actually proposed, in the middle of the 2nd century A.D., to issue coins of a higher value than those in common use, as a device for raising prices. And, though the remedy is singular, experience shows[1] that the value of the lowest monetary unit is not without effect upon the price of commodities.

We are indebted to Ma-twan-lin for an account of the annual expenses of a small cultivator under the Hans. The State of Wei seems to have been fortunate in the number of paternally disposed princes to whom the government was committed. The minister of one of these makes the following report, near the middle of the 1st century B.C.: "A householder undertakes the cultivation of 100 *mow*; the gross return of grain per mow is 1½ *chi*, giving a total of 150 *chi*. One householder represents five persons. Each person consumes 1½ *chi* monthly; from the produce of his 100 mow the cultivator pays his taxes with 15 *chi* (*i.e.* 10 per cent. of the gross produce of his holding), with 90 *chi* he has the food for his family, and there remain 45 *chi*, which, at 30 *tsien* the *chi*, are worth 1,350 *tsien*;[2] the ceremonies celebrated in every village at spring and autumn cost 300 *tsien*, and the surplus serves to clothe the five members of the family."[3]

Other authorities cited by Ma-twan-lin estimate the taxation of a family under the Hans at 200 *tsien* only, and it is possible that the imperial authorities did not exact more, the rather that the commentator clearly considers the Wei cultivator to have been hardly treated. Ma-twan-lin, in a note on this passage, estimates the cost of clothing at 300 *tsien* per head, and taxes the budget with a deficiency of 450 *tsien*, or about 6 shillings; and he exclaims against the impossibility of clothing being so cheap as to allow the cultivator to live with so narrow a margin. The learned encyclopædist, however, probably failed to allow for the lower value of money at the earlier period; and so far from pitying the poverty of the Wei cultivator, we are compelled to wish that an equally satisfactory budget could be drawn up for the agricultural millions subject to British rule in India.

The standard of comfort was no doubt higher in China than Egypt, where the loin cloth, which formed the labourer's ordinary dress, would certainly not cost the wearer 5s. a year. But the Egyptian estimate of the cost of a labourer's maintenance was a little over 1½ centimes, while the Chinese budget gives at the rate of 2½ c. per diem for each member of the family; and if the lower sum did not imply penury, the higher is not incompatible with comfort. No allowance is made for the flax, silk, and other plants cultivated to provide clothing materials, nor for the fruit.

[illegible]

vegetables, pigs and poultry reared by every cultivator of 100 mow, and serving both to vary his diet and increase his surplus of saleable produce.

The development of slavery in China dates from the Han Dynasty, and the impoverishment of the lower orders through war and famine. The injurious results of this change were more felt by the State than by the enslaved individuals. The slaves, of course, paid no land tax; and as noble proprietors and officials were also exempt, it was estimated that about a quarter of the whole population made no contribution to the revenue. On the contrary, the maintenance of the State slaves (condemned criminals, or rebels) was a heavy burden in times of scarcity, and we hear at intervals of their emancipation in numbers, avowedly to relieve the community from the expense of their support. One of the minor dynasties, in the 6th century, improved upon this somewhat ambiguous boon by enfranchising all public slaves of the age of sixty-five years and upwards.[1]

Besides the case of those who had lost their liberty through poverty, there was also a large and increasing class who had lost their lands from the same cause. The historians use a special term signifying *agglomeration* to describe the accumulation by one owner of more land than he could cultivate himself; and it was by these great land-owners that the free, but landless cultivators were reduced to a state of semi-feudal dependence, the landlord taking half their crop in consideration of his engaging to pay their taxes. But as it was contrary to propriety for the imperial taxes to exceed a tithe, it was clearly [illegible] to derive five times as much revenue from the same source. And hence the encroachments of the agglomerators, even when tolerated for a time, never ceased to be regarded as unlawful and irregular. As a rule, taxation was light under the Hans; and this [illegible] had the [illegible] advantage of discouraging fraudulent understatements of population, so that the census returns of [illegible]

[illegible] tion approached more to the ordinary

[illegible]

type of oriental monarchy than during the decadence of the Han Dynasty. The influence of eunuchs, and of the favoured relations of successive empresses, gave occasion to frequent complaints. The bonds of alliance, it was said, were preferred to those of blood; and the wealth accumulated by the favourite of a single reign reached such an amount that its confiscation seemed rather a judicial penalty on extortion than a fresh oppression. By the time the dynasty was thoroughly enfeebled and discredited, it was overthrown for a time by Wang-mang, a usurper who reigned from 9–23 A.D., after ten years of virtual supremacy, during which he had followed the policy of the unjust steward at the expense of the titular sovereign.

Like most of the Chinese rulers who have got a bad name as innovators, Wang-mang professed to aim at restoring the Rites of Chow; and Chinese scholarship points to passages in that sacred text which were interpolated by him to justify his measures. As prime minister, he had advised the Empress, to whom he was related, and by whose favour he had been raised to power, to reduce the expenses of her household, while he himself set an example of economy and simplicity, distributing large sums of money to the poor, and ceding to them 3,000 acres of his own land for cultivation. He showed his respect for antiquity by proposing, in our year one, to revive the names of the ancient astronomical clans [1] as honorary titles for the imperial board of mathematicians. And his first extraordinary measures for raising money might have seemed to be dictated by a real concern for the welfare of the impoverished masses.

He prevailed upon the empress to allow him to open the tombs of the royal family, as well as of wealthy private persons; and he issued an edict forbidding in future the burying of valuables in the graves of the deceased. He offended the moral sense of the community by confiscating the treasures brought to light by his sacrilegious researches, but the prohibition itself was only slightly in advance of the time. In the reign of Hwan-ti (147 A.D.) a benevolent officer opened his father's grave in order to give away the buried treasures it contained during a time of distress, and the fact is recorded without censure. It was contrary to the national creed to dedicate to the unconscious spirits of departed ancestors valuables which could be converted into food for men in want; and besides, when distress was common and intense, the tombs were certain to be violated by force. This was the case with the tomb of the emperor just mentioned; and the dynasty which succeeded the Three Kingdoms in 275 A.D., is said to have introduced the custom, still in use, of burning paper representations of valuables, instead of burying the things themselves in graves, so as to avoid the double sin of extravagance and sacrilege.

But to return to the innovations of Wang-mang. He altered the currency, introducing gold, silver, tortoise-shell, and cowries as mediums of exchange, in addition to copper; and when an immense quantity of counterfeit coin was issued in consequence, a hundred thousand forgers were condemned

[1] The Hsi and Ho, who were to be put to death if the eclipses were not correctly foretold.

to slavery by a single edict.[1] Besides his interference with the currency, he imposed vexatious duties on trade. The taxes on salt, iron, and wine had been abolished by an emperor nearly 100 years before; but when a [illegible] governor proposed to restore order in his district by reducing or abolishing the unpopular imposts, Wang-mang turned upon him and confiscated his wealth, which proved to be very great. He then directed his attention to the official class generally, and to all those whose riches exceeded the lawful profits of their ostensible callings, confiscating four-fifths of all the treasures thus discovered. He also forestalled Wang-ngan-chi, the great innovating financier of the Sung Dynasty, by a scheme for State banking: and the edition of the Chow Li which was published under his inspiration contained a spurious passage, making it one of the duties of the treasurer to fix the rate of interest on loans in accordance with the requirements of the State.

At the same time he attempted to restore the old system of common cultivation, and the *t'ing*, which were called "imperial fields," because of an edict by which he proposed to abolish private property in land, and to claim again for the emperor the role of universal landlord. No subject was to be allowed to hold more than a certain amount of land, and the excess was to be forfeited to the Crown, and allotted, as required, to the villages; while the sale of land was forbidden, that all might retain the means of subsistence. The edict was [illegible] after three years, and it was said that Yao and Shun themselves could not have restored the common fields; the very rivers had changed their beds [illegible] since the days of old, and how could bygone customs be renewed?

One token of Wang-mang's unpopularity was the fact that the copper money [illegible] to be recast secretly in the form of the favourite coinage of Wu-ti: and the use of this money came to be regarded as a [illegible]

century the country enjoyed one of those periods of peace and prosperity which recur often enough in the history of China to furnish each great dynasty with a standard of comparison within itself.

In 78 A.D. financial difficulties were beginning to be felt again. Grain was dear and scarce, and money depreciated, so that the land tax was required to be paid in pieces of silk or cloth. These troubles, however, might be regarded as the price paid for the military glory which, at this time, was rewarding the campaigns of Pan-tchao. In the year 72 this officer was sent, for the first time, to restore the federal supremacy which China had obtained over the princes of Western Asia under the first Han Emperors. Only eight of these princes, beginning with Kashgar, had acknowledged themselves tributary; but in 94 a stronger force was despatched, and, with the help of the eight allies, victories were obtained over the Northern Huns, and so much of Bokhara conquered that fifty different princes submitted, and sent hostages to China. All Asia, from the sea of Japan to the Caspian, was tributary to the Middle Kingdom.

Pan-tchao despatched one of his lieutenants to reach the "western sea" and proceed to Ta Tsin, that great western empire of which dim rumours had arrived as far as China. It may be doubted whether the western sea reached by this officer was anything more distant than the Caspian, or at most the Persian Gulf; at any rate, the Persian accounts of the long and dangerous journey between them and Rome served to deter him from executing his commission in full. Persia, however, was more or less subdued, and it is evident from native sources that China was at this time willing, and even anxious, to enter into direct commercial intercourse with the Roman empire, and was only hindered from doing so by the jealousy of the Parthians and other nations in Western Asia, who feared to lose the profitable business of intermediaries. The Chinese had heard of the coral fisheries of the Mediterranean, and the Romans wished to obtain raw silk for their dyers and weavers to manipulate. An embassy, sent by Marcus Aurelius, reached Southern China by way of the sea and Tonquin in 166, and the arrival of other ambassadors, described as bringing "tribute," is recorded in the next century. But Roman commerce seldom outstripped the march of Roman armies, while China was never at a loss for markets nearer home; so the chances of closer intercourse between the two empires were never realized.

The emperor Ho-ti, in whose reign this great expedition was undertaken, is also known as the patron of Pan-hoei-pan, a sister both of the general Pan-tchao, and of an eminent historian Pan-kou. Pan-hoei assisted her brother in his literary labours during his life, and completed his historical manuscripts after his death. She also wrote on her own account a curious treatise on the duties of her sex, the humility of which is perhaps less profound than it seems, for when emperors issue proclamations about their own lack of virtue, a learned lady with pretensions to good manners could hardly do less than claim for her sex to "occupy the lowest rank in the human species." Pan-hoei, at all events, was not without honour in her own

country: all the treasures of the Imperial Record Office were placed at her disposal, and the history of the first Han empire, which she published in her brother's name, and for which she received quite half the credit, still ranks among the best of the ancient historical works which survive. She occupied a special post as instructress of the Empress and the other ladies of the palace, and her example must have produced an appreciable number of *femmes savantes*, as she thinks it necessary to explain in her treatise that a lady who is always quoting the Classics will not be thought agreeable in society, and that she should keep her learning in reserve till it is asked for.[1]

The best known of Chinese institutions, the system of literary examinations, dates from the Han Dynasty. The revival of letters was followed, or rather accompanied, by the restoration of schools, where the literati were once more free to discuss the principles of government. In 170 B.C. Wen-ti repealed the law of T'sin, which made it a crime to speak against the government, on the ground that without free criticism the emperor could not tell what to amend in his administration. The existing schools seem to have enjoyed some degree of official recognition, as Wu-ti was asked, in 140 B.C., to cause all officers to be taken from them. The Imperial college, called Thai-hio, however, was not founded till 124 B.C.; it was to admit fifty scholars, 18 years old or upwards, chosen from lists presented by the Minister of Rites on the one hand, and the provincial officers on the other.[2] These pupils were regularly examined and promoted according to merit. Admission to these scholarships, as they may be called, was by nomination; but unsuitable or incapable candidates were dismissed at the first examination, and the patron was punished for a bad choice as for corruption in levying the taxes.

The men of letters of the Han period were by no means mere formalists. The "Record on the subject of Education," which forms one of the books of the Li Ki, is evidently the work of a time when the theory and practice of [illegible] were a subject of discussion and reflection. There are, it is said, teachers who content themselves with multiplying questions, and [illegible] the tablets which they see before them, who speak of the [illegible] advances and pay no regard to their "repising" [illegible] The authors of the Record do not value this [illegible] instruction or "cram," the effects of which, moreover, [illegible] evanescent. Their description of the superior man [illegible] brothers is [illegible] "In his [illegible] does not dis- [illegible] without the [illegible] Leading and not dragging produces harmony.

[illegible]

Strengthening and not discouraging makes attainment easy. Opening the way and not conducting to the end makes (the learner) thoughtful. He who produces such harmony, easy attainment, and thoughtfulness may be pronounced a skilful teacher."

Different studies require different methods, and so do different students; the teacher must be able to adapt himself to both; but after all, much rests with the pupil, a good learner will profit more by a bad master than a bad one by the most diligent teacher. The ideal is reached when the "pupil and master talk together, and the subject is explained."[1] . . . "The master who skilfully waits to be questioned, may be compared to a bell when it is struck . . . let it be struck leisurely and properly, and it gives out all the sound of which it is capable. . . . He who gives (only) the learning supplied by his memory in conversations is not fit to be a master. Is it not necessary that he should hear the questions (of his pupils)? Yes; but if they are not able to put questions, he should put subjects before them. If he do so and they then do not show any knowledge of the subjects, he may let them alone."

The language of these passages is difficult, and they have evidently suffered somewhat in translation, but they could only have been written in a country where the learned class looked upon instruction as a part of education, and where a teacher aimed at being the Master of a school rather than a schoolmaster. "The good singer makes men (able) to continue his notes, and the good teacher makes them able to carry out his ideas. His words are brief, but far-reaching; unpretentious, but deep; with few illustrations, but instructive. In his way he may be said to perpetuate his ideas." The best witness to the skill of the teachers of the age is to be found in the success with which their ideas *have* been perpetuated, even to the present day, by generations of teachers trained out of this "Record."

The introduction of the "Competition Wallahs" into the public service must have been effected gradually. It was specified what offices they were at each stage qualified to hold—those, for instance, who could write 9,000 characters or more were eligible as annalists,—but as offices of the same grade were already filled by non-collegians, the grades reached by examination are liable to be confused with the functions of equal profit and dignity not so reached. While only a few scholars were turned out every year, they were naturally absorbed by the teaching and examining bodies employed by the State, so that the first effect of the literary revival seems to have been mainly the addition of some endowed schoolmasters to the ranks of the official hierarchy.

Shortly before the usurpation of Wang-mang, the number of scholars on the imperial foundation was raised to 3,000, in memory of the number of disciples said to have followed the teaching of Confucius. The revival of a systematic scheme of local instruction is ascribed to a governor of Ching-tu-fu, about 140 B.C., and the example of this distant and isolated settle-

[1] S. B. xxviii., p. 89.

ment was recommended for general imitation throughout the empire. There were two grades of local schools and two of higher colleges, and many scholars are commemorated in later ages in connection with their care for these schools in their native places or in the districts under their government. In less than 150 years, twenty edicts were issued, urging the importance of employing capable persons in the public service; and the informal review of all the talents and all the virtues of a district, which would enable a provincial governor to "present" such persons to the emperor, seems to have been the germ out of which the present examination system grew.

There was an intermediate stage, when the State aimed at conducting the higher education of its future employees; and then success in the provincial examinations was the most obvious qualification for selection as an imperial scholar. Subsequently the examination test was retained and used more and more widely, without reference to the imperial colleges. The number of students allowed to be recommended for examination was limited in proportion to the population, as the number of degrees to be conferred annually is now. In the reign of Ping-ti (1 to A.D.), we are told that forty of the first class of competitors became officers, twenty of the second class were joined to the household of the Heir Apparent, and forty of the third class entered the department of the Minister of Rites. One of the innovations of Wang-mang was that he obliged the sons of superior officers to pass the public examination as a condition of receiving office.

It is clearly explained that under the Eastern Hans there were two alternative modes of entry to the public service: promotion from inferior posts, in which the aspirant was the employee of an officer, not of the State; and appointment to office as a reward for success in the examinations, besides the casual admissions granted on the ground of birth or favour. An empress in the 2nd century A.D. founded a school for the education of royal children of both sexes, and as it was to be open to the [illegible] relations, it would seem that the empress [illegible] of trading relationships [illegible] result of this would have been [illegible]—which the empress [illegible] that the [illegible] for the [illegible]

[illegible]

precedent in history. The emperor Ho-ti (89–105 A.D.) was the first to raise eunuchs to the highest office, and for long afterwards their employment as generals or in other posts of authority outside the court was regarded as a grave scandal. But the elaborate forms and ceremonies of the Chinese court gave these official chamberlains peculiar opportunities for entangling their imperial master in a maze of etiquette, of which none but themselves had the clue, so that even duly appointed ministers could only obtain access to the emperor's person by their favour. The literati had more reason to resent this innovation than the nobles, because the weakness of the royal power, of which the influence of these palace slaves was a symptom, gave to the holders of provincial governorships the very opportunity they most desired, for re-establishing the hereditary character of their charges and therewith their own feudal independence.

The literati had no such compensation, and their disaffection showed itself in cabals, not to say conspiracies, of which the importance may be measured by the fact that a private "authors' association" was made the subject of criminal prosecution in the year 166 A.D.[1] The party, however, was not broken up by the attack, for twelve years later the attempt to found a new imperial academy broke down, because of the refusal of all the leading scholars to take part in the project, private schools under their direction being preferred to the imperial establishment with a staff of mediocrities. The discontent was not limited to the orthodox school, for the insurrection of the "Yellow caps," which was not suppressed without great bloodshed, was headed by three brothers, who professed an ardent devotion to the doctrines of Lao-tsze.

In the latter half of the 2nd century A.D., the double demand for copper, for religious images and weapons of war, left so little available for the currency that its depreciation followed as a matter of course. At the same time (165–185 A.D.) the land tax had been raised to 10 tsien per mow, which would make the burden of the tenant, with 100 mow, five times as heavy as in the earlier years of the dynasty.[2] Over-taxation, civil war, and a pestilence which raged between 170 and 175, combined to desolate the provinces, and during the reign of the last Emperor (190–220 A.D.) the virtual dismemberment of the empire had gone so far that the generals, who founded the three kingdoms, did so at the expense of other rebels, rather than at that of any legitimate ruler.

With all its social and political vicissitudes, the reign of the Han sovereigns remains one of the most important epochs in the history of China, as the fact that the whole race has been called by their name—the sons of Han—sufficiently proves. The Middle antiquity of China ends with the Chow Dynasty. The modern history of the empire must be [illegible]

[1] [illegible] p. 18[illegible]. De M[illegible] [illegible] 273. [illegible] China. [illegible] p. 272 [illegible] Wen Wang [illegible] [illegible]

[2] *Journ. A.*, *l.c.*, p. 279.

to begin with the Tang Dynasty, but its foundation may be attributed to the Hans, who codified its law, edited its classics, extended its renown, and witnessed the invention of its most distinctive manufacture, the porcelain, which was first made during this period, in lieu of common earthenware, till then used in China as elsewhere.

## CHAPTER XI.

### *FROM THE THREE KINGDOMS TO THE SOUY DYNASTY.*

### (221–620 A.D.)

THE history of the next 400 years may be passed over briefly, not that it is wanting in matter of human interest, but because the enduring features of Chinese civilization are elaborated in the flourishing days of a united empire. Yet we must not exaggerate the extent to which the country as a whole is affected by the intervening periods of comparative anarchy or disruption. Of course the people suffered severely from the outbreaks of rebellion and civil war which heralded and succeeded every change of dynasty, but outside the actual seat of war, life went on as usual, and there was seldom a time when, taking the empire all through, disorder was not the exception and peaceful industry the rule; so that, even during the most inglorious periods, the habits of settled application, which had always characterized the peasantry, were able to go on gradually and silently gathering the strength of a second nature, till they appear as the essential and dominant feature of the whole social body.

Ssema-tsien, and later historians and philosophers after him, speak as of an everlasting law, of the sequence of prosperity and decay; but on looking back over the 2,000 years during which the history of China has been recorded at length, we see that in each period of prosperity, the standard of civilization and well-being stands a degree higher than that of the last corresponding period. The proportion of the population untouched by the horrors of civil disorder was greater during the period of the three kingdoms, which followed the fall of the Eastern Hans, than in the days of the Warring States before the reunion of the empire under Chi-hoang-ti. The prosperity of the Tang Dynasty was wider spread and more deeply rooted than that of the Hans, and the reaction under the Five Posterior dynasties did not reproduce all the anarchy of the Three kingdoms.[1] Chinese literature reached its golden age under the Sung Dynasty, which in most other respects was an advance upon that of Tang, and henceforward the whole empire was never broken up into disordered fragments. The Mongols sought to keep the empire in the state they found it, since in no other could its sovereignty be so rich a prize. The native Ming Dynasty, which succeeded the warlike Yuen, was, as compared with the latter, as the politic Tang emperors compared to the

[1] [illegible]

military Hans, exercising with less effort a more potent sway; while there can be little question that the founders of the Mantchu Dynasty were centuries ahead in civilization of Genghis and Kubla.

Whether the civilization of the masses in China proper has made much progress between the days of Marco Polo and of Father Ricci, or between those of Ricci and Dr. Legge, is not so easy to determine; but the civilization, such as it is, has never ceased to spread over a wider area, and, while its volume does not detract from its vitality, there is always the presumption in human affairs that the quantity of a force will in some measure re-act upon its quality. It is a reasonable conjecture that there has been as much progress, in regard to the minor details which constitute the finish of material civilization, during the last five or six centuries in China as during the last five or six decades in Europe. This kind of progress, like the motion of a glacier, is easily mistaken for a state of rest; but 2,000 years of it are no more than sufficient to account for the positive level of general culture and comfort in the Middle Kingdom of to-day.

After the fall of the Hans the empire was divided, for forty-five years, into three kingdoms. This is the period celebrated in the San-kwo-chi, a vast historical romance with a large substratum of fact, from which Chinese dramatists are chiefly wont to derive the plots and incidents of their historic plays. Of the three kingdoms, the most powerful bore the name of Wei, and included the northern provinces of China with Loyang for its capital. The second, of which the capital was ultimately fixed at Nanking, embraced most of the south; while the after Hans, who alone claimed the throne by inheritance, were restricted to the provinces of the south-west, of which Tching-tu-fu was the natural capital. The empire was reunited in 265 A.D., after which six minor dynasties reigned in succession; the fourth of these bore the name of Sung, but must not be confounded with the great dynasty which preceded the Mongols. The empire was again divided on its accession, 420 A.D., and the Sung and successive imperial dynasties ruled over Southern China; while a Tatar dynasty, which had taken the name of Wei, was supreme in the north. This period lasted from 420 A.D. to 589 A.D., and is called the age of the Northern and Southern Empires.

It was in the year 335 A.D., in one of the seventeen small kingdoms which [illegible] China [illegible] the short and feeble rule of the Tsin Imperial Dynasty, [illegible] were first allowed to take Buddhist [illegible] forty-two [illegible] to prove [illegible] first [illegible] China [illegible] by the [illegible]

(550 A.D.) learnt to think of China as equal in size to half the world. In 518 an embassy was sent from the Northern empire to bring Buddhist books from India, and the division of the empire was known in the West without prejudice to the reputation of the people, of whom a writer early in the 7th century tells us that "they have just laws and their life is full of temperate wisdom."

In 435 A.D., a provincial governor addressed a memorial to the emperor on the dangerous spread of Buddhism in the past 400 years. Temples of Fo, he complains, are to be seen in the smallest villages; to say nothing of the waste of labour, valuable building materials, stone, bricks, and timber are thrown away upon these useless structures, while quantities of gold, silver, and copper, that might otherwise be used in the public service, are consumed to make the idols worshipped by the perverted people. The memorialist concludes by begging that the temples may be destroyed and the materials used for the repair of public buildings. The Emperor approved of the suggestion, and issued an edict in accordance with it, almost exactly to the same effect as those which, 1,300 years later, put a stop to the spread of Catholic Christianity in China.[1]

We may be sure that at the earlier, as at the later date, there was no intolerance of speculative opinion at work. The Chinese dread of clerical aggression is purely civil and economical. The temporal authority cared nothing about the beliefs or opinions of its subjects, but it claimed to control their conduct, and it was contrary to the public interest that they should systematically waste their substance in endowing convents. Their money was their own as long as they spent it properly—in nourishing parents and children, in paying taxes and performing the customary ceremonies.—but if the emperor's subjects tried to subsidize an independent, spiritual authority by temporal gifts, it was at their peril, and the gifts were liable to be confiscated, like the treasures of a rebellious prince.

The material progress of Buddhism was not arrested and scarcely checked by these edicts, but they were really successful in resisting the danger—which the biography of Hiouen-thsang shows not to have been chimerical—of the machinery of public instruction falling into the hands of the heresiarchs and being used to train priests for the service of the religious sects, instead of scholars for the service of the State. Hitherto, as subsequently, independent scholars had led the way in literature, and the imperial colleges depended for their popularity and success upon the eminence of the teachers they could enlist.

The doom of orthodoxy would have been sealed if its defence had been abandoned to the State schools, while heretical teachers succeeded to the place and influence of the unofficial Confucianists. Naturally the new teachers fought less hard for the control of the schools, about which they cared little, than for the endowments of temples and monasteries, about which they cared a great deal; and so the state of antagonism was perpetuated between the few, who knew much and believed little, and the

[1] De Mailla, v. p. 42.

many, whose credulity was to be excused by their ignorance. As regarded temporalities, the struggle with Buddhism did not reach its height for some centuries, but the intellectual supremacy of Confucianism was not seriously endangered by its rivalry after the stringent measures of the 5th century.

The 400 years before the accession of the Tang Dynasty belong to the Dark Ages of Chinese history. It was complained that not one in forty of the dignitaries employed at court knew how to handle a pencil.[1] The State colleges seem to have degenerated into boarding schools for a class of privileged idlers, as their endowments survived, while the custom of employing collegians fell into abeyance. The private schools, which generally enjoyed and deserved the confidence of the learned, were refused all official countenance, apparently from the suspicion that voluntary schools, as we may call them, were destined to promote the interest of religious sects rather than disinterested study of the native classics; and even if this suspicion was to some extent justified by fact, it is certain that the discouragement of all private schools indifferently had an injurious effect on the standard of education.[2]

No material change in the condition of the industrial population took place during this period. The T'sin (280–419 A.D.) divided able-bodied workers into classes according to age, giving each a certain allowance of land, with extra quantities for nobles and princes. This example was followed by the northern Wei Dynasty, and in 485 the latter made a serious attempt to revive the agrarian policy of the ancients. Every adult male was allowed 40 *mow* for corn and every female 20, besides 20 mow for mulberry trees allotted to every house, which latter portion became inalienable.[3] Land in excess of this amount was not confiscated, but was allowed to be sold, which the duty fields were not. At the beginning of the same century the Government endeavoured to promote the plantation of mulberry trees and the cultivation of waste lands by giving distinctions to the [illegible] for the plough. It is curious that those who had [illegible] have slaves, for the law seems intended to limit [illegible] slaves held by one owner, while it is scarcely [illegible] cul- [illegible] have too many slaves. [illegible]

[illegible] 477 [illegible]

[illegible]

the people refused to move when in want, they were compelled to cut down their trees and plough up their orchards to leave more room for grain. Northern China was colonized at this time, and it was noted that property was much less unequally divided there than in the south, where positive legislation could not entirely undo the effects of feudalism and the concentration of wealth in a few hands, which had gone on in times of disorder.

It is not clear how the enactment providing for home colonies was carried out in fully settled parts, where there were few or no waste lands at the disposal of the Crown; but in 484 A.D. the system of paying officers by salaries instead of land grants was introduced,[1] and this change would no doubt set free a good deal of State property. At all events, in the next century we read of persons renting the public lands, so that these cannot have been exhausted by the allotments.

The system of land tenure was never independent of that of taxation. From the days of Chow two main sources of revenue had always been recognised—the land tax, which was liable to fall off when from any cause the cultivators ceased to form the bulk of the population, and the personal tax, paid in respect of what we should still call personal property. The government allotments of land were not apparently intended to represent what was required for the maintenance of a family, but only to furnish wherewithal to meet the demands of the tax collector; hence the tax payable in respect of these allotments seems extraordinarily high for China, reaching a third of the produce, while those who rented a whole farm only paid about a tenth, which was always regarded as the legitimate proportion, whether levied under the name of rent or land tax. It is obvious that the condition of free cultivators without land could not become intolerable so long as they were able to rent it on the simple condition of paying the ordinary tax: and as long as the State had land to let on these terms, private agglomerators would be unable to get farmers to pay more to themselves; so that large estates could only be profitable on condition of evading the land tax, or being tilled for the owner by servile labour.

The gradual pacification of the empire was much assisted by the reluctance of the free cultivators to leave their homes, when not suffering from distress, to fight for one feeble ruler rather than another. At the end of the 5th century a general, summoned to lead his troops to a distant province, demurred on the ground that the men of the north do not willingly go far from their homes, and can only be depended on to keep together for short raids where booty is to be got.[2] The mercenary element in the Chinese character was by preference pacific, and it was never necessary to prolong a war for fear of leaving the army out of work.

It appears from the edifying anecdotes preserved in history that the pleasures of the chase were still a snare to Chinese monarchs, but they were seldom left without some superior man to keep before them the moral ideals of earlier and greater days. The hereditary prince while out hunt-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 288. [2] De Mailla, v. 4, 188.

ing admires the beauty of a waving corn-field—the sight which filled Keats with ecstasy—and he is at once reminded of the labours that have been spent on it and, by implication, of the wickedness of destroying their fruits by letting the hunt sweep over them. And an emperor who had stayed out beyond the customary hour, was rebuked by the officer on guard, who affected not to recognise him. The emperor had gone out early, and it was thought that he should so far have neglected the duties of his office and the rules of propriety as to stay out hunting all day! It was also regarded as the extremity of license for the palace gates to stand open by night, or for the heir apparent to mix freely for pleasure with the common people or discard the orthodox robes of state. Anarchy could hardly come in in the kingdom, when the court was in such rigid subjection to the Rites and their interpreters.

The license refused to members of the imperial family or persons still holding official rank might be taken without censure by those who deliberately preferred a private station. A poet who flourished towards the close of the Tsin Dynasty gave up official life, after three months' trial, rather than put on a dress of ceremony to visit the provincial inspectors, and after his retirement, spent his time in drinking, studying, and writing verses—a record which was not considered discreditable. Besides this "doctor of the five willows," there was a scholar who held office with credit, in the second quarter of the 5th century, in spite of his passion for [illegible] on solitary hill-tops or in wooded ravines; so that it seems as if in China, unlike Europe, the taste for wild scenery had preceded that for tame and cultivated country. In China, as in Egypt, the enjoyment of natural beauty seems to have been frank and keen. "The Master said, 'The wise find pleasure in water; the virtuous find pleasure in hills,'"[1] and the [illegible] to which the pleasure is experienced, without pedantry or affectation, is a strong testimony to the diffusion of wisdom and virtue in the Middle Kingdom. And we should undervalue the degree of civilization [illegible] if we did not realize that [illegible] already developed.

[illegible]

some remarks, attributed to him in the Shah-nameh, to those of Mencius quoted above is too close to be accidental.

There was a drought, we are told, causing famine, and great and small came to the palace asking for food. Mazdek said to the king: "A man has been bitten by a serpent, another has an antidote and will not give it: what shall be done to him?" "He is a murderer," replied the king, "and shall be slain before my gate as soon as the family of the dead can seize him." The next day Mazdek begged to be instructed again: "Suppose a man has been bound with chains and would give his life for a loaf of bread, and it is refused him and he dies, what should be the punishment of him who, having bread, refuses it to the prisoner?" The king replied, "He is a wretch, and is answerable for the death which he might have prevented." Then Mazdek went out at the palace gate and bade the hungry crowd go and wherever they could find corn concealed, take it for themselves, and if they were asked to pay for it, burn the village. His own granaries and the king's were plundered like the rest, and when people came to the king to remonstrate, Mazdek declared that he had only followed the royal instructions, for bread was the antidote to the mortal poison of hunger.

He then delivered a discourse which seemed to his hearers so just that they all, including the king, expressed their assent to it. The man with nothing, he contended, is the equal of the rich, and no one should be suffered to retain superfluous possessions. The rich should be the warp and the poor the woof; there should be equality in the world, and the excess of wealth is bad and unlawful. Women, houses, and goods should be shared, and the poor made the equal of the rich. Chinese radicalism, it seems, lost some of its sweet reasonableness and temperance in the course of transmission, and the communistic element in Mazdek's doctrine is a purely Persian addition. The king's son, Kesra (Chosroes), who was not converted, among other objections urged that if the new and revolutionary doctrine was received, the father would not know his son; and in the eyes of the domestic races, it would be not less certainly condemned if children as well as wives were to be common, so as to disable the son from knowing his own mother. Yet the tragic conclusion of the tale leaves modern sympathies rather on the side of the revolutionary. Prince Kesra spent six months in exhausting all the wisdom of Zoroastrian sages, and then proceeded to re-convert his father by such arguments as these.

"If men are all equal and there is no difference between great and small, who will be willing to serve, and how can authority be exercised? Who will work for you and me, and how will the good be separated from the bad? When a man dies, to whom will his house and fortune belong if the king and the mechanic are equal? When all are masters, where are the paid servants? When all have treasures, where is the treasurer? No founder of religion has ever spoken like this before." Kobad, like some social philosophers of a much later date, thought these criticisms convincing, and gave Kesra *carte blanche* to deal with the heresiarch and his followers. He planted the latter, to the number of 3,000, head downwards, along the

walls of his garden, and then summoned Mazdek to see the fruit borne by the seed he had sown. Then he hung the teacher head downwards from a high gibbet, and slew him with arrows.[1]

The story shows that Chinese literature was known to serious thinkers in other countries, though the influence of the Middle State, as a civilizing force, was strictly limited to its own subjects. A generation or more before, Moses of Chorene spoke of the Chinese people as wealthy, civilized, and eminently pacific, and there can be little doubt that trade with Persia and the various kingdoms bordering the desert went on continuously in spite of the subdivision of the empire. The superior safety and quickness of the land traffic is alleged by Cosmas as a reason why there was so much silk in Persia, and the quantity exported is proved to have been considerable, by its reaching the empire of Justinian in quantities sufficient to suggest the thought of acclimatizing the precious worm. Another Persian embassy was received in 567 A.D.

The last of the six minor dynasties preceding the Tang did a good deal to facilitate its work by consolidating the imperial authority. In 607 the emperor threatened to drop all correspondence with Japan, because it was addressed from the "Great son of heaven in the East" to the "Great son of heaven in the West," and this was "contrary to the Rites." This was equivalent to a declaration of hostility, because, as Amyot observes, "tributary" in Chinese history means virtually ally, and Japan consequently protested against being erased from the list of tributaries. The Chinese were forbidden, in the same reign, to carry arms—a change always significant of an important stage in national progress. The Souy emperors (589-619 A.D.) gave some attention to letters, though the attempt to take stock of the surviving literary monuments of former ages ended in the discovery that 60 or 70 per cent. of the works known to have existed under the Hans had been lost beyond recovery. The form of character now in use was adopted (375 A.D.) towards the close of the Tsin Dynasty.

About the same time (350 A.D.) the earliest mention of the tea plant being cultivated for the infusion made from its leaves is met with, and it is noticeable that references to drunkenness become much rarer in future than in the literature of the earlier times. The general use of hot tea as a beverage has also contributed to the remarkable freedom from epidemics of [illegible]: the water boiled for tea is rendered innocuous, and besides, [illegible] habit of taking hot drinks has been formed, it has become usual for those who cannot obtain tea, to drink always *hot* water, instead of cold. One other worthy of the 3rd century should be mentioned, [illegible] Chang-ho. Of course he is still venerated as the patron saint of [illegible] profession, and has incense burnt before his tablet by every [illegible] of the trade. He is said to have invented [illegible] and [illegible] a general who suspected the motives [illegible] for his life.

[1] [illegible] "[illegible]."

The arts as well as letters were held in honour under the Souy princes, for besides the production of a famous green porcelain, the dynasty is notable as the first in which a famous artist in pottery is commemorated by name, an honour conferred upon one who brought to the capital some vases which were described as "artificial jade."[1] Manufactories had previously been established at Si-ngan-fu and Loyang under the first Wei (220–264 A.D.) and under the T'sin Dynasty (265–419 A.D.) blue china of high repute was made in the province of Tche-kiang. The prosperity of different parts of the empire was unequal, but all the rich towns, which Tai-tsong-tang was shortly to gain credit by refusing to sack, could not have existed, if the individual life of the people had not gone on its tranquil course, habitually unmolested even by the weak and tyrannical rulers whom he superseded.

[1] *Histoire et Fabrication de la Porcelaine Chinoise. Ouvrage traduit du Chinois*, par M. Stanislas Julien, 1856, xxiv.

# CHAPTER XII.

## *THE TANG DYNASTY.*

## (620–907 A.D.)

### § 1. Historical Sketch.

With the accession of Kao-tsou, the founder of the Tang Dynasty, a new period begins—a period not cut off from what precedes it by any great upheaval or transformation of the national life, but one which joins on still more closely to the ages which follow it. The first Tang emperor did not long survive his triumph; he scandalized the tribunal of Rites by insisting on having one of his daughters buried with military honours, because she had raised an army and marched to his relief when hard pressed; and he was also accused of a leaning towards Taoism. A palace intrigue to get rid of the younger son, whose victories had done much to establish the dynasty, was defeated, and in 626 A.D. Kao-tsong abdicated in favour of this prince.

The reign of Tai-tsong opens with the exchange on all hands of sentiments appropriate to the dawn of a new golden age. The Emperor defers piously to the patriotic counsels of his mother, cultivates sincerity of speech, rejects flatterers, discourages superstition, and gives his confidence to worthy ministers, all of which traits are illustrated by edifying anecdotes which it is not necessary to quote. The late emperor had made all members of his family princes of the first rank, and complaints were heard of the expense thus imposed on the country. Tai-tsong accordingly reduced the number of princes, allowing those only to retain the first rank who had deserved their place by services rendered to the State. In 637 a new code was drawn up in 500 articles. Milder penalties were substituted for ninety-two [illegible] and seventy-one of exile previously recognised, and the [illegible] penalties was reduced to twenty: 1,500 rites and ceremonies [illegible] force of law, were enumerated, but, as usual, these were [illegible].

[illegible] drew up a report upon the popular [illegible] which were denounced as pernicious and deadly. In [illegible] Chinese plan of giving reasons for every official decree, it is explained that, according to the astrologers, all persons [illegible] would have a similar fate, which experience [illegible] of those who are actually overtaken by the same destiny—as, for instance, the soldiers who perished in a great

historical massacre—were certainly not all born under the same constellations.[1] The same manifesto contains a warning against the arts of diviners who profess to tell what burial-places, if chosen, will bring good luck to the survivors. It is mentioned incidentally that burial-places used always to be on the north side of a town, which, as the cold or shady side, might originally have been preferred on hygienic grounds.[2] But the superstitions attacked were too thoroughly indigenous to be suppressed by edict, and they survive at the present day in the well-known form of Feng-shwuy. The Emperor declined a flattering invitation to have his public utterances collected in a book, as three emperors of recent short-lived dynasties had done; but he finally bequeathed a book of instructions, called Ti-fan-fu, for the use of his son and successor.

The next reign was disturbed by Tatar incursions, Tibetan aggressions, and palace intrigues, the lawful Empress having been supplanted by a *ci-devant* Buddhist nun,[3] whom she herself brought to court to supersede another favourite. The new-comer obtained complete ascendancy over the emperor, and, on his death, she took upon herself, as empress mother, to depose the emperor for having raised his wife's father to an unsuitable dignity, and reigned herself in his stead. The usurpation was successful, and if the supreme power had come legitimately into her hands, the Empress Wu-heou would probably have been allowed to count among the capable and successful rulers of the dynasty. As it was, insurrections were frequent, and many officers of high standing held aloof from her administration. She attempted to change the name of the dynasty, and by raising her ancestors to the imperial rank, attempted to substitute her own family for that of Tang.

She is said to have established examinations for women, with a view to admitting them to the civil service. And she provoked a dangerous amount of discontent by allowing and inviting secret reports, addressed to herself, not through ministers, which it seems took the form of delations. In 689 A.D. she had the unparalleled audacity, in her own womanly person, to offer sacrifice in the imperial robes. The comparative leniency with which the historiographers, nevertheless, record her offences, may be due to the fact that she felt herself strong enough to tolerate the usual amount of free-spoken criticism, as to the favour shown to her own relations and the like. The best princes heed such remonstrances in Chinese story, but the praise of second-bestness is always allowed to those who listen without resentment, even when, it is added, they take no further notice. In 705 A.D., after twenty years of empire, and shortly before her death, at the venerable age of eighty-one, Wu-heou was forced to make way for her son, who, in his turn, was ruled by his wife, a lady whom the candid historians admit to have been much cleverer than himself, though she failed in the attempt to interrupt the succession as Wu-heou had done.

[1] [illegible] [2] Cf. *S. B.*, xxvii. p. 170.
[3] [illegible]

After another short reign, we come to that of Hiuen-tsong, 714–756 A.D., which began prosperously, but ended in disaster and abdication. The faults which the historians lay to his charge are the want of self-control, the love of women, elevation of eunuchs, and addiction to magic rites and religious superstitions. But the troubles were at first local, and did not prevent a moderate increase in the numbers of the tax-paying population: a census of 726 gives over seven million families or forty-one million persons in the empire, besides those employed in the army or the civil service, and in 754 the families exceed nine millions, and the total population fifty-two millions. In 746 the revolt which endangered the dynasty began. It was headed by a successful general, and former favourite of the emperor, of barbarous origin, who took that means of defending himself against rivals and detractors. The capital and central provinces suffered most severely, and before his abdication, Hiuen-tsong had been driven to take refuge in Sz'chuen.[1]

The census of 764 A.D. shows an almost incredible falling off in the population during the decade, less than three million householders being registered. The figures may be taken as an authentic record of the empire's weakness, though the actual loss of life in battle and famine cannot have been so great as they imply. Some districts were depopulated, and it is stated that during one siege, in Honan, human flesh was eaten. Si-ngan-fu also suffered from famine owing to the blocking of the canals, by which grain was imported from the south. But the census returns would also be affected by the necessary omission of all districts in the hands of the rebels, as well as those temporarily deserted by the cultivators, to say nothing of all that would profit by the disturbances to make fraudulent returns.

At the same time a determined attempt was made, especially in Honan, Shantung, and Petcheli, to restore the hereditary character of provincial governorships, and in 784 A.D., a number of these governors united together to force the emperor to appoint the sons of all the allies to succeed on their fathers' death. The fate of the provinces at this time depended much on the local governors, who for good or evil were able to make themselves tolerably independent of the empire. Sz'chuen seems to have enjoyed exceptional good fortune in this respect. The law provided (as it still does) that rations should be given to the families of soldiers on a campaign, in addition to their regular pay: but the general in charge of this province earned much gratitude, by continuing the allowance to the widows and children of deceased soldiers, till the former married again and the latter were of age to work. And this liberal ruler was so good an economist in other respects, that he was able to remit the usual tribute to court and at the same time levy less than the customary amount of taxes.

Tibet and the Tatars were still the most formidable neighbours, and the relations with the latter are a curious commentary on the Chinese preten-

[1] [illegible] Bull. [illegible], 1886, p. 457.

sions to have to do only with tributaries. It had been agreed that the Tatars should bring in so many horses annually, which the Chinese Government undertook to buy. The Tatars looked upon the agreement as entered into for their own interest, and brought in all their worn-out beasts, to the disgust of the Chinese officers. On appealing, however, to the emperor in 773, they were instructed not to trouble themselves about the quality of the horses, but to pay a fixed price in silk for every animal, and take their chance of finding a few available as cavalry mounts: an arrangement with which the Tatars were graciously pleased to rest contented for a while.[1]

By the accession of Te-tsong, the ninth Emperor of this dynasty (779–802 A.D.), open rebellion had been suppressed, and his reign began peaceably and in good hope. He ordered exact registers to be kept of all that was brought into the imperial treasuries to check waste and peculation, and he won great popularity by establishing a special tribunal to hear appeals from the people who considered themselves wronged by any of the officers of State. He also revived the legendary use of the drum, by which those who had vainly sought to obtain justice elsewhere made their appeal resound in the ears of the emperor himself. But the time for this primitive remedy was found to have gone by, and so many frivolous cases were brought before the emperor that he ordered all causes to be first considered by the new tribunal and only those of importance finally referred to himself. The same edict forestalled the more stringent prohibitions of Hien-tsong, by making it illegal to erect any new temples, or receive fresh candidates for Buddhist orders.

In the year 780 A.D. the census returns showed an increase of about a million families since the disasters which were at their height in 764;[2] the army at the same period consisted of 868,000 effective soldiers, and the revenue is given at 20,557,000 measures of grain,[3] and 30,898,000 taels; but internal peace was not long maintained; local governors drove the people to revolt by oppressive taxes, and when the revenue fell off it was impossible to pay the soldiers, who were ready to follow any leader who offered them a chance of plunder. In 784 the Emperor proclaimed a general amnesty, and in one of the penitent manifestoes, to which Chinese sovereigns are addicted, he takes to himself the blame for the misdeeds of all his subordinates and appeals to them to help him to behave better in future. The curious document served its purpose for a time, peace was restored, the harvests were abundant, and the emperor allowed himself to believe that the people must be prosperous at last. In 787 A.D., complaints were made of a dearth of horses, animals which seem never to have been really naturalized in China. In 793 a tax was for the first time levied on tea.

[1] De Mailla, vi. p. 311. An abridged history of the Tang Dynasty, translated by P. Gaubil, supplements De Mailla for this period.
[2] *Journ. As.* 1889, p. 457.
[3] 10 : 155 [illegible] each.

The reign of Hien-tsong (805–820) began with virtuous protestations that "not a piece of silk is used in the palace without being recorded,"[1] whereby he was enabled to use the more liberality in dealing out grain to the distressed; but later in the reign he is accused both of wasting his treasures in lavish gifts to unworthy favourites, and of accepting large gifts (one of a million pieces of silk) from officers, who it was notorious could only have obtained them by oppressing the people. This reign is also memorable for the revival of the political power of the eunuchs, with results to the dynasty like those of a similar development in the last century of the Han rule. In 809 A.D., an eunuch was appointed general, in defiance of public opinion, and the division between the officers of the interior, and those of the exterior, began to assume importance. The eunuchs succeeded in nominating a majority of the officers of State, and resented as an interference with their rights the attempt of Wen-tsong (826–840 A.D.) to promote meritorious officers for their services without money or interest.

In 828 the subject for an essay given at the public examination was that of duty and fidelity to princes. The most brilliant composition sent in was an elaborate attack on the eunuchs, and an appeal to the emperor to suppress their brigandage and cruelty. The examiners, while privately loud in the praise of this piece, did not dare to select its author, and recommended twenty-two others, who were at once provided with places. The twenty-two memorialized the emperor against the injustice, but without obtaining redress for their daring comrade.[2]

In 834 A.D., the Emperor complained that the dissensions of the nobles gave him more trouble than the raids of Tatars or Tibetans. He attempted to reduce the power of the chamberlains by degrees, but with so little success, that in 835 he joined in a kind of conspiracy with two officers to have them massacred. The plot failed, apparently because the officers in command of the palace guard were not in the secret; and the eunuchs' party was so strengthened by the abortive attack, that they compelled the emperor to decree that henceforward all affairs should be discussed and [illegible] the interior, and the rest of the Government [illegible] purely ministerial functions.

[illegible] 845, the census returns showed a falling off in the population of over 40,000 families, which caused some surprise, as there [illegible] or pestilence to account for the loss. In the eighteenth reign of the dynasty, disorders prevailed everywhere; a popu[illegible] rebellion was [illegible] troops. [illegible] by a rebel [illegible] years [illegible] and deserted.

[illegible]

one of them attempted to obtain control of some salt mines, which under honest management were bringing in a large revenue to the State, and on the refusal of the governor to surrender his charge, an accusation of disloyalty was brought against him by the eunuch's adopted son. From henceforward to the close of the dynasty, the palace officials fought vigorously, and with ability worthy of a better cause, in defence of their own disastrous supremacy, and they would probably have succeeded in holding their own against domestic rivals for imperial favour, if their parasitic clutch had not once more proved fatal to the imperial house, to which they clung and which buried them in its fall.

Formerly the eunuchs had been content with personal influence within the palace, and the opportunities of enriching themselves so afforded. For them to form a political party shows the weakness of other interests, as well as the Chinese aptitude for association under the least encouraging conditions. It was said on one occasion, when it had been attempted to weaken them by detaching some from the cabal or sowing dissension among them, that they all held together, and that if one was attacked, the others would all sink their differences and come to his assistance. Such instances of *esprit de corps*, apart from family ties, are of course not unknown, and the partisanship of a celibate clergy, of mercenary troops, or a mixed society like the Knights Templars, is not altogether unlike the spirit of these Chinese officers of the Interior. Politically their influence would naturally differ from that of outside politicians, as the temper of the permanent staff in a Government office differs from that of the responsible statesmen from time to time placed at the head of the department.

But to make themselves formidable beyond the palace as well as in it, it was indispensable for them to obtain adherents outside their own body; and about this time the chief eunuchs set themselves to strengthen their party by *adopting* young men of promise as their sons, whose promotion they were of course able to ensure, and who, as great officers or generals, were entirely devoted to their "fathers'" interests. In 891 there were as many as 600 of these adopted sons, most of whom held office. The adherence of other officers and troops, and especially of the palace guards, was secured by largesses, while the soldiery were instigated to mutiny against hostile nobles.

The climax was reached in 900 A.D., when the emperor was imprisoned in his own palace by the eunuchs. He was released by force of arms the next year, but even then the proposal to exterminate the rebels was rejected on the ground of the immense number of them employed about the palace. They thought themselves powerful enough to refuse all offers, even of honourable employment, which would take them away from the court; but in 903 the coalition between a successful general and a loyal minister prevailed. An edict was published abolishing the custom of reporting affairs of State, first to an "inner tribunal" of eunuchs, who were, it was claimed, able to discuss them more intimately with the emperor, and therefore decide them better; though, in fact, the only decision taken was often to keep the

whole matter from the emperor's knowledge. The ministers were now required to report direct to the emperor himself, and the emperor's new masters demanded the abolition of all the "interior tribunals," and the recall of the provincial inspectors employed by the eunuchs to terrorize the local officials.

As in the days of the Warring States, local governors seized provinces for themselves, only asking formally for the emperor's sanction to the *fait accompli*. The country was desolated by their private wars, and these revolts too were laid to the eunuchs' charge, since they were caused by impatience of the authority exercised by such unfit menials. After this the massacre began, and thousands were put to death; only a few boys and old men were spared to sweep the courts of the palace, and the emperor's orders were conveyed directly to the nobles; but so deeply rooted had the habit of employing go-betweens become, that women were employed in the mechanical office of receiving the memorials to be handed to the emperor, and of transmitting his replies to the ministers.

The emperor had long been treated only as a puppet, the charge of whose person gave a certain advantage, in the game of civil war, to the leader who secured it. The chiefs of the movement against the eunuchs had fallen out amongst themselves, and in 904 A.D. the emperor's gaoler, the general Tchu-wen, put him and his family to death, sparing only one younger son, whom he proclaimed emperor. Then follow massacres of the best remaining nobles, and as the patriotic clubs or secret societies, which had tried to stem the disorders of the last reign or to pave the way for a new order, had been stamped out, no further resistance was possible. The titular monarch abdicated in favour of his father's murderer, and so the dynasty ends; but the usurper was not held to have succeeded by the appointment of heaven, as his elder brother condemned his disloyalty and refused to accept rank or honours at his hands.

## § 2. Intercourse with Foreigners.

During the Tang Dynasty the intercourse between China and other considerable powers was not only closer but conducted on more nearly equal terms than at any other time. In 632 the ancient settlement of Khotan, or the "breast of the world," reappears in Chinese history as sending an ambassador, while the account of the people given by our Chinese authorities [illegible] strangely sympathetic. "They understand rites and justice, [illegible] studious, and ingenious,"[1] possessing, that is, just those qualities in the cultivation of which the Chinese esteem their own [illegible] the want of which they pity and despise all the [illegible] with whom they are brought in contact. The men of Khotan [illegible] even went beyond the Chinese in ceremoniousness, [illegible] to put a knee to the ground in greeting [illegible] their capital as a city which no one has been able to capture, and notices the decorous and equitable manners of

[1] [illegible] A. Rémusat, p. 32 [illegible]

the people, their courteous and law-abiding temper, their love of music and dancing, and their skill in weaving fine felt and taffetas.

The neighbouring kingdom of Tibet is first mentioned in the annals for 634 A.D. as sending ambassadors with tribute and being able to raise a large and formidable army. The first conquests attempted by it are over the petty kingdoms of the West, and in 669 the intercourse with China is still of a friendly character, by which the Tibetan envoy profited to give a glowing description of the simple virtue and patriotism of his people. But half a century later, when in reply to an embassy from Cashmere, the Chinese Government had sent to assist Cashgar and the neighbouring States against the troops of the Caliphs, the Tibetans formed an alliance with the Turks against China. The relations were, however, more often friendly than not; and in 731, when the question of sending copies of the Chinese Classics to the king of Tibet was discussed, it was decided not to withhold from him those means of spiritual improvement. The profit thence derived must have been small, for in 787 A.D. China was actually induced to seek alliances in Yunnan and India with the Caliph and the Uigours against the Tibetans, whose incursions were felt in Shensi and the settlements north of the desert as well as in Sz'chuen, till peace was restored in 821 A.D., by a treaty, which is said to be still preserved at Lhassa.

Appeals from Persia and India for help against the Saracens were addressed to China more than once in the 7th and 8th centuries; and the heir apparent to the Persian throne resided for a time as hostage at the court of China. An embassy was actually sent from Constantinople in the time of Leo the Isaurian to the great power of the East. In 798 the kotow was performed—not without reluctance—by an embassy from a Caliph Galun,[1] but a politic mandarin in Central Asia received Turkish princes according to their own rites, and rebuked the Chinese officers who ridiculed all strange usages as barbarous. But for the physical structure of the continent, which isolates India and China, while freezing Tibet and nomadizing Tartary, the spread of Arab conquest round or across the desert would have reached a point near enough to bring about a collision with China. As it was, a general impetus was given to foreign travel and foreign commerce; and while the court was filled every year by strangers coming peaceably from regions that Han-wu-ti had vainly endeavoured to subdue by force of arms, colonies of traders established themselves in the southern ports, as well as along the continental trade routes.

In 648 A.D. a kingdom hitherto unknown sent ambassadors, who are described as tall, martial men with red hair and blue eyes; and they had been preceded by messengers from a kingdom in the far North-west, where the days are long and the nights short, and not dark, even when the sun has set, because of the twilight that never leaves the horizon. About the year 700 A.D. a market for strangers was opened at Canton, and an

[1] The famous Haren al Raschid, 786–808 A.D., correspondent also of Charlemagne. Gaubil's *Histoire des Thang*, 798 A.D.: *Mém. conc. les Chinois*, vol. xvi. p. 144.

imperial commission appointed to levy duties. In 714 A.D. we hear of a petition of foreign merchants, arriving by way of the southern sea, which is forwarded from the coast in quite modern fashion for the emperor's consideration. It set forth all the precious things which the merchants could bring from the countries of the West, and represented them as only desirous of collecting medicinal drugs and simples. Unfortunately for the traders, they arrived at the beginning of a new reign, when a vigorous attempt had been made to put down the luxury of the court, and the Emperor, after proscribing the use of gold and silver ornaments, had given directions for a great "burning of the vanities" at the gate of the palace. Hence, when he proposed to send one of the censors to question the strangers, he was reminded of the praiseworthy indifference shown by the ancient kings to useless curiosities and the interested pleas of foreign merchants, and it was concluded to take no further notice of the petition.

Foreign trade continued to exist on sufferance, but so far as the Chinese were concerned, it was limited by the attitude of the Government to a moderate exportation of staple commodities, paid for in foreign coin or precious metals. What China had to sell was much more important to the Western nations than anything she or her rulers could be prevailed upon to buy; and so long as the trade dealt with surplus manufactures, like silk, or natural products, like musk or rhubarb, and did not endanger the local food supply, it was not interfered with. In 794 A.D. complaints were made that trade was leaving Canton for Cochin China, but the traders' schemes for recovering or pursuing it were discouraged by the Government, which opined that there must have been intolerable extortions used to drive it away, or a want of natural inducements to bring it, and quoted the Shoo: "Do not prize strange commodities too much, and persons will come from remote parts."

Arab geographers and travellers of the 9th century show what a development had been reached by foreign commerce under this modified freedom. The Jewish merchants described by Ibn Khordadbeh as speaking Persian, Latin, Greek, Arab, Spanish, Slavonic, and Lingua franca, and trading by sea and land to the remotest regions, had their representatives at Canton; and the four trade routes, enumerated by Sir Henry Yule,[1] enabled all the great commercial communities to try their hand at the China trade. The first of these routes led from the Mediterranean over the Isthmus of Suez, and [illegible] by sea; another reached the Indian sea via Antioch, Bagdad and Bussora and the Persian Gulf; a third followed the coast of Africa by land from Tangiers to Egypt and thence by Damascus to Bagdad, while the fourth led south of the Caspian Sea and north of the central Asian desert to the gates of the Great Wall. The Chinese traders either met the Western merchants at Ceylon, or themselves came as far as [illegible]

[illegible]

The account of Chinese manners and customs given by two Arab travellers in the middle of the 9th century is particularly interesting, as they are the first eye-witnesses whose impressions we are able to compare with the sketches of the black-haired people, as painted by themselves, upon which we have hitherto been obliged to rely. Their standard of civilization must of course be based upon that of the Caliphate, which in 851 A.D. was already past its prime, but still outwardly magnificent, and in material civilization ahead of any Christian court in the West. Every traveller in China, we are told,[1] is furnished with a pass for himself and his goods, so that the latter cannot be carried off. The Chinese "administer justice with great strictness in all their tribunals," and both parties to a suit are warned that they will be beaten if guilty of perjury. When any dearth makes the necessaries of life very dear, "then does the king open his storehouses and sell all sorts of provisions much cheaper than they are to be had at market,"[2] and hence no scarcity can be of long continuance.

The Chinese "have gold, silver, pearls, silk, and rich stuffs in great abundance, but they consider them only as movables and merchandise, and copper pieces are the only current coin."[3] The men "adorn their girdles" with these things and with tortoise-shell, and ivory, and these girdles and rich apparel used to be buried with their kings and princes; "but this custom is now no more" because of thieves who dug them up. The same writer says that there is no land tax in China—a mistake which would be excusable if his inquiries were limited to the commercial towns of which the statement would be true. Another remark is very significant of the difference between China and other Oriental countries where diseased mendicancy is so common that the absence of it strikes a traveller with surprise: "Scarce a one-eyed or a blind person is to be seen or any one subject to the like afflictions."[4]

The populousness of the fertile plains was then as now an object of remark; the villages seemed so close as almost to touch, and the cocks answer each other continuously from hamlet to hamlet for 100 leagues together.[5] The people "are divided among themselves into families and tribes like the Arabs and some other nations, and they know each other by the difference of their descents. No one marries in his own tribe, and a man of one family espouses not a woman of the same; but as if, for example, a man of the family of Robayat marries into that of Modzar, and inversely a Modzar conjoins with a Robayat. They are of opinion that such alliances add to the nobility of the children." The last sentence seems to show that tradition had not yet lost sight of the reason which had led to the general adoption of the rule, under the Chow Dynasty, when intermarriages within the narrow limits of the hamlet were, if unchecked, almost sure to result in physical degeneracy. Allowing for a moderate

[1] *Ancient Accounts of India and China by two Mahommedan travellers, [illegible] the [illegible] century*, translated from the Arabic by Eusebius Renaudot, p. 20.
[2] *Ib.*, p. 24.
[3] *Ib.*, p. 20.
[4] *Ib.*, p. 37.
[5] *Ib.*, p. 62. Cf. Mencius, *Life and Works*, p. 161.

proportion of travellers' wonders and misunderstandings, there can be no doubt that our two Arabs saw and admired a China very like that of later travellers, and corresponding in external features to that which is more completely portrayed by native historians.

The first of the memoirs was written in 851 A.D.: by 877, according to the second writer, the Arab trade with China was interrupted by the internal troubles which had "put a stop to the justice and righteousness there formerly practised." Two rebel armies were, in fact, ravaging Southern China, and one of the rebels, having vainly demanded to be installed as governor of Canton, besieged and captured that rich and populous town; and, according to the Arab account, massacred the whole of its large foreign population, of Jews, Mahommedans, Christians, and Parsees. As many as 100,000 are said to have perished, and the numbers are defended on the ground that an accurate register of the strangers was kept for the sake of the poll tax levied on them. It is scarcely possible, however, that so large a foreign colony should have been tolerated in a single town, and the numbers given may have included both the Chinese servants of the foreigners and all the natives exclusively engaged in dealings with them. The fall of the Tang Dynasty, which followed in 908 A.D., co-operated with the decline of the Arab power to break off the growing intercourse between South China and the Western nations by way of the Indian seas. The journey was too long to be undertaken without the assurance of a peaceful market, while the supply of merchandise itself must have fallen short for the time, as the rebel armies are accused of the supreme barbarism of cutting down the mulberry trees.

### § 3. Literature, Orthodoxy, and Buddhism.

It may be doubted whether the political influence of the literati stood as high during this period as under the Hans. They had to contend for the maintenance of their spiritual authority against Buddhists and Taoists, and both they and their rivals had comparatively little to do with the other struggle being waged meanwhile between courtiers, condottieri, and feudalizing nobles for the spoils of empire. Confucianism alone was not compromised in the disasters of the dynasty, since it alone had not contributed to produce them. The system of examination as a means of selecting officers was not condemned, for it had not been fairly tried, though the machinery of the examinations themselves had been elaborated, as if in preparation for a time when its importance would be more fully recognised.

The so-called Imperial College consisted of six higher schools, to which youths were admitted between the ages of 14 and 19: the total curriculum extended to twelve or [illegible] years. The first school received 300 students, and corresponded to that in which the emperor's sons were anciently supposed to receive their education along with the sons of higher officers of State; it was open to the sons of lower, and the sons,

grandsons and great-grandsons of higher officers. The second school, or "Great College," admitted 500 sons or remote descendants of inferior officers. The third, or "College of the four gates," received 1,300 students —500 drawn from the class of landowners and inferior officials, while 800 were "men of the people" distinguished in the examinations held all over the kingdom. The fourth, or school of laws, had only 50 students, and the schools of writing and arithmetic only 30 each, all of whom were taken either from among the people or the sons of the lower officers, and these were doubtless intended to provide a kind of technical training for clerks on the permanent staff of Government boards.[1]

The actual number of the students probably fluctuated with the imperial liberality and the reputation of the schools, and it was said to have reached 10,000 in the reign of Tai-tsong (629–649). Students of the great college who distinguished themselves might be promoted to the college of superior dignity nominally reserved to the sons of high officers. In 729 A.D. we meet with the complaint that correct pronunciation was more attended to than the meaning of words, and Han-yu pleads for less respect of persons and greater strictness in the examinations. But the purely literary and unpractical character of the tests was not yet acquiesced in. Three papers, so to speak, were set—one in the classics, one to test the candidate's style and literary attainments, and one containing five questions relating to affairs of the day,[2]—to one of which the famous denunciation of the eunuchs was an answer.

By an edict of 706 A.D. the payment to be made by scholars to their teachers was laid down.[3] Tuition has always been cheap in China, where the remuneration of the learned professions is still as nearly on a level with that of the mechanical arts as it was in mediæval Europe; and the presents of silk, wine, and meat required from the students were very modest in amount. The reason for prescribing the payment probably was that the State had hitherto paid the teachers' salary, and that it was an innovation for the professors to depend on the students' fees. The imperial library was founded in 723 A.D., but the funds at its disposal must have been scanty, as the buildings when injured by rain were not repaired. The famous Han-lin college, which now furnishes the imperial historiographers, examiners, and directors of public instruction, was founded in 740 A.D. to "answer the emperor's questions about language and literature."[4] The period was one of considerable literary activity, and the brilliant original writings of the day distracted attention from the mechanical cares of bibliography, so that many works of repute were found to have disappeared when the erudite compilers and commentators of the Sung Dynasty began their researches. Ssema-tching, who flourished at this period, is the first

[1] *L'Instruction publique en Chine*, p. 256.
[2] *Ib.*, pp. 270–9.
[3] *Ib.*, p. 283.
[4] *Ib.*, p. 335. Pauthier gives 712 A.D. as the date of the foundation. But [illegible] complete constitution might easily occupy a generation.

historian, at least the first whose works survive, who gives an account of the legendary period preceding the sufficiently mythical emperor Fou-hi.

In 736 A.D. an important change was made, which on the one hand raised the standard of the examinations and on the other diminished the chances of the successful candidates obtaining office. The direction of the examinations was transferred from the "minister of Offices" to the minister of Rites, presumably because the former allowed extraneous circumstances to weigh in the bestowal of degrees. But as the bestowal of office still rested with the department by which the officers were employed, a constant feud between the two was kept up for several centuries. Candidates who had passed successfully the examination conducted by the Board of Rites were only thereby qualified for appointment to office; their actual nomination for active service rested with the Board of Offices, which, not being able to employ all the successful candidates, used its discretionary powers of rejection in a way which the mass of graduates resented as unfair, even when preceded by a third examination.[1]

In the middle of the 8th century orthodoxy was exposed to a danger like that which threatened under the Souy Dynasty, when public examinations were held in the works of Buddhist theology. Hiouen-tsong's partiality for Taoism showed itself by the attempt to add the works of Lao-tze to the official literature, and between 741 and 763 A.D., students were allowed to "take up" the works of this philosopher, either instead of or in addition to the regular classics.[2] In the next reign this concession was revoked, and we hear no more of Taoist degrees till the beginning of the 12th century; but learning was affronted by the appointment of an ambitious eunuch as examiner, and scholarship was so ill paid, that professors complained they had to eke out their salaries by taking to agriculture. That the importance of success in the examinations on the whole continued to increase, is proved by the precautions first taken at this time, by order of the Empress Wu-heou, to prevent favouritism or corruption, by concealing the authorship of the papers given in.

The career of Hiouen-thsang, the famous traveller, who was born 602 A.D., is thoroughly illustrative of the mixed tendencies of the age. His father had wisely withdrawn from office in view of the prevailing disorder, and passed his time in private study. His grandfather had presided over the Imperial College under the Thsi Dynasty, and received by way of salary the taxes of an important town; and his great grandfather had held a governorship under the most enlightened of the northern dynasties, the Yuen Wei. He thus belonged by birth to the class from which successful students and officers are drawn, and he was taught to read by his father out of the classical books. But one of his elder brothers had entered a Buddhist convent, and saw in the grave and studious boy an excellent recruit for the propagation of the same faith. And while still under thirteen, he was diverted from the study of the classics to that of Buddhist books of devotion. Soon afterwards, the emperor issued a sudden decree, com

[1] *Introduction pratique en Chine*, p. 310. [2] *Ib.*, p. 289.

manding the ordination of twenty-seven monks, at Loyang, and by a curious jumble of ideas, the privilege was to be accorded to the successful candidates in an examination. There were several hundred competitors, all remarkable for their learning, and Hiouen-thsang, though too young to be allowed to compete, was accepted without examination, on account of his promising appearance and discreet conversation. For the next few years he devoted himself to study, and obtained a great reputation in theological circles.

It is after all no great reflection on the intelligence of a Chinese contemporary of St. Columban, that he was more attracted by the doctrines of Buddhism at its best than by Confucianism at its worst. But the rationalistic bent of the Chinese mind showed itself with Hiouen-thsang in the elaboration of doubts and difficulties, which, fortunately for his spiritual peace, admitted of being traced to an imperfect possession of the sacred texts. And it was for the satisfaction of these doubts that he determined upon the journey to India, by way of Central Asia, to which we are indebted for the Si-Yu-ki,[1] and the pilgrim himself for a cosmopolitan celebrity. He started at the age of twenty-seven (629 A.D.), early in the reign of Tai-tsong, to whom he had applied without success for permission to leave the country. He returned in 645 with twenty-two horse-loads of books and statues, and relics innumerable. He was favourably received at court, where the best emperors were always eager to cross-examine intelligent travellers about the customs, products, and government of foreign lands; and he was even invited to lay aside the "yellow mantle" and abandon the religious life, so that he might be employed as a minister of State.

His answer is curious, and shows that the most disinterested votaries of the new law had not thought of supplanting the Confucian hierarchy in the regulation of secular affairs. He had "left his family"[2] in childhood, and ever since devoted himself with ardour to the study of the mysteries of the law of Buddha. He knew nothing of the doctrine of Confucius, which was the life and soul of the government, and if he left his vocation for a secular life, he would resemble a vessel under full canvas, which left the sea, and tried to sail on dry land; he would not only fail, but would destroy himself in the attempt.

This glimpse of things from the Buddhist point of view is an instructive supplement to that presented by the official histories. Three years before the departure of Hiouen-thsang for the countries of the West, a scholar named Fou-y had addressed a memorial to the emperor Kao-tsong, against the two heretical sects of Buddha and Lao-tze. He accuses the first of despising the virtues of loyalty and filial piety, and, without caricaturing the doctrines he attacks, he briefly accentuates their fundamental incompatibility with the Chinese ideal of family life and social duty. Both

[1] *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales traduites du Sanscrit en Chinois en l'an 648 par Hiouen-thsang et du Chinois en Français*, par M. Stanislas Julien, 1858.

[2] *Ibid.* entered a convent.

doctrines are accused of promoting an immoral quietism, resignation to the law of Fo taking the place of a wholesome regard for the natural system of rewards and punishments administered by princes who understand the laws of Heaven and Earth. The Taoist dreams of immortality have the same effect in making men indifferent to the consequences of their actions. All the evils which had fallen on China since the decadence of the Hans are attributed to the spread of false doctrines, and the fate of Wu-ti, the founder of the Leang Dynasty, is quoted as a warning.[1]

In conclusion, Fou-y points out that there are 100,000 Buddhist monks, and as many nuns, living in celibacy, and that if they were obliged to marry each other there would be 100,000 families to contribute soldiers to the defence of the country and labourers for its support.[2] To please the emperor, who was supposed to have a *penchant* for Taoism, the nobles to whom this memorial was referred, in Chinese fashion, for consideration and report, concurred, with one exception, in condemning the proposition; but the instincts of the emperor were stronger in Kao-tsong than those of the sectary, and he could not approve of having so many of his subjects withdrawn from productive pursuits. The local officers were therefore commanded to ascertain the number of the religious orders, with a view to reducing it, and they were instructed to tolerate one temple only in each town of the first class, and presumably, none elsewhere.

Nearly 200 years after the memorial of Fou-y, the unsatisfactory state of the revenue, even in time of peace, led to an inquiry; and the ministers reported that there were at that moment (811 A.D.) 800,000 troops in the empire, and that a full half of the rest of the population consisted of merchants, priests, and others, who did not cultivate the ground, so that really three-tenths of the population did the work necessary to feed and clothe the remaining seven.[3] The number of officials had increased to no less than 10,000, and their salaries had been gradually increased by raising towns of the third rank to the second, and so on, in order that their governors might be paid the salaries belonging to the higher grade. Formerly, mandarins of the first rank received a monthly allowance of 1,200 large measures of grain, and 3,000 strings of cash; but in the reign of Tai-tsong (762-778 A.D.), the latter amount was trebled, and now the governor of the least third-class town received several thousand strings monthly. While learning was thus honoured—for these posts of growing value were being granted in larger measure than before to the successful candidates in the examinations—the literati in and out of office must have watched with comparative equanimity the spread of Buddhism, a doctrine which, in the words of a writer of the period, "admits no envious rivalry for place or power." The remedy proposed by the censors was simple and effective, being merely to reduce the number and the salaries of

[1] [illegible] [illegible] the imperial gallery.

[2] [illegible]

[3] [illegible]

the official class; but after this display of impartiality, there was a notable revival of anti-Buddhist zeal.

This memorial was presented in the reign of Hien-tsong (805–820 A.D.). The Emperor himself was an ardent Buddhist, and received with extravagant demonstrations of honour and respect a relic of Buddha, consisting of a finger which was supposed to unbend itself once in thirty years. Han-yu, otherwise called Han-wen-kung, a brilliant writer of the period, known as the Prince of Literature, addressed an indignant memorial to the emperor, recapitulating the warnings of history, and pointing out that Buddha himself was a man from the barbarous West, whom, if living, the emperor could only receive with moderate and appropriate courtesy, in which the general public would take no part. How unfitting, then, that when the man is dead, the reception of one of his bones should be treated as a matter of imperial importance, and an occasion of national rejoicing! Han-yu concludes by defying the power of this foreign idol, much as Christian missionaries in barbarous lands were wont to do, in the hope of proving the impotence of false gods to execute judgment on the blasphemers of their claims. Unfortunately for the argument on this occasion, Fo had the emperor for an ally; and the bold memorialist, barely escaping with his life, was sent in virtual exile to the barbarous South, where he was appointed to the governorship of a town in Kwang-tung.[1]

This was a favourite way of punishing inconveniently scrupulous officials; and though some of them indulged in Ovidian laments over their hard fate, others, like Han-yu, solaced themselves by putting in practice, at a safe distance from envious eunuchs and mercenary rivals, all those maxims of good government which they had vainly tried to carry out at court. The local popularity which, then as now, rewarded a disinterested administrator was a sort of compensation, and there was always the probability of the exile being recalled, by another turn of the wheel of fortune, as was the case with Han-yu in the next reign. When we remember how much the Roman Empire suffered from the oppressive and extortionate administration of corrupt provincial governors, we are almost tempted to see a kind of Macchiavellian cunning in this way of employing honest officials wherever their honesty was not inconvenient to the corruption at headquarters. Whether the policy was deliberately followed or not, it was certainly one of the causes which contributed to the spread and consolidation of a civilized order in the more distant parts of the empire during this and other dynasties.

On the subject of the prevailing latitudinarianism, Han-yu complains that even Confucianists talk of their master as having shown respect for Lao-tze and Buddha—though the worship of the latter was not known in China till the eastern Hans—and he denounces, as the great evil of the day, the craving after the supernatural, which Confucianism most

[1] *Fo-kuo-ki of Hien-tsang*, by T. Watters, [illegible] *N. China Branch of R. A. S.*, N.S., vol. [illegible], p. 145. The *Anti-Buddhist Memorial* is translated by Mr. Giles, in *[illegible] Empire*.

emphatically discourages.[1] But the *a priori* arguments of the ancients are rather taken for granted by the later controversialists, and Han-yu insists principally upon the practical disadvantages of tolerating two new classes of non-producers. Anciently the people were divided into four classes, the scholars, husbandmen, artisans, and traders, of whom the first only had to be maintained out of the labours of the rest; but now six classes have to be maintained by three, so who can wonder if crime and beggary prevail?

Another brilliant writer, a friend and contemporary of Han-yu, had consorted with educated Buddhists and found much to approve in their doctrines of morality, while he sympathised with their taste for a life of calm study and contemplation. But though a scholar might lead a life of studious contemplation if his means allowed, or if his philosophy was sturdy enough to put up with peasant fare, such a life was not the highest ideal of a Chinese statesman. Self-culture was a part of the duty of every citizen, but the proof of eminence in that art was the production of a self admirably adapted for the service of society, a "man useful to others,"[2] and such service was the duty as well as the privilege of the select few. For individuals, who did nothing but try to save their own souls, to demand to be maintained at the expense of the community while so engaged, was not only absurd but anti-social. And in fact, so long as the quarrel between religious asceticism and political secularism continued in China, the secularists posed consistently as the champions of social duty as opposed to spiritual egotism.

The next attack upon the new religions came from a different quarter, and was aimed at the Buddhists only, by Wu-tsong (841–864 A.D.), an emperor who shared the weakness of his house for the Taoist sect. He began by ordering the destruction of all pagodas erected by private persons without authority, and renewed the prohibition against tolerating more than one temple of the sect in provincial towns. The two temples allowed to the

capital were limited to thirty priests each, the remainder to five or ten; and the inmates of all the other monasteries, male and female, to the number of 265,000, were commanded to return to their homes and resume their place in the taxpaying community. In all, 44,600 monasteries and temples were condemned, of which only a tithe had received official sanction. The number of the monasteries is not given separately; but judging from the numbers of their inmates it must have increased formidably since the middle of the 7th century, when, according to the memoirs of Hiouen-thsang, there were 3,716 convents in the whole Empire, and the ordination of 18,500 monks and nuns, authorized upon the traveller's intercession, was sufficient to make up for the depopulation of the monasteries during the stormy close of the Souy Dynasty.

The convent lands were confiscated, the materials of the temples used for the repair of public buildings, the copper statues melted down to make money, and the lesser movables most probably annexed by the officials sent to carry out the Imperial edict. The slaves of the monasteries, to the number of 150,000, were set free, and, like the monks, added to the ranks of the common people, who were liable to the payment of land and labour tax. The stringency of these anti-Buddhist edicts was partly relaxed at the beginning of a new reign in the following year, but the indulgence was abused so that in 852 the Chinese were again forbidden to take Buddhist orders.

The intercourse with the West, which was closer under this dynasty than at any former period, had opened the door to other strange religions, two of which were dealt with in a second edict. The priests of foreign origin were to be conveyed to the frontier nearest their own country, while the Chinese converts were required, like the Buddhists, to return to their secular duties. As there were 3,000 priests or monks affected by the edicts, it is obvious that the congregations cannot have consisted exclusively of foreigners, and the clash of different proselytizing sects, competing for the contributions of the ignorant populace, was particularly abhorrent to the rulers. The banished religions were those of Ta-tsin, which is described as "a kind of Fo religion," and is certainly Christianity, and that of Mou-hou-fou, a name which suggests Mohamedanism, though the description given answers better to some form of Magianism or Manichæism[1] imported from Persia.

It is curious that at the same time (845 A.D.) the control of the surviving monasteries was put under the Chinese Foreign Office, for the very logical reason that "the religion of Fo came from India." The official religion was a part of the internal polity of the realm, and the Board of Rites could no more be asked to look after foreign superstitions than a European minister of religion to look after secular education.

[1] [illegible] Mugalli, the M[illegible] had considerable influence [illegible] Eastern T[illegible] 944 A.D. [illegible] *Sui*, [illegible] *Ch'ien*, [illegible] v. 20; *S.B.*, v. [illegible] 50, [illegible] Persian intercourse with China and Chinese dependencies.

## § 4. Agrarian Economy of the Tang.

The encyclopædist Ma-twan-lin mentions the period between 627 and 649 A.D. as the last, during which the Government attempted to restore the old agrarian customs. It may be doubted whether the revival can have been actually carried out all over the empire, but the intention was to give every householder one lot of land for perpetual, and another, consisting of orchard, for temporary ownership, the last answering to the duty fields of the Souy. These lots as a rule were to consist of eighty and twenty mow respectively, and the repartition took place after the last of the crops were gathered in. The restrictions on sales, enforced by the Yuen Wei, were retained, but land might be pledged by an absentee owner, who had no natural representatives to occupy it for him, and a cultivator, desirous of migrating to another district, might sell his allotment and employ the purchase money in obtaining another elsewhere.

The limits on purchases were evaded by rich men who bought land in the name of agents or farmers, and the practice of sub-letting, which reached a considerable development under the Sung, seems to have originated at this time, as the reserves of State land became exhausted and the low official rent ceased to act as a check upon private owners. The fixity of tenure allowed by the State to its tenants contributed to this result, for land, let to one generation after another, came to be regarded as private property subject to land tax, which it resembled in all particulars except the original title.

It had formerly been a maxim of State that the land tax should be paid by the occupier, who was normally also the owner; but as the effect of the redistribution of lands at the beginning of the dynasty wore off, some of the cultivators fell again into poverty and the land tax into arrears. Yang-jin, one of the innovating financiers, then hazarded the startling doctrine that it did not matter who paid the taxes provided enough was paid.[1] He therefore introduced a new plan of taxing artisans and tradesmen, so as to make the personal tax of these classes as remunerative as the land tax. A great development of trade is said to have followed this measure, so we must suppose that previously the Government had put difficulties in the way of the cultivators leaving the land for other pursuits. The same principle served to justify the indulgence now extended to the rich proprietors who undertook to pay the personal taxes of their dependants, while taking their chance of evading the land tax altogether. The increase in the amount levied gave the landless poor an additional motive for accepting the protection thus offered, without regard to its probable [illegible].

[illegible] was on the whole much heavier than under the Hans. The demand for money payments in 766 A.D. was in itself burdensome, and [illegible] was commuted into a biennial grain payment, [illegible] in the case of the more fertile lands,

[illegible] 1838, [illegible]

was nearer 25 than 10 per cent. Another account describes the people as divided into three classes, each comprising three sections and paying a kind of graduated income tax ranging from 4,000 tsien in the highest of the first class to 500 in the lowest of the third class.[1] The rate of payment is thus twenty times as much as that paid by an ordinary cultivator under the Hans; but the great falling off in the number of the taxpayers is the cause of the apparent increase.

Yang-jin, already quoted as maintaining that it did not matter who paid the taxes, gave, in the early years of Te-tsong (780 A.D.), the formal sanction of the exchequer to the feudalizing tendency of rich landowners, by taxing the estate as a whole, and making the landlord responsible for taxes levied on all the landless families settled under his protection. Free labourers with no fixed settlement or occupation were called "strangers;" and as this class increased in numbers, the loss to the revenue, from the impossibility of taxing the migratory poor, became considerable.

The new measure, though taxing land which had previously escaped, was not unpopular with the rich, because it gave for the first time a kind of legal sanction to the system of "agglomeration;" and by allowing, so to speak, the lord of the manor to stand between the State and the cultivators, it sanctioned his usurpation of those imperial functions which had hitherto been sedulously guarded. The State, in fact, waived its right of determining what burdens should be imposed on the peasantry, in order to facilitate the collection of revenue, and the result was much the same as in the case of more deliberate attempts at farming the taxes. The new feudal chiefs used their power to make themselves independent of the Crown, the land tax became a sort of tribute, to be refused by those who were strong enough to do so with impunity, and the gradual decay of the imperial authority which led to the fall of the dynasty, was held to begin with this surrender of direct influence.

In somewhat the same way, though more legitimately, the revival of the village system was used as a means of increasing the corvées, which at this time formed a serious and unpopular burden. The payment required in lieu of personal services was three times as much as that paid for the duty fields, and instead of the three days' labour required by the Chow Li, it was regarded as a concession to demand only twenty-two days' labour in the year. Individual labourers apparently had succeeded in evading the demands on them, and the labour tax was therefore assessed upon the village as a whole, so that the local authorities were obliged in self-defence to force all the inhabitants to contribute. The central government was apt to transfer unpopular duties like this to the village authorities in other cases. Thus, for example, in 983 A.D., when the issue of counterfeit money was punished by death, the neighbours in towns and villages were made responsible for each other, so as to prevent tacit complicity.

As an encouragement to agriculture, newly reclaimed land was allowed to be held free of tax, and it is significant of the depressed state in which

[1] *Ibid.* [illegible]

the cultivators found themselves, that this permission was followed by complaints that the old taxed land was being abandoned in favour of the free wastes. Several memorials were addressed to Tai-tsong, against the oppression caused by public works, and he was reminded of the full treasuries left by the deposed Souy Dynasty, to show how little a ruler is likely to gain by economies made at the expense of his subjects. Throughout the prosperous times of the dynasty, it seems to have been a standing source of surprise and disappointment to the more thoughtful politicians, that the common people were not as much better off as was to be expected from the aggrandizement of the empire; and the only explanation that presents itself is that the Government was more expensive as well as stronger than its predecessors.

The emperor Te-tsong (779–802 A.D.) is reported to have held a conversation with a peasant, whom he met, when incognito, on a hunting expedition, which explains why even the best days of the Tang Dynasty fail to rank among the golden ages of popular tradition. Instead of the lawful tribute collected twice a year from the cultivator, this rustic complains that he is burdened with all sorts of mysterious and additional charges. He has to deliver the grain at court himself, without being paid a better price than when the Government collected it, though he has either to hire animals to bring it or wear out his own on the journey; and when by any chance a favourable harvest might make amends for his losses, he is obliged to sell his surplus at the lowest price and buy it back again at the highest, the first time he is in want.[1] In other words, the abuse which Ma-twan-lin describes under the name of "grain purchase by agreement" was rife at this time, and the so-called voluntary contract was forced on the helpless cultivators by the ever-growing army of tax collectors.

An apologue, by Lin-tsung-yuan (773–819), the philosophic defender of Buddhism against the diatribes of Han-wen-kung, represents the people as suffering quite as much from the indiscreet zeal of their rulers as from direct oppression. A certain market gardener[2] is described as famous because everything he plants is sure to thrive, and bear fruit or flowers early and abundantly. He is asked to describe his method, and explains that it consists only in letting things alone, in not worrying the plants with watching or training, but allowing them to grow as nature prompts when they are once well planted in good soil. He is asked if these principles can be applied to government. "Ah," he replied, "I only understand nursery gardening; government is not my trade. Still, in the village where I live, the officials are for ever issuing all kinds of orders, as if greatly compassionating the people, though really to their utter injury. Morning and night the underlings come round and say, 'His honour bids

[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible] p. 118.

us urge on your ploughing, hasten your planting, and superintend your harvest. Do not delay with your spinning and weaving. Take care of your children. Rear poultry and pigs. Come together when the drum beats. Be ready at the sound of the rattle.' Thus are we poor people badgered from morn till eve. We have not a moment to ourselves. How could any one flourish or develop under such conditions?"

The fable, which is evidently by a disciple of Chuang-tze, has an 18th century sort of sound, which makes it difficult to realize that it comes to us from the age of Egbert, but there is at least no difficulty in understanding how even a well-meaning oriental Government at that date might over-govern and over-burden its subjects in the name of progress. Like the contemporary secularism of Han-yu, the fabulist's belief in free industry survives in modern China, less as a speculative opinion than as an organic habit of mind and manners.

There is a Chinese proverb: "When swords are rusty and spades bright, prisons empty and granaries full, the steps of the temples covered with mud and the courts of the tribunals filled with grass, doctors on foot and bakers on horseback, when old men and children abound, the empire is well governed." Except with regard to the frequentation of temples, the Tang Dynasty did not as a rule stand very high in its conformity to these tests. The whole period was one of increasing commercial activity rather than one of increasing industrial prosperity. Both industry and commerce were hampered by Government interference, which was at least as often as not of an interested kind, and, as we have seen, resulted in the conversion of some of the leading writers of the day to the doctrine of *laissez faire* in its most extreme form.

But some of the legislation was honestly meant to check the danger of excessive inequality in the distribution of wealth, to which the Government had always been alive; and even the clumsy restrictions on trade, in the supposed interest of the treasury, had at worst the same tendency. No country in the world has really less to gain than China by foreign commerce, and, blunder for blunder, it is less unintelligent for a Government which distrusts the mercantile class to discourage trade by legislative restraints, than for those which intend to promote trade and manufactures to hamper both by would-be protective regulations, such as were universally believed in by European rulers till within the last century or two.

The Chinese method of utilizing experiments in the art "how not to do it" is in the main negative. When legislation of one sort has missed its aim or proved vexatious in fresh ways, the legislation is allowed to drop; it is not thought necessary to try a new plan at the risk of new inconveniences. The State learns what to let alone, and the people profit by their widening liberties to do for themselves what the Government had failed to do for them. The result is that industry and commerce are at the present moment more entirely left to themselves in China than in any other civilized country, with in the main satisfactory results. But it is only just to her earlier rulers to point out that this paradisaical state of

*laissez faire* was not reached by popular wisdom, in spite of State bungling, but under cover of legislation, wise and otherwise, yet, in the main, designed to compass the identical results which now commend themselves to public opinion in the Middle Kingdom. In other words, the experience of China proves that the industrial condition of a country may be permanently influenced by its legislation, when that legislation gives voice to powerful and deep rooted national tendencies.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### *CHINESE FINANCE FROM THE HAN TO THE TANG DYNASTY.*

THE leading ideas and recurring difficulties of Chinese financiers did not undergo any material change between the Han and the Tang Dynasties. One of the chief difficulties of the Government, the prevalence of illicit coining, was mainly owing to the simplicity of the mode, still in use, of casting money—a process which was easily imitated. Some ancient moulds, as well as coins, have been found, and in some cases the forger actually renders a service to the antiquary by preserving a piece which is ancient in everything except the date of casting. A curious bird-headed piece in the British Museum is a forgery of this kind,[1] representing a rare issue, dated between the T'sin and the Han. The legend has some reference to measures of corn, and it may possibly have been more like the tea or salt bonds of later times than a regular money.

Another curious, half scarab-shaped piece is known only from Chinese works. Members of the Han-lin College, towards the end of the Tang Dynasty, deciphered, but did not interpret, the characters on it. The collector must have begun his work in China with the literary revival of the Han. Quotations from native catalogues of collections made in the 6th century A.D., are met with in recent native works, and M. Terrien de la Couperie refers to five such of the present century which "are remarkable for the accuracy of their reproductions of coins, engraved from actual rubbings."[2] Indeed, it is probable that coins have been regarded as historical records, and consequently of value as such, for nearly as long as they have been in use.

Twenty years after the establishment of the Han Dynasty, another attempt at an enlarged issue was made with eight-tchu pieces; eleven years later Han-wu-ti issued cash of four tchu again; but free trade in coin was already permitted (177 B.C.) in the hope of putting down illicit coining. It was only stipulated that private mints should conform to the official standard of weight, shape, and purity.[3] Under the Chow, kings and princes had coined money in such quantities as suited themselves, leaving traders and towns to provide for their own needs as they pleased. It was not till the central authority was powerful enough for its issues to be generally preferred that the temptation to fraudulent coining began; and the toleration

[1] *Catalogue of Chinese Coins*, p. xxi.
[2] [illegible] ii.
[3] [illegible] *des Chinois*, par E. Biot, *Journ. Asiat.*, 1837, p. 147.

of free trade in money, which seems so paradoxical, all through the financial history of China, is really to be explained by this early experience, that it would not pay to counterfeit the money of the State, if there were a number of equally popular mints open.

About the middle of the 2nd century B.C., a prince of Wei issued a successful round money with rimmed edges; and a coinage, of which no specimens remain, was cast at the same time in North Sz'chuen, by Teng T'ung, the man whose name stands as a proverb, like that of Crœsus, for the uttermost possibilities of wealth. He had a concession to work the copper mines of Ya-chu-fu in that province; and, while his money was preferred on account of its purity to that of the Government, the great wealth he had accumulated was regarded as a warning against the toleration of such monopolies in private hands. In the year 135 B.C., free coining was again forbidden, and ancient coins, knife, leaf, saddle, and other old currencies were demonetized. In 119 a white metal currency of tin and silver was tried, and in the following year Han-wu-ti issued the favourite *tchu* coinage, which remained a standard down to the Tang Dynasty. The new cash were made with a rim to prevent forgery. The edict of 135 must have been disregarded, for Wu-ti issued another in 112 B.C., suppressing private mints, and ordaining that the most skilful of the coiners should be employed in the Imperial Mint. He at the same time appointed three officers to watch over the currency, and the money issued at this period became, and long continued, exceedingly popular. It must be admitted that the Chinese Government was hardly dealt with in the matter of coining, for if it issued good money it was clipped, and base coin made of the clippings, while if it issued bad coins the people declined to use them, multiplying instead imitations of the earlier issues it preferred. In 190 A.D., coins were cast like those of Wu, only without the rim, which used to be clipped off.

It is almost incomprehensible that the nation which first invented letters of credit, exchequer bonds and bank notes, should have been so slow to adopt the use of money at all, and should have continued to limit its currency to the tiny copper coins of which a hundred pounds worth weighs a ton. Yet if the question is looked at, as the advisers of the best emperors always sought to look at it, from the point of view of the small cultivator's interest, it is not so evident what this class had to gain by the introduction of a gold or silver coinage. So long as the Government allowed the taxes to be paid in kind, the villagers only needed money to effect [illegible] exchanges of produce, or for small marketings, both of which might at times take the form of simple barter. The value of the coins could hardly be too trifling when their chief function was to enable one villager to pay another for a handful of seed or a pair of sandals.

The transactions of the merchant, who bought the produce of one district in order to sell it in another, were normally upon something the same scale. The primitive merchant is little more than a carrier, and it is only in the case of exceptional commodities, like rare drugs and precious stones or metals, that the load personally convoyed by a single dealer, can re-

present much wealth. Any rudimentary tendency amongst traders to convert their whole store of useful commodities, *i.e.* their private capital into coin, to be spent in buying up commodities for sale at an advanced price, would have seemed to the legislators of the period as a diversion of industry from its proper functions, which should, as far as possible, be discouraged and deprived of all convenient implements. As *la petite culture* has been advocated by modern economists in the West, *la petite commerce* would have been deliberately defended, by all the generations of Chinese statesmen, whose policy has actually resulted in making every other Chinaman a little trader.

If the coinage was scarce, inconvenient, or unpopular, the people readily improvised standards of value, and used handfuls of grain for small change, and lengths of silk for larger values, as, to this day, salt is used in Yunnan and brick tea in Mongolia. Additional taxes, however oppressive, did not increase the demand for coin, as salt, iron, wine, and other articles, on which duties were from time to time imposed, were all as acceptable to the treasury as the normal payments of grain. A small token coinage seemed to meet the practical needs of the people, and the ideal of the Government thenceforward seems to have been, more or less consciously, to bar the way to accumulation by not recognising money as a commodity at all.

The Chinese emperor had less to gain than most European princes by tampering with the currency, because there was no public debt, and most Government expenses were borne locally, while salaries still consisted partly in allowances of grain. And provided the Government were honestly intent on doing so, it would have no more difficulty in limiting the issue of a token coinage, which represented the circulating surplus of silk and grain, than in limiting the issue of a token coinage representing the proportion of gold or silver available as money. The functions of such a token coinage are necessarily limited; but it is admitted by economists that a community, which agreed to use the tokens as machinery for the exchange of commodities, would not find the comparative value of the goods themselves affected by its substitution for metal.

Some of the economic heresies of the Chinese seem to have been on the whole original and peculiar to themselves. The words used to describe money as cheap or dear have reference to weight, not price or scarcity. Money is "heavy," *i.e.* dear, when a coin of fixed nominal value will buy a larger weight of commodities than usual, and it is "light," or cheap, when the reverse is the case. But by a confusion of ideas, such as abound in the history of economic speculation, it seems to have been thought that the value of the money, or its purchasing power, could be increased by the simple increase of its weight;[1] in fact, it was proposed to aim at the desirable result of cheap commodities and "heavy" money by raising the value of the money issued. The quantity of copper coin

[1] It is recorded that in 524 B.C. the emperor was desirous of having "large money" cast, and was dissuaded from doing so by his council, so currency questions were evidently discussed at an early period.

in circulation remaining the same, of course, the people suffered inconvenience from not having money small enough to serve for trifling transactions; but the error of the Government was not more gross, and certainly more disinterested, than the far more common mistake made in the opposite direction, by rulers who have expected to enrich themselves, without impoverishing their subjects, by issuing "light" money at the nominal price of "heavy." In the "Rites of Chow," one of the recognised methods of regulating prices is for the State to issue money when prices are high, and to withdraw from circulation the cash received in payment of taxes when they are low.[1] One of the arguments urged against free coining[2] is based on the inexpediency of surrendering this part of the supreme power. "Riches are the handle held by the rulers of men," and to give up the handle is to endanger the rule.

The currency continued to be a source of great embarrassment, and from time to time the Government was on the point of reverting to the use of silk and grain as a medium of exchange instead of copper, though a very short experience showed that it was as easy to tamper fraudulently with the natural weights of these substances as to manufacture copper money with an undue proportion of alloy. One of the nameless emperors, whom history knows only as "the Deposed," in 465 A.D., reverted to the experiment of Wen-ti, and allowed the people to cast their own money; the result was seen in the production of diaphanous tokens, fit, according to the contemporary phrase, to "float on water or fly in the wind," of which it took ten thousand to pay for a bushel of rice.[3] This license was nominally withdrawn in 494; but there was still no uniformity, and each district did the best it could for itself, using silk and grain whenever the copper money was hopelessly depreciated.

The Leang Dynasty issued iron money, which was open to all the same objections as the copper; and, for a short time, tin was used in addition to grain and silk. This dynasty has also the credit of a curious device for testing the value of the coin in circulation in different districts. It was proposed to send silk worth two hundred good copper coins for sale in different parts of the country, which in some places fetched as much as three hundred coins, "not because the silk was higher valued, but because the money was debased."[4] In the Northern Empire at the same time the salaries of officers were paid alternately in silk or copper, while private coining was allowed, providing the Government standard of purity was adhered to.

The short-lived Souy Dynasty set itself seriously to do away with the multiplicity of coins of every degree of worthlessness. Payment for

[1] [illegible]

[2] W. [illegible] p. 30. [illegible] Reviewed by Sir John [illegible]

[3] [illegible] 1837, [illegible] p. 425.

[4] [illegible]

officers' salaries, taxes, octroi and market duties were accepted in the old money, which, as it came in, was broken up and the metal appropriated by the administration. Five of the old issues were tolerated, but any other money found in circulation was confiscated. Unfortunately for the success of these reasonable measures, the trade of the coiner was always briskest when the copper coinage was unadulterated; and it was in vain that the State prohibited the working of tin and lead mines, which had hitherto been free, so as to monopolize the illicit as well as the lawful materials used. Before the fall of the dynasty, things were as bad as ever, and the people practically used for purposes of exchange any article—cloth, grain, paper, or metal—which was in common demand and easily divisible.

The fact that the copper tsien had always been cast, instead of stamped or hammered, of course made the coiners' work easier; but this would not of itself make the work so profitable, as to explain why the offence continued for ages to be so common, that the Government was again and again compelled to condone it. In 713 A.D. a million bushels of grain were issued from the public storehouses and sold to the people, payment being accepted in the counterfeit coins, which it was desired to call in and destroy, an end which could not be secured by penal measures.

The explanation of the forgers' persistency is so simple that nothing but force of habit can have prevented its discovery by Chinese financiers. The State charged 25 per cent. for manufacture. The copper coinage was never really adequate to the commercial requirements of the people, so that private coiners of good money were meeting a real want while realizing a satisfactory profit to themselves. The trade was therefore not regarded as essentially discreditable, and to allow private issues of copper coin was no more considered as a concession to the criminal classes than the license given to bankers to issue private notes. But the mistaken habit of charging 25 per cent. on the cost of the metal and labour [1] clung to the private mints, and hence free competition did nothing to put down forgery.

The total supply of copper was not materially increased by the abolition of the Government monopoly, and the comparative scarcity of good money made the manufacture of bad money always a possible source of profit, till the competition of private debasers forced other private issuers to lower their standard of quality. So that an increase of the currency, which was not excessive in quantity, led to its depreciation, because needlessly associated with its debasement. It seems simply not to have occurred to any one that the whole difficulty would disappear, if the State issued at cost price as much money as was required for circulation, and allowed free trade in copper for other purposes.

As it did neither, the two mistakes aggravated each other. Copper was largely in demand for the construction of Buddhist images, and increasingly so for the manufacture of various domestic utensils. As the

[1] *Journ. As., l.c.*, p. 118.

copper mines were a Government monopoly, metal for these purposes could only be obtained by melting down the best of the current coins. This was illegal, but of course even more impossible to prevent than the manufacture of base coin, and, being illegal, its results in making good money scarce were not provided against by fresh issues.

The first decree limiting the amount of copper, lead, or tin, to be possessed at one time by a single person, was issued in 769 A.D.; and it seems to have been aimed merely at the coiners, on the supposition that no one else would think of hoarding a large stock of such metals. The small coiners, who carried on their trade in river boats, had a stock worth at most a few pounds, and it was thought feasible to prevent the storage of metal in quantities sufficient to make more than ten or twelve taels, or strings of a thousand *tsien*. The forger's industry, like all others, was carried on upon a modest scale, and any larger stock would have been sufficient for a brisk trade.

The accumulations attacked in the second edict are on a much larger scale. Whether at the expense of the suffering peasantry or the imperial treasury, or from the profits of foreign trade, large fortunes had by this time begun to be amassed by individuals, who, unmindful of the lessons of Chao-tso, had transmuted them into the most precious metals in reach, so that there were actually individuals whose hoards of copper money were worth, according to M. Biot's estimate, something like £150,000 sterling.[1] When the purchasing power of money at this time is considered, the amount seems incredible; however, only five officers are said to have had as much as this, and they may have held lucrative governments and taken toll of the taxes. These moneys, we are told, were intended to be used in buying lands, and the alleged motive of the edict was to prevent the accumulation of large estates in the hands of a few, who would turn the cultivators into mere servants or tenants.

No person, of whatsoever class, noble, scholar, merchant, or priest, was to be allowed henceforward to keep in his own hands more than 5,000 strings of cash, or at the same rate of valuation as before, about £1,500. A month's grace was given to put the surplus coin in circulation, while the officers were condemned offhand to surrender one-fifth of their, probably ill-gotten, gains. Some of the hoards consisted of old metal issues, [illegible] and kept by speculators in the hope of their being [illegible] worth more as coin in future than as metal at the [illegible] tended to defeat the intention of the Government [illegible] but the offence is quite different from that [illegible] money to invest in land on the one hand, or of [illegible] coin of the realm from circulation on the other.

[illegible] and especially those relating [illegible] with European usages and principles [illegible] in any interpretation [illegible]

[illegible] 128.

seems as if the speculators of the period had been addicted to "forestalling," or something of the kind, in relation to the copper currency. Money being scarce, prices were always low; but for some purposes money was indispensable, especially when the Government interfered with the popular attempts at self-defence against the scarcity, by forbidding the use of silk and grain for exchanges.[1] On such occasions one may feel sure that copper money was not to be bought in small quantities by the people from the capitalists—who were aggravating the scarcity by locking up their coin—at a cost at all proportioned to the value of the copper regarded as a commodity, or even to the price at which it came from the mint.

Ma-twan-lin criticises the measure as ill-judged, on the ground that it would be better to attack the evil complained of, directly, and forbid the acquisition of landed properties beyond a certain size. It should be the object, he assumes, of the Government so to administer the national wealth as to equalize as far as possible the fortunes of the rich and poor, but from this point of view he regards the landowner as a more dangerous enemy than the capitalist. Those who buy land do so in order to keep it, those who amass money do so in order to profit by circulating it; and when commodities are cheap, self-interest alone, he thinks, would suffice to make the accumulators unlock their money-bags.

Of course we should not expect a contemporary of Chaucer to be an infallible authority as to the economic problems of the reign of Alfred, and it seems certain, whether the Sung writer understood the bearing of the fact or not, that the Tang Emperors felt their own prerogative and the common weal to be menaced by the accumulation in private hands of wealth, vast enough to affect the general range of prices by its use or withdrawal from use. They seem to have suspected the moneyed classes of conspiring to "bear" the price of land and agricultural commodities, which was in effect to aim at undermining the national wealth; and no measures taken to prevent such a result were likely to be thought arbitrary in China. The Government, by forcing all the holders of capital to realize at the same time, certainly obliged them to do so on disadvantageous terms, as shown by a passage referring to the legislation of 817 A.D., which concludes: "Then the people bought on a large scale farms and houses to convert their fortune, and precious things fetched a high price;"[2] a result which must have been satisfactory to the Government, as the coffers of the accumulators were drained by the high prices they had to pay.

The mutual denunciations of officers and merchants, jealous of each other's wealth, also helped to make it easier for the Government to [illegible] both in succession. At one moment foundries were granted to princes and high ministers, like the Stuart monopolies, as [illegible] of

[illegible] 734 A.D. [illegible]

[illegible] 123.

[illegible]

license to grow rich. At another (738) the old experiment of free trade in coining was revived. The arguments formally adduced on both sides of the latter question have been preserved, and the balance of opinion seemed unfavourable to the course. "If you allow private persons to cast money, the poor will not be rich enough to be able to do it; and if the rich families occupy themselves with it, they will steal the more, and the poor will grow poorer and more overawed by the power of the rich. Free coining caused princes under the Hans to be as rich as the emperor." If private coining is allowed and is profitable, other trades will be deserted for it; but if the quantity of coin is kept up by the State, there is no such tempting profit without adulteration. "When commodities are cheap, this is prejudicial to agriculture, and when the money is base it affects trade, therefore the duty of a good ruler is to control the relative value of commodities and the quality of money." [1]

Many of the phrases used show that the value of the copper coins ran up simply because there were not as many of them as were required for use. The quality remained good in the capital, but vast loads of it were transported, and rich merchants were accused of gradually collecting the good money to sell it to the false coiners of Kiang-hoai. The Government could not make up its mind whether to suppress or take part in the financial speculations of the age. The Government monopoly of copper, as already observed, had the effect of compelling those who required that metal, for any other purpose than as money, to melt down the copper coinage and recast the metal. As the nominal value of the copper money was 25 per cent. above its cost, this was a serious tax upon the coppersmith's trade; and as the trade flourished nevertheless,[2] while the Government had to issue fresh coins to make up for what was melted, it occurred to some inventive Chancellor of the Exchequer that the State itself had better turn coppersmith, and sell manufactured articles at the advanced price fixed by its own fancy valuation of the raw material.

It was not proposed to increase the output of copper from the State mines, but the amount of metal formerly allotted to make coin for a certain district was ordered instead to be delivered at court and worked up into articles for ordinary use. The profit on this undertaking was so large that the State was tempted to over-reach itself, and so many provincial copper foundries were opened that supply began to overtake demand, and [illegible] Then attempts were made to suppress all private [illegible] a still more absurd enactment was passed [illegible] articles of copper, however elaborate the [illegible] weight at the same rate as the current [illegible] This, of course, could not be carried out, and trade was still further dis- [illegible] the circulation of money between different [illegible] imposed on its exportation.

[illegible]

This fresh blunder seems to have led the way to a valuable innovation, and the first use of a kind of paper money in the shape of treasury bonds. In 807, ten years before the edict against hoarding coin, the Emperor Hien-tsong required all merchants to deposit their available specie in the Imperial treasury in exchange for bonds called *fey tsien*, or "light money," which were payable on demand in the chief towns of the province. The main object of the Government was, no doubt, to obtain an immediate supply of cash, though the measure may also have been a first step in the campaign against moneyed monopolists. But it was really useful as increasing the currency to the extent of a moderate issue of bank notes, and as saving the merchant trouble and expense in transporting large quantities of the cumbrous medium of exchange.

The gain to the merchants was more obvious than that to the court, and when the fey tsien were abolished, provincial governors sent in memorials begging for their continuance, with a special view to prevent hoarding and low prices. As already described, the hoarding of copper money was about to be attacked more directly, but fey tsien were issued again in return for deposits of salt and iron, and they were allowed to serve as a medium of exchange between the merchants of the capital and the provinces.

All this time gold and silver were too scarce to count for much in the financial problems of the time. In 683 A.D. the exportation of grain to foreign parts had been prohibited, ostensibly because the strange money received in payment interfered with the ordinary exchanges, but more probably because the immediate result of such an export trade was to increase the treasure hoards of rich traders, and diminish the grain reserves of the cultivators. In the 9th century gold and silver were put into circulation to a limited extent by the Government itself, apparently with the intention of raising prices, but with the result of lowering them still further, it is hard to say why, unless copper was withdrawn from circulation faster than the gold was brought into it. This may well have been the case as, in 825 A.D., new edicts forbade the melting copper money into statues of Buddha, under the same penalties as those attached to coining; and shortly afterwards, by way of conciliating the obstinate devotees, they were permitted to make their statues of any metal except copper, such as gold, silver, lead, or tin.

The following year, 830 A.D., the regulation of 817 was renewed in a milder form. The limit of coin allowed to be hoarded by a single person was raised to something over £2,000, and a respite of a year was granted to those whose stores reached £30,000, and two years to those with twice as much. A curious provision is added, that in transactions involving a sum of £30 and upwards, half the price shall be payable in silk, rice, or other grain; and this device, if it could have been carried out, would have ruined the game of those who were speculating for a fall of prices, which at this rate would have told disadvantageously on their own bargains.

The suppression of the monasteries in the 9th century set so much

copper free that foundries were opened in every district, and money was again abundant. The supply was thus for a time independent of the Government mines, and the provincial Governments took advantage of this circumstance to propose that each province should cast its own money at discretion, only adhering to the Government standard of size. After this arrangement was adopted we hear no more of economical questions amid the wars and tumults which lasted till the close of the dynasty. Notwithstanding the chronic complaints of low prices, the cost of necessaries seems to have doubled since the Hans.

Agriculture had made no progress, as the area estimated to produce a year's food for one person is slightly larger than before. The cost of living had risen to something like a halfpenny a day. A piece of silk was equal in value to 100 lbs. of cleaned rice; the size of the pieces is not given, but then as now it would be the length woven on the loom in common use, and may have varied little in 1,000 years. The equivalence of these two values is certain, but the estimate of the price in copper money involves a good deal of guess work. M. Biot's calculations would make both worth about 3*s.* 3*d.*, which is intrinsically probable enough. The estimated consumption of rice is $1\frac{1}{2}$ lb. a day for each person, which is midway between average plenty and dearth according to the standard of the Chow Li.[1]

In 763–5 A.D., a writer attempted to calculate the amount of money required for circulation by estimating the annual outlay of the people in rice, clothes, sacrifices, etc. He estimates the individual's daily consumption of rice at a little over two quarts, and the other items as each as much again, so that the general rate of expenditure upon other articles than food, regarded as necessaries, had risen considerably since the time of the Wei peasant, whose balance sheet was drawn up under the Hans.

[1] *Journ. As.*, [illegible], p. 120.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### *THE POSTERIOR DYNASTIES AND THE SUNG.*

### (907–1280 A.D.)

THE period of disturbance intervening between the fall of the Tang and the foundation of the Sung Dynasty extends over little more than half a century; but during this interval, fifteen emperors and five dynasties succeeded each other. They are known as the "posterior dynasties" because they all reproduce the name of some former ruling house. The Heou or "after" Leang reigned for sixteen years, and their fall required little further explanation to posterity than that a favourite musician had been employed as general. The Heou Tang occupied the throne for fourteen years; the dynasty was founded by a son of Li-ke-yong, "the one-eyed dragon," a Tatar prince who had helped the last but one of the Tang emperors to suppress a rebellion, and who stands high in the favour of the historians. He is repeatedly mentioned as a loyal ally who might have saved the Crown if he had not been distrusted and kept unduly at a distance, on account of his extraction.

The name of the short-lived dynasty was adopted as a compliment to their former patrons. The first emperor of the stock was an enthusiast for the stage, and comedians are mentioned as taking the place of eunuchs in his favour. They not only enjoyed the license accorded to court fools in mediæval Europe, but (924 A.D.) one of them was appointed to an important governorship, and they and the eunuchs together had influence enough to discredit any statesman who sought to reduce the expenditure of the court.

Two measures of far-reaching consequences were taken in the middle of this 10th century; one was the sub-division of provincial governorships, which increased the number of officers who could look to the Crown for profitable employment, while it lessened each governor's power of making himself dangerously formidable. The Sung Dynasty subsequently reaped the advantage of this change; it fell by attacks from without, not from internal disorganization, and its feebleness in resisting the foreign foe could not seriously be attributed to the decay of feudalism, since the local potentates, who flourished at the expense of the empire, had never been famous for patriotic resistance to alien armies.

The other and more calamitous step was taken when the founder of the third minor dynasty, the Heou Tsin (936 A.D.), summoned the Khitan Tatars to his assistance, offering them, in return, a share in the northern

provinces of China. He promised a yearly tribute of 300,000 pieces of silk, and ceded at once sixteen frontier towns, thus throwing all China open to the Khitan armies. Some of the ceded towns rebelled, thinking it unworthy of their civilization "to submit to barbarians;" but parts of Shansi and Pecheli remained in the Tatars' hands, in addition to the wide region on the North already held by them. The Khitan Dynasty at this stage took the name of Leao, by which it is afterwards known, from the province, Leao-tong, now in its possession; its capital was subsequently placed at Peking.

The Heou Han, shortest lived of all these short-lived families, was founded in 947 A.D. by a general of the emperor, who had previously been taken prisoner by the Khitan Tatars. He fixed his capital at and fortified Cai-fong-fu in Honan. The third prince of the line was deposed as soon as proclaimed, by the leader of an army which had gained some victories in the north. The Heou Chow (951–9) are regarded with less disfavour by the historians than any of their predecessors, and Chi-tsong (954 A.D.), last but one of the fifteen "posterior" emperors, may be held to have begun the work of restoration continued by the founder of the Sung Dynasty. Under him, we hear of a town changing hands without loss of life or disturbance of trade, and he gave his personal name to a very exquisite blue china, manufactured at Cai-fong-fu—a thing for collectors to dream of in fond despair.

He was asked to give an order, and commanded that the china for Imperial use should be henceforward "blue like the sky between the clouds after rain." His instructions were obeyed, the product being as thin as paper, lustrous, resonant, highly polished and delicately veined; colour and texture were so perfect that in later years, when it had become rare, small fragments of it were used for ornaments, like precious stones.[1] Chi-tsong, had he lived, might have founded a great dynasty; as it is, he deserves to be remembered kindly by all who find delight in that purest, deepest, and brightest of heaven's blues, which is seen in precious morsels through the ragged rain-clouds, and which, since his day, no human art has succeeded in reproducing on the lower earth. The self-consciousness of Chinese civilization has been noticed already, but it is curious to find that element mingling in what seems so purely spontaneous an art as Chinese pottery.[2]

Chi-tsong also recommended himself to the chroniclers by a revival of the anti-Buddhist edicts. The consent of all the elders of a family was required before monastic vows could be taken, and all unauthorized temples were ordered to be destroyed; yet there still remained 60,000 priests and nuns within the comparatively narrow limits of the imperial State, and statues of Buddha were as numerous as coin of the realm was [illegible] Chi-tsong's treatment of the religio-financial difficulty is in the

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best Chinese manner. He explained that he did not wish "to raise doubts amongst the people by the confiscation of the Buddhas, but," he inquired, are these copper statues really what is called Buddha? he had heard that the virtue of Buddha was to do good to the people, and, in that case, since it is for their good to have more good copper cash for use, presumably Buddha would have wished to have his statues melted!

A contemporary statesman ventured to suggest a doubt as to whether the scarcity of copper could really be accounted for by the comparatively small quantity used for tools and Buddhas; and even went so far as to ask whether, if it were due instead to the exportation of copper, this must be looked upon as a calamity or loss, since commodities of some kind, and presumably of at least equal value, must have been received in exchange for it. And, though this view does not seem to have commended itself even to so enlightened a ruler as Chi-tsong, it is interesting as one among many evidences that the Chinese have not rejected without consideration the political and economical ideas now prevalent in Europe.

Apart from Tatar encroachments, none of the five dynasties had been acknowledged in the whole, or even the greater part, of China. The Imperial Dynasty held indeed the Middle State, as in the degenerate days of Chow, but it was surrounded by a fluctuating number of minor States, sometimes as many as twelve, some of which were always intriguing with the Tatars, while others were at war among themselves.

The founder of the Sung Dynasty, who was known as Tai-tsou (960 A.D.), had served successfully against the Tatars under Chi-tsong. When the latter died, leaving only an infant son, what was left of the empire was threatened by a coalition between the Leao and the northern Hans, who held Tai-yuen and a territory comprising over forty towns; and the army proclaimed their favourite general by force, the people approving, and the nobles not venturing to oppose. The new Emperor's first thought was how to put a stop to the incessant revolutions of the last half-century. At the time of his accession, besides the Khitan empire, seven separate principalities divided with him the inheritance of Tang. These were held by descendants or successful rivals of the governors, who secured hereditary offices for themselves in the degeneracy of the empire; and Tai-tsou's first object was to guard against the growth of similar dangers in the future, even before reclaiming the severed fiefs.

His first centralizing measure was well adapted to put the people on his side. He reserved to himself the power of passing capital sentences, and so gave a right of appeal to the emperor from the judgment of all provincial officers; and in the same year he withdrew from them the command of provincial troops, and required them to pay all tribute in full to the Imperial treasury, through which disbursements for local purposes were in future to be made. Without control of money or troops, the highest officers became powerless for evil, and their ambition was driven to content itself with the prizes that a powerful prince could bestow, in return for loyal and diligent service.

It took eighteen years to subdue all the minor States so as to re-unite the empire: the central ones between the Yellow River and the Yang-tse-kiang fell first with little resistance; then the second Chow, under whom Sz'chuen had been independent for forty years; then the important district held by the southern Han, with Canton for its capital; and, finally, the remainder of the south, while a voluntary cession by the prince of Wu-yuei added a territory nearly equal to that of the reduced empire taken over by Tai-tsou in 960 A.D.; the northern Hans also surrendered voluntarily, and their officers were retained in the service of the emperor, whose domains thus became conterminous on the north with the empire of the Leao. On the accession of Tai-tsou, under a million families paid tribute to the empire; but on the accession of his son, Tai-tsong (977 A.D.), the number had increased to nearly four millions, not so much by growth of population or vigilance of the revenue officers, as by the addition of whole provinces to the Imperial territory. By 982 A.D. it was said that the empire was re-united, as in the days of Han or Tang, with the exception of the ill-fated cessions made to the Leao. And this was undoubtedly true as regards China proper, though the influence and authority exercised by the greatest Tang emperors, beyond the natural boundaries of the country, was never equalled by the Sung Dynasty, even in its palmiest days.

The last record of three departments added to the empire in 985 A.D. is interesting, as the proportion between the tribute-paying families and others is mentioned.[1] The district was occupied by 125 different families, to whom 16,000 other households paid tribute, or rent. The proportion is doubtless mentioned because it is exceptional, as the same proportion, throughout the empire, would give an incredibly large population; but it is a sufficient reason for doubting whether the population ever declined as much as the decline in the number of tax-paying householders implies.

The restoration of peace was celebrated by public rejoicings, and the empire settled down to the enjoyment of internal tranquillity, only broken by occasional disturbances on the frontier, the significance of which it was always dangerously easy to ignore. The founder of the dynasty had wished to establish his capital in the ancient city of Loyang, a naturally strong position, and nearer to the formidable Tatars on the north-west than either Cai-fong fu or Pien-chow. Tai-tsou yielded reluctantly to the persuasions of the courtiers desirous of returning to the latter, but he is credited with a prophecy, that before a hundred years had passed, the people would be [illegible] by the large armies necessary to protect the empire, when the emperor himself did not stand sentinel at the point of danger.

Tai-tsong, the third emperor of the dynasty, succeeded to the throne [illegible]. By this time the Kuitan people had become civilized, and converted to Chinese manners and modes of government. Like their successors, the Kin and the Mongols, they began to value their Chinese subjects, who gave no trouble and paid taxes; and to employ Chinese officers, who knew how to make the role of emperor easy as well as profitable. The

[1] [illegible] p. 65.

boundary between the two empires had never been satisfactorily determined, as the Chinese had never acquiesced in the cession of territory made by the Heou Tsin in 937, while the Leao Government demanded the restoration of some of the ceded towns which had been retaken. Ultimately peace was made in 1004, in consideration of an annual payment of silk and money on the part of China. The Khitan prince was described in the treaty as the "younger brother" of the emperor, and it was believed that a little more vigour would have secured better terms, and have saved the empire from future disaster by driving the Leao back to the Great Wall. The emperor's timidity and love of peace was held responsible for the error, and the remainder of his reign was made inglorious by the ascendency of superstitious impostors and other unworthy favourites.

In 1023 the reign of Gin-tsong begins with a regency, which Ma-twan-lin regards as the most brilliant period of the whole dynasty. The Empress mother's first measure was to appoint a commission, with a view to a general reduction of taxes, and meanwhile the duties on tea and salt were remitted. The Leao were occupied by wars with their own still barbarous neighbours, so that the people reaped all the benefit of internal good government. The census of 1029 A.D. for the first time records a number of tax-paying families slightly in excess of the highest figure reached in the middle of the 8th century.[1] The Empress died in 1033, shortly after emulating the audacity of Wu-heou by herself performing the imperial sacrifice. Few emperors in the history are commended in equally unqualified terms of eulogy; but the will by which she endeavoured to prolong the regency was set aside, as her son, Gin-tsong, was already twenty-three, and capable of governing himself. It is, however, a curious illustration of the clannish tendency of the Chinese, that the ladies of the harem should be found ready to unite in quasi-political alliances, like the literati and the eunuchs. The empress regent appointed as empress mother, in her stead, the first of the inferior wives of the late emperor, so far as appears, purely out of regard to her character and ability, and, though not allowed to continue the regency, this lady was actually installed as the lawful object of the young emperor's filial piety.

Throughout the first century of the Sung Dynasty, the legitimate influence of the women of the imperial house seems to have stood high. A daughter of Tai-tsong, who was married to a subject and died in 1062 A.D., is commemorated at length by the historians, who not only praise her private virtues, and her knowledge of history, but also mention that she was frequently consulted by the empress regent on public affairs.

In the year 1042 A.D. there was some threatening of a Khitan war, but the danger was avoided by diplomacy, the Chinese envoy pointing out to the Leao emperor that his interest in the matter was not identical with that of the turbulent nobles who clamoured for a fray, in which they might get booty, but their sovereign little or no advantage. The precise *nuances* of respect, to be evidenced by the terms in which the high contracting

[1] *Mem. sur la pop. de la Chine. Journ. An.*, 1836, p. 401.

parties speak of each other, were keenly debated, and again the Chinese emperor was accused of waiving just claims in the interest of peace. More innocently, if not in the long run more fortunately, he also aimed at cultivating friendly relations with the most formidable rival of the Khitan, the new king of Hia and the Nutchin Tatars, subsequently known as the Kin. The former of these wished to have permission, secured by treaty, for free intercourse between his subjects and the Chinese, in his and their territories. Former treaties had only stipulated for the surrender of fugitives from the jurisdiction of their lawful prince; and the new demand shows how great, in spite of border wars, had been the development of peaceful intercourse in the outer kingdoms of greater China, where different ruling houses were virtually being educated by an allied population. The power of the Khitan was held to have reached its height in the middle of this (11th) century, when its sway extended from the desert to the sea, over a territory 10,000 li in extent; and the pacific Sung princes were never safer than when this empire had ceased to be aggressive, while continuing strong enough to act as a barrier against the wilder tribes beyond.

After a prosperous reign of forty years, including the regency, the mild and frugal emperor was succeeded (1063) by Yng-tsong, well meaning, but of feeble health, who died in 1067 A.D. The century of prosperity contemplated in Tai-tsou's prophecy was now completed, and the reign of Chin-tsong (1067–1085) certainly marks a turning point in the fortunes of the dynasty. This is the period memorable for the legislation of Wang-ngan-shi, the "Innovator," and to the maleficent influence of this great political heresiarch the orthodox historians trace all the future woes of China.

His laws are almost exclusively economic, so the account of them may be postponed till we have finished a short account of the decline of the united empire, and the subsequent prosperity and decay of the Southern Sung. But apart from the *odium theologicum* which has gathered round the Innovator's memory, his policy, however erroneous, can scarcely be held responsible for the gradual gathering and breaking of two more waves of Tatar conquest, each of which swept, as it were, further than the last over [illegible] shore, because of the breaches on the coast-line made by those [illegible] it.

China has never been a fighting empire, and her virtual protectorate over Central Asia in the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. was due rather to the absence [illegible] power on the north or west than to her own [illegible]. The Sung emperors only fought on the [illegible] too obvious desire for peace at almost [illegible] in one way, for the internal prosperity [illegible] a point under their rule as [illegible] and magnificent cities, described with [illegible] were preserved, but not created, by [illegible] into the under.

tance of the Sung, and, as the centre of the empire was forced further and further south, peace and wealth went with it, so that Chinese civilization continued to secure fresh conquests, as the Chinese empire lost hold of its earliest settlements.

The population continued to increase, not fast but steadily, and the census of 1084 gives 17,211,713 families paying tribute, which, compared with 9,955,729 in 1014,[1] and the first census of the reunited empire, shows the population, or at least the taxpaying part of it, to have doubled in about each half-century. Chin-tsong, whose life between the irate literati and his autocratic premier was by no means an easy one, found peace in the grave at the comparatively early age of 38, after a reign of eighteen years.

Tche-tsong, a younger son by an inferior wife, was appointed heir, the dowager empress, who was childless, again taking the regency, and installing the inferior wife as empress mother. All the orthodox scholars and statesmen who had gone into forced or voluntary exile on account of their hostility to Wang-ngan-shi, were now recalled, the obnoxious regulations rescinded; and the difficulty of the whole problem further illustrated by the discovery that Wang was not so entirely without supporters as had been imagined, since the repeal of his enactments produced a new class of malcontents. The regent died in 1093, and the young Emperor was persuaded to take the reins of government into his own hands. By appeals to his filial piety, and perhaps to his boyish jealousy of the authority of the late dowager, he was prevailed on to abandon her policy and revert to that of his father, as expounded by the surviving adherents of the Innovator.

The candour of the historians shows itself in their record of the successes against the Hia and the Tibetans, which illustrated the short reign of this rather feeble prince, notwithstanding the judgments of heaven merited by his sweeping proscription of the families and the writings of the old opponents of Wang. He died 1100 A.D., without having nominated a successor or left a son; there was, however, no constitutional disturbance, for the empress, in the exercise of her undoubted right and duty, selected the one of the surviving sons of Chin-tsong, whom she considered best qualified to govern, and her choice was approved and accepted by the chief ministers.

The first census in the reign of Hoei-tsong, two years after his accession (1102), gives the population of the empire at the highest figure yet reached; more than 20 millions of families are recorded as paying taxes, and the estimate of 100 millions for the total population must be under rather than over the mark, as the estimate of five persons to a family is certainly not excessive, while scholars, soldiers, civil officers, slaves, and priests are omitted from the record; and these classes with their families would add some millions to the general total. After the death of the dowager empress, the early promises of the reign were not kept, and Hoei-tsong was accused of giving his attention to trifles,—employing thousands

[1] *Journ. As., l.c.*, p. 491.

of workmen upon the production of curiosities in bone, ivory, rhinoceros horn, gold, silver, precious stones, and bamboo; as well as of unduly favouring the Taoists and the adherents of the Innovator. Still, the first ten years of the reign and the century passed without calamity, and when hostilities began between the Nutchin or the Kin and the Leao, the first idea of the Chinese Government was to profit by them to recover Peking, and the other Chinese towns held by the Khitan emperor.

The Nutchin or Nutche were a people of which mention had been made from time to time since the 5th century. They had broken up into branches that were distinguished as the civilized and the barbarous Nutchin, and while some had invaded Corea, and others formed independent settlements in the north, some had settled under the Leao government. Intermittent action as auxiliaries of the Leao served to train and discipline the latter into a formidable army. In 1114 A.D., Akouta, the founder of the Kin empire, openly declared war, and rapidly defeated the Leao armies, claiming to be recognised as a feudal superior instead of a tributary. When negotiations for peace had begun, emissaries of the Chinese encouraged the Kin to proceed with the war, and in 1120 a treaty was concluded between "the great emperor of the Sung" and "the great emperor of the Kin," by which the assistance of Chinese troops was promised against the Leao, in consideration of a rectification of the frontier.

The Kin, however, had no intention of serving as a catspaw; the territory which the Chinese were to reconquer for themselves was the last to be attacked, and when it served as a refuge for the armies the Kin had defeated elsewhere, Akouta not only rejected the Chinese demand for further cessions, but also repudiated the obligations of the recent treaty. In 1122 the Kin took Peking for themselves, but ceded part of the disputed territory to China, in return for a subsidy. Meanwhile, the Leao prince was a fugitive, driven to take refuge with his old enemy, the Hia king. Yeliu-tache, his chief minister and adviser, after trying in vain to save the empire for another prince of the same stock, and having his counsels rejected, rode off with 200 horsemen, and soon rallied round him a new fighting nation, composed of all the scattered families and tribes who, for one reason or another, were dissatisfied with the recent revolution, and unwilling to submit to the empire of the Kin.

The curious thing is that this Yeliu-tache, who founded the empire of the Kara Khitan (1124–1201), and took so readily to the kingship of the steppes, was himself a doctor of the Chinese Han-lin College, and before the peaceful progress of the Leao empire was interrupted, had been active in promoting the study of letters, and the elaboration of domestic administration, after the most approved Chinese models. Holding aloof from immediate conflict with the Kin, he made alliance with the Uigours, and [illegible] towards the west as far as Samarcand and Bokhara. [illegible] in 1123 he might have arrested the conquests of the Kin, and perhaps have forestalled the Mongols in bringing all China under the [illegible] foreign dynasty. It makes, however, little differ-

ence to China, from which wild horde her conquerors trace their pedigree. The saying applied to the people of a great European empire, that if you scratch a Russian the Tatar shows through, would have to be reversed in Asia; for if you polish a Tatar, of whatsoever variety, he emerges a Chinaman, whether he may have any ethnological right to assimilate the same varnish or no.[1]

Meanwhile the ease with which the Kin had disposed of the most formidable enemy of China was not adapted to inspire them with much respect for the armies these enemies had always been able to defeat. Pretentions too exorbitant to be accepted, even by a frightened court, were put forward, and the Chinese capital itself was threatened with attack. Hoei-tsong wished to take flight, and when dissuaded from such a premature surrender, he abdicated (1125 A.D.) in favour of the heir to the throne, as Hiouen-tsong of the Tang Dynasty had done in 756, when the empire seemed to be in a similar strait. At the first show of resistance the Kin army retreated, but Kin-tsong had been seized by panic as soon as he heard the enemy had crossed the Yellow River. His ambassador showed equal cowardice; and finally in 1126, by a disgraceful treaty, the Sung emperor agreed to cede, not only the districts already held by the Leao, but three other departments as well, to address his conqueror as his superior or "elder brother," and to give up all Chinese natives of the ceded provinces who took refuge in his States, as well as to pay an immense contribution in gold, silver, cattle, and silk.

The defeat of the Leao armies gave the Kin unquestioned command of the peaceful districts which had once been Chinese, and of those which had virtually become so by the contagious example of Chinese industry and civilization. Thus all that the Leao had held required no further conquering; there was no natural barrier between the lands thus held and the Chinese provinces north of the Hoang-ho, and the ancient fortifications of the towns had been destroyed by Tai-tsou. Virtually no resistance therefore was offered, so it is little wonder that the demands of the invaders grew. The treasury was empty, and to raise even a part of the promised ransom, money had to be borrowed from private citizens; hostilities never came fairly to an end on either side, though the Tatar troops went homewards for the hot months. The emperor spent the breathing space allowed him in abolishing all the regulations of Wang-ngan-shi, whose portrait he ordered to be removed from the temple of Confucius. But though the innovator may have truckled to the Leao, he had not invented the Kin; and the military weakness and disorganization of the empire was not to be remedied by the abolition of rules which in any case were incompatible with a state of war.

[1] The [illegible] of the Uigur poem, *Kutadgu Bilig* [illegible] by A. [illegible] in China with the [illegible] of China. Besides [illegible] "[illegible] by forming [illegible] the Chinese [illegible] and [illegible] since "the civilized is [illegible] he is [illegible] with them."

Despairing of open resistance, the Chinese court tried to tamper with Khitan officers who had taken service with the Kin, but this expedient proved of no avail. Cai-fong-fu was again invested, and by a confused sort of capitulation, in which there was more abject cowardice than treachery, Kin-tsong and his father, the late emperor, were carried off prisoners into Tartary, with all the royal family except a brother, who still kept the field, and an empress, who had been (improperly) repudiated, and now summoned the brother, Kao-tsong, to rescue the inheritance of his race. He was proclaimed in 1127, and, while he took refuge nearer the coast, at least two generals in succession redeemed the credit of China, and, but for internal rebellions and intrigues, might even yet have driven back the Tatars.

One of them died repeating, "It is time to cross the Hoang-ho, cross the Hoang-ho," meaning that the campaign should be fought out on the north of that river. The emperor, however, continued his flight to the south, and was followed by the Kin army even beyond the Kiang. The other, a young officer named Yo-fei, a born general as well as an accomplished scholar,[1] after twelve years of gallant and successful fighting, was assassinated in prison, by a rival, who regarded him as the only insuperable obstacle to the conclusion of a peace, even more injurious than the last. The incessant fighting in the central provinces had by this time exhausted the Kin, who in 1135 also found themselves menaced by a peculiarly ferocious horde of barbarians from the North. These were the Mongols, among whose awe-inspiring qualities was mentioned their power of "seeing by night as well as by day." In 1141, the year of Yo-fei's murder, peace was signed, the Hwai fixed as the boundary between the two empires, and little more than the southern half of China left to the Sung emperor, who even submitted in this treaty to be designated as a subject of the Kin.

The reign of Oukimai, the second Kin emperor (1124–1136 A.D.), marks the beginning of settled and civilized life among the conquerors. History credits him, like Yeliu-tache, with all the virtues the Chinese value in the founder of a dynasty, including that of employing and taking the advice of [illegible]. Like the later Manchus, the Kin required their Chinese subjects, under penalty of death, to shave their heads and wear Tatar dress; and the amalgamation of the two peoples was further pro[illegible] [illegible], bound to render military [illegible], in those central provinces which were furthest [illegible] Northern government. In 1151, a great college was [illegible] the Kin emperors, by that time, had ceased to be formidable by their virtues.

[illegible] it was before, except in size [illegible] its distant provinces was known [illegible] any craving for a [illegible] the two empires [illegible] living

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on amicable terms, while profound peace reigned on either side of the border, as a symptom of which we find that in 1176 the history of the eastern Hans was translated into Nutche for Oulo, one of the ablest and most humane of the Kin emperors.

Oulo died in 1189, regretted by his subjects as a modern Yao or Shun; and in the same year, on the death of the emperor Kao-tsong, the reigning prince also abdicated in favour of his son, Kwang-tsong, one of the most unfortunate rulers of a dynasty in which good intentions were more common than good luck. He also abdicated after a short reign in 1194. The thirty years' peace proved more advantageous to the Chinese than to the Kin; the population of the Southern empire again showed a tendency to increase, and in the latter half of the 12th century the number of families paying tribute in the divided empire was scarcely, if at all, inferior to the number registered in all China a century before.

The Kin, on the other hand, had lost some of their skill and more of their liking for war. The troops on the frontier murmured at their hardships, and the people at the taxes imposed to provide for the extravagance of Oulo's successors. The Chinese thought to profit by the embarrassments of the Kin, as they had formerly hoped to use the Kin against the Leao, but they also had domestic traitors, and in 1206 the Tatars were introduced into Sz'chuen by an officer who hoped by their alliance to revive, for his own benefit, the separate principality of Chou. Thus the confines of the empire began to narrow in from the west as well as the north; and while the first half of Ning-tsong's reign was not unprosperous, the last fifteen years of it belong to the decline and fall of the Southern empire.

As late as 1211 the Kin claimed Genghis Khan as a tributary, and on his assuming the style of emperor (1206), they feared lest their old masters the Leao should unite with him. In 1214, the Kin prince proposed to fix his capital at Cai-fong-fu, to be out of reach of the Mongols, exactly as the Sung emperors had done to be further from the Khitan. In 1217 A.D., Ning-tsong ventured to refuse the accustomed tribute to the Kin, and the omission was not resented. Two years later the Mongols reduced Corea on the east and the kingdom of the Kara Khitai on the west; and Genghis Khan began to indulge in visions of universal empire while exchanging friendly embassies with the Chinese.

In 1229, Genghis was succeeded by Ogatai, whose faithful minister Yeliu-tchoutsai, a scholar descended from the royal family of the old Leao Dynasty, urged him at once to adopt civilized methods of ruling his present empire and future conquests. The primitive custom of the Mongols was to slaughter and destroy all that came in their way; but Chinese officers in Mongol service had already prevailed on the generals to forbid this savage custom, which gave the courage of despair to the invaded people. Henceforward, instead of levelling towns, massacring their inhabitants, and turning the cultivated fields into pasture for their herds and horses, the Mongols were instructed to spare their new sub-

jects, whose labour could be made worth far more to their lords than so much grazing land.

The same virtuous minister warned his master against accepting presents from officers, which they could only make at the expense of those they governed. Much to the disgust of the Mongol chiefs, he employed two Chinese subjects of the Sung as assistant administrators, and one gets a quaint glimpse of the bearing of these haughty savages, in the midst of the civil organization of China, from a regulation (1237 A.D.) forbidding the Mongol nobles to post as heretofore free of charge along the public roads. At the same time the functions of different officers were distinguished and order established in the procedure by the introduction of seals and other symbols of administrative regularity. Hitherto, no doubt, Northern China had suffered more than the Sung empire; but Yeliu-tchoutsai wisely aimed at making it evident to the Chinese subjects of the Kin that they had nothing to lose by a change of masters. In 1232, Ogatai required the Kin emperor to send him among other hostages a Han-lin doctor of the house of Confucius (together with skilled embroideresses and falconers), and by his minister's advice, he received the great man's descendant with due honour and confirmed his title of Count.

In 1233, the Mongols besieged Cai-fong-fu: and after all the slaughter of the siege, 1,400,000 families were said to be left to profit by the clemency of the conqueror. In the next year the Kin emperor abdicated in favour of a younger and more active prince, as Hoei-tsong had vainly done little more than a century before, in almost identical circumstances. In the South the long and unfortunate reign of Li-tsong began in 1224: he was descended, in the tenth generation, from the founder of the house. The Chinese at first hoped to reconquer some of the Kin provinces in Central China before the Mongols had laid hands on them; but this aggression was resented, and, though they solicited peace in 1235, hostilities continued practically without intermission from that time, in the debateable ground between the Hwai and the Hoang-ho.

[illegible]

horseloads of rhubarb for the use of the sick soldiers in his army; and the argument by which he tried (unsuccessfully) to dissuade Ogatai from drinking himself to death, is worthy of a modern temperance lecturer. He called the emperor's attention to the corrosion of the iron pot used to heat his wine, and assured him that the action of the liquid on the human stomach must be still more destructive than on the iron.

We are now nearing comparatively familiar ground, and shall be able to take for granted the leading historical events, which it has hitherto been necessary to describe in brief before they could serve as landmarks in the story, so far as we have been able to trace it, of the economical development of China. In 1251, Kubla was appointed generalissimo of the Mongol armies by his brother, the fourth emperor of the dynasty. Yao-chou, a Chinese scholar, who had been his teacher, was summoned to act as his adviser, and on him the mantle of Yeliu-tchoutsai seems to have fallen. The two in concert established a tribunal at Cai-fong-fu to restore agriculture and settle wandering labourers upon the land.

Kubla's rule was gentle, and carefully in accordance with Chinese laws, and his consequent popularity excited the jealousy of the Khan, who, however, was satisfied by a personal interview, of his brother's loyalty. In 1253, Kubla captured Tali in Yunnan, where his envoys had been murdered, but forbade all slaughter in imitation of the founder of the Sung Dynasty. In 1259, he crossed the Kiang, which the Southern court had been accustomed to regard as an impassable natural defence; but when the Chinese begged for peace, he was not unwilling to grant their prayer, so as to secure time for organizing his own administration, the rather as his presence was urgently required in Tatary to put down intrigues against his succession to the Mongol empire.

Li-tsong's long and inglorious reign came to an end in 1265; his successor, Tou-tsong, was a lover of wine and women, whose debaucheries were not forgotten when Marco Polo visited the lost capital of his race. He died young after a reign of nine years, leaving the crown to his son, Kong-tsong, an infant of four. Sz'chuen was already in the hands of the Mongols, and in 1275, when the final campaign was begun in earnest, the only refuge for the court was supposed to be near the sea-coast, in reach of ships for Fo-kien. Marco Polo, who reached the court of Kubla in the same year, has described the conquest of his great general Peyen, a foreigner of the Si-yu or countries of the West. An appeal for mercy to the infant emperor was politely met by the reminder that the founder of the Sung Dynasty himself superseded the infant son of his late lord Chi-tsong.

Canton was taken in 1277, and the boy emperor died the next year. Lou-siou-fou, one of the few faithful adherents of the losing cause, insisted on proclaiming another son of Tou-tsong and taking refuge in the fleet. But the Mongols were victorious by sea as well as land; death or capture was the only choice, and the house of Sung ended, not without dignity, as

the loyal Lou-siou-fou, after throwing his own wife and children into the sea, leapt after them, and sank with the child emperor in his arms. The Mongol Dynasty, known as the Yuen, is reckoned to begin in 1280, the twentieth year of Kubla's reign in Northern China.

## CHAPTER XV.

### *AGRARIAN ECONOMY AND THE INNOVATOR'S LAWS.*

THE mere political chronicle of reigns and wars and treaties is far from explaining why the 320 years of Sung rule are counted among the glorious and prosperous periods of Chinese history. Even before the Tatar conquests had begun, China was less active and influential in the rest of Asia than she had been under the Hans and the Tang. And the glories of the Augustan age of Chinese literature do not seem to be tarnished in the eyes of those who, after all, are better judges than ourselves, even by the political and military incapacity which allowed the literary empire to become a prey to barbarian conquest.

It is said that Kubla, on his accession to the Northern throne, inquired if it was true, as people said, that the Buddhists had ruined the Leao and the literati the Kin. The Chinese scholar addressed declared himself unable to answer for the Leao; but as regarded the Kin, since they only employed one or two literati at most, it was not possible that this could be the cause of their fall. The military and the laity doubtless applied the remark which had reached Kubla's ears about the Kin with even more force to the Sung themselves. But it was rather the disunion than the supremacy of the learned that exercised a baleful influence on the history of China at this period; and as the idle controversies on doctrinal minutiæ ceased on the approach of real calamity, the conquered nation had all its energies free for the easy task of subjugating its invaders.

The precedents of antiquity make it impossible for educated Chinese statesmen to associate, with the life of any one dynasty, the preservation of those articles of their political creed which are really regarded as essential to national salvation. The person of the Emperor counted for very little in the sacredness of his office; the office remained, as the rules of good government remained, but any *de facto* emperor who adhered to the rules became invested with its sacredness. The literati of the North, in giving their allegiance to a ruler like Ogatai, with a minister like Yeliu-tchoutsai, and those of the South, in submitting to Kubla, were not either in imagination or in fact betraying their country to the foreigner; they were only recognising, to borrow the French phrase, one Chinaman the more, in the Mongol who was prepared to conform to their ideal of a constitutional emperor.

What we are apt to regard as the tragic dismemberment of the empire, in 1125, was in the same way a matter of less regret than it was by which

it was attended. After peace was concluded, the North was not pining for reunion nor the South for reconquest. China had been divided before into a Northern and a Southern empire, with a Tatar Dynasty reigning in the North; and both halves were richer, more prosperous, and more peaceful in the 12th than in the 5th century. It may even be doubted whether any one but the historiographers clearly realized what had happened to the empire; for incidentally, in the course of a financial discussion reported by Ma-twan-lin, we find that the foundation of the dynasty of the Southern Sung is regarded as a victorious event—a legend which might easily find acceptance in the southern provinces, since these profited materially by becoming the seat of empire.

If we bear in mind that in China the fall of a dynasty does not necessarily entail the fall, even, of a strong party in the nation, we shall be able to estimate the causes to which the fall of this dynasty is attributed, without exaggerating their influence on the national development. The three main causes, according to the historians, are the victorious incursion of the Khitan, the Kin, and the Mongols, the so-called reforms of Wang-ngan-shi, and the abuse of paper money.

The discussions of the learned mostly derived their origin and their bitterness from the controversies which raged as fiercely about the Innovator's commentaries on the Classics as about his new laws, so that this unwonted element of disorder hardly needs to be separately considered. None of these influences affect the first century after the accession of Tai-tsou, which was held to include the most brilliant part of the dynasty; so that the economic history of the Sung divides itself into two portions, that before and after Wang-ngan-shi, almost as the history of the Hans is cut in two by the reign of the usurper Wang-Mang.

Immediately after the accession of Chin-tsong, in 1067, he began to inquire for Wang-ngan-shi, but was dissuaded from summoning him to court. This fateful person is first mentioned in De Mailla's history as joining with Ssema-kwang and other meritorious statesmen in urging Gin-tsong to appoint an heir. This was in 1061: subsequently he is spoken of more than once in praise and blame before he appears on the scene himself, as if almost unconsciously the historian had felt obliged to take an unwontedly dramatic, not to say tragic, tone to prepare his readers for the coming tale. To us the Innovator certainly remains an enigmatical personage: too much of a rationalist for the orthodox Confucians, he was accused of favouring the superstitions of Buddhism; while professing to restore the ancient rites of Chow, he is branded in the eyes of posterity with the name of Innovator and it is only from the study of his measures themselves, apart from the criticism passed on them, that we can hope to judge whether the tendency of his policy was really anti-popular or only gave dissatisfaction to some influential, disproportionately vocal members of the body politic. European critics from the Abbé Grosier to M. Biot have been inclined to regard Wang-ngan-shi as an unappreciated great man, a reformer sacrificed to the narrow and prejudiced conservatism of the

literati, and it is certainly true that his economical ideas are in some respects more European than Chinese; on the other hand, a *consensus* of opinion among the leading statesmen and writers of a generation rich in disinterested and capable public servants, who are also brilliant historians, essayists, and poets, may well give us pause unless we simplify matters by ignoring—as, thanks to the apathy of translators, we easily may—all Chinese literature and philosophy after Mencius.

The current opinion respecting Wang-ngan-shi before his elevation seems to have been that he was an accomplished but erratic scholar; without practical experience in affairs, but strongly attached to his own views; able, but not sincere—a word which covers a wide ground in Chinese ethics. When the emperor recurred to his name, he was told that such a man might be useful in the Han-lin College, but should not be entrusted with affairs of State. In 1068 he was summoned to court and allowed to address memorials to the emperor, though not placed in office. When the emperor in conversation proposed to himself, as a model for imitation, the second emperor of the Tang Dynasty, the great Tai-tsong, Wang advised him rather severely to content himself with imitating Yao and Shun. Yet in 1069, when the emperor very orthodoxly reduced his luxuries and expenditure *à propos* of earthquakes and dry seasons which had terrified the people, Wang rebuked him for the superstition, arguing that the course of nature is necessary and the causes of natural phenomena independent of, and indifferent to, the merit of mankind.

The orthodox Premier was scandalized at this dangerous doctrine; in his rejoinder he does not enter into the question as a matter of scientific reasoning, it is a political and a moral necessity that ruler and subject should stand in awe of the judgment of Heaven, of which these national visitations have from all time been regarded as a symbol. Only a bad man could wish to undermine this salutary feeling, and the wicked Wang who dares to whisper such heresy in his Sovereign's ears is obviously regarded by his contemporaries much as "the Atheist" Hobbes was by contemporary opponents of his theological and political doctrines.

Next year (1069), in spite of the remonstrances of other ministers, he was added to their number, and he scored a dialectical victory over his opponents, who said he was competent to give interpretation of the Classics but not to advise in practical affairs, by pointing out that, as the Classics give rules for the conduct of affairs, to know the Classics well must be to know the best rules for the proper conduct of affairs—which could not orthodoxly be denied. He at once announced as his programme "To change existing customs and lay down rules for good conduct," which must have seemed at least as inconsistent as the criticism just refuted of his opponents.

The key-note to Wang's financial policy was the belief that it was possible to do without taxation; or rather that the expenses of the State might be defrayed, in lieu of taxation, by the profits realized on certain commercial operations, which he wished the State to undertake on its own

account. He was in favour of substituting fixed money payments for contributions in kind or labour, and did not trouble himself to inquire how far the economical gain to the treasury, from such a change, might be counterbalanced by the losses of individual tax-payers. The first innovation propounded was to abandon the old practice, by which the provinces sent their contributions or taxes in kind to the capital, where they were sold for the benefit of the State.

Wang argued, with some plausibility, that the value of these contributions varied from year to year, and he proposed to substitute a fixed payment, the produce of which was to be spent by the officials in buying the goods required by the State in the cheapest market. It is obvious, however, that the cultivators under this scheme would lose at least as much as the State gained, by the substitution of a fixed payment in money for a variable quantity of agricultural produce. The primitive Chinese custom made the State go shares with the peasant in his losses as well as his gains. Mencius has preserved for us an early statement of the argument in favour of this partnership, and so far, at all events, it is clear that the literati who opposed the new scheme represented the interest and the wishes of the people.

To carry out the proposed measure a special transport commission was demanded, with a capital of five millions cash and three million piculs of rice, to pay for the first purchases and the staff expenses. The scheme was negatived as too costly, and we have an account of the arguments used against it by Su-che, a brother of Su-tung-p'o, and one of the most interesting personages of the age. He objected, not only to the extravagant cost of the proposed staff, but also to the opportunities for fraud offered by the scheme. Members of the commission were sure not to trade fairly, but would favour their friends for bribes; all this would be so much dead loss to the State, and if any trifling profit remained after all, it would not make up for the falling off in the ordinary taxes levied on private traders, whose business had been taken out of their hands by the State.

Another unpopular measure, called the "Forced Labour Emancipation Act," had the same tendency as the last project, and was actually put into effect. The *corvée*, it is admitted, is not an economical or very efficient instrument for getting work done, and it is not improbable that the State at this time received much less than the traditional value of the labour tax; on the other hand, the increase of population and the development of private industry must have very much reduced the proportion of labour required on the public service. A mere proposal to compound for the labour tax would therefore not have been untimely, and possibly not unpopular, if it had not been accompanied by the attempt to restore the amount of the tax to its traditional nominal value before effecting the composition. The sum required being comparatively large, *i.e.* the value of the days' work which the [illegible] should be—instead of those which actually [illegible] the payment in money instead of kind was [illegible].

According to Ssema-kwang, the peasants had no money; they obtained grain by ploughing, and cloth by growing cotton and mulberries, and if they had to pay a uniform money tax in bad seasons they would have to root up their mulberry trees for firewood, kill their buffaloes, and sell their land to meet the demands of the tax-gatherer. On the other hand, we are led to infer that the poor would also lose the benefit of the wages paid them by the rich who hired substitutes to do their share of the work.

Sinking funds were as unknown as public debts, but one cannot help feeling that Wang's genius was thrown away upon a financial situation of such primitive simplicity, when we read of his device for insuring the State against any possibility of loss from the Labour Emancipation law. Besides compounding for the corvée, a supplementary tax was imposed to form an insurance fund against the losses in bad years, when even the Innovator admitted that it would be impossible to extort the "Labour Emancipation aid money."

The reference already made to the hiring of substitutes shows that the labour tax was not, like the land tax, habitually evaded by those best able to pay it, and the commutation scheme was made additionally unpopular by being associated with the abolition of the exemptions previously allowed, in favour of families in which there was only one able-bodied man, or those consisting of women and children exclusively. Upon the financial failure of this labour tax, a general property tax was imposed on all classes.

The most important and the most vigorously criticised of the new laws was, however, the third, known as the "Green Sprout Law." The proposal was that the State should lend grain out at 4 per cent. to the farmers, either for sowing fresh lands for the benefit of the State, or to carry them over bad seasons. The seed was to be advanced from the public granaries in the spring, and repayment made, of principal and interest, in the autumn. The scheme was founded partly upon the benevolent provisions of the Chow Li, which allowed advances free of interest to the poor, and partly on a temporary expedient recently tried by the Board of War, which, in order to provide food *in situ* for the frontier troops, and to save transport, made advances to the cultivators of the neighbourhood on condition of their growing grain in proportion for the soldiers.

The ostensible object was to fill the granaries, and the pretext for the first actual loan was a period of distress arising from drought, which was likely to drive the people to the usurers. Strange to say, the opposition to this measure was as vehement and sustained as that in the case of the laws and projects already described; or indeed more so, as the grain loan system continued in force for many years without ceasing to be denounced as one of the chief causes of popular suffering. It is certainly not at first obvious how the cultivators could be ruined by the formation of rural banks making advances at moderate interest, and it is on this ground that some have been inclined to suspect the sincerity of Wang-ngan shi's

opponents, and to suggest that the opposition to his measures may really have emanated from the usurers, whose victims were enabled, by his beneficial reforms, to escape out of the hands of the spoiler.

Fortunately the grounds upon which Ssema-kwang, the leader of the opposition, based his opinion, have been preserved by history, so that we are able to judge whether, on this solitary occasion, the representatives of learning and letters abandoned their wonted attitude of disinterested philanthropy and suffered themselves to be made the mouthpiece, or the tool, of the less creditable moneyed interests of the age.

The objections urged were in the main practical: You lend the people corn for seed; they are in want of food as well, and they begin consuming some of the loan at once; part they sell or exchange for other commodities, necessary perhaps, but which they would otherwise have been unable to obtain; some relying perhaps on the loan will even cease to work. Even if none of these things happen, it will be felt as a hardship by all to have to give back part of the crop, which they have gathered with their own labour and watched and looked on as their own, [illegible] if the season is bad, all the crop may be required to pay back the loan and interest, and the family will be left without food as well as seed for the coming year. Then they will try to evade payment, and the tribunal sent to enforce it will not be content with the lawful dues alone. Officials would grow rich: first, by embezzling the grain which was entrusted to them for distribution; and, secondly, by multiplying costs and penalties for failure or delay in the repayments; and the people would be impoverished by their debts, discontented with the exactions added to them, and finally, perhaps, driven by despair into disorder and open rebellion.

These gloomy auguries were confirmed by appeals to experience. A somewhat similar system of loans had long prevailed in Ssema-kwang's native province of Shensi, and though, being old, the people did not clamour for its abrogation, they were in the habit of attributing three-fifths of their troubles to its existence. The other warning example he cites will appeal to the sympathies of modern economists, with a keen sense of the danger of pauperizing the working classes by charitable relief. He [illegible] to the failure of a [illegible] [illegible] Tai-tsung, [illegible] recompensing the [illegible] of H[illegible] [illegible] for the sale of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the Govern- [illegible] [illegible] they were still exclusively frequented, to the destruction of ordinary trade and the con- [illegible]

[illegible] the side of the Opposition [illegible] themselves, if they were left

to do it in their own way, while yet they could not be depended on to resist temptation put in their way by those who should know better. Under good management, it was said, the people did not need to borrow, even at 4 per cent.; yet when a loan is offered them they will accept it for the sake of present ease, without considering how they will be able to repay it.

The whole system of relief by public storehouses is, as will be seen hereafter, open to abuse when the morals of the official class are at a low ebb; and we may believe that all the anticipated evils did result from the new regulations. On the most favourable view the Innovator then appears as a speculative financier anxious to fill the treasury at whatever risk or inconvenience to the people's means or morals. But as in effect the treasury really profited little, and the officials employed by it a great deal, it is not surprising that the less charitable construction should have prevailed, and Wang-ngan-shi have been assumed, perhaps unjustly, to have clung to his unpopular regulations for the sake of the opportunities these gave for peculation.

A contemporary report complains that the commissioners had "received on behalf of the Government service more than 75,300 string of money, and that the 83,600 string lent as advances for the cultivators of land yielded a sum of more than £16,600 compound interest; but of all this no more than 3,000 strings (? net) was received yearly."[1] It should be observed that compound interest, which Wang is accused of exacting, is not recognised by Chinese law and custom. Interest is high, but loans are usually for short periods, and the interest is in no case allowed to exceed the principal. The popular party was able to regard the costs of the law courts as a greater danger than the exactions of usurers, exactly because the claims of usurers were not supported by law.

If oppressed by tax-gatherers, Chinese villagers used to leave their homes and take to brigandage till the Government tried conciliation and excused the arrears; if in danger of ruin from money-lenders, the same villagers would simply have refused to pay more than they found themselves able to afford in return for an old loan; and their passive refusal to pay too much would have the advantage of warning usurers not to devote their energies by preference to the country districts. It is for the usurer's advantage to keep indebtedness within limits, when the debtor cannot be sold up, and the accumulation of interest is limited to the amount of the original debt.

Another unpopular proposal was that of selling certain "charity lands;" that is to say, State property obtained by confiscations or other means, and set apart for benevolent uses. In recent times English financial authorities have been indignant at the immunity from taxation enjoyed by charitable societies, and in all Moslem countries the revenue from land is

[1] *Ma-tsuan-lin*, ap. W. Vissering, p. 152. At this rate, in round numbers, the interest on the original loan of £25,000 would have mounted up to £5,000, *i.e.*, 20 per cent., instead of 4 per cent., of which only £400 or £500, say 2 per cent., entered [illegible]. An article in vol. ii. of the *China Review* contains the fullest account of Wang's laws.

materially reduced by the exemption of Wakf lands. It is possible that Wang's attention was called to this subject by the scandalously small proportion of cultivated land which paid the land tax, and it may have been associated with his best measure, the order for a complete cadastral survey of the whole country.

This was abandoned on his fall, and though resumed for a time, in the reign of Tche-tsong, was unfortunately never completed. Its effect is to be seen, however, in the increase of the area registered for taxation in 1084, to more than double what it had been in 1052, when the lowest point was reached, and not much less than the maximum recorded in 1021, just before the palmy days of the regency. Title-deeds, which are mentioned as something new, were granted on occasion of the survey; and the simplicity of the cultivators and the perverse ingenuity of the minor officials is illustrated afresh by the complaint that, when the land was marked out into squares of a certain size[1] for the survey, the cultivators were persuaded that odd lots outside the squares were of no value, and so induced to sell them at a nominal price. Another unobjectionable measure was the revival of the special Tribunal employed to regulate the value of the money in use, by always issuing just as much as was necessary to keep it at the same price.

Besides the Grain Loan law, the chief plan for raising revenue without taxation was the so-called Barter law; this was professedly intended to revive the market regulations of the Chow Dynasty, which contemplated sales and purchases of goods by the State, with the sole object of keeping prices at the same level. I have not been able to meet with a clear account of the working of this law, and in fact the transactions under this head can scarcely be separated from those undertaken in connection with the taxes and the transport commission. The only money with which the State could buy, and the only goods it had to sell were those received on account of the revenue. But there was more opportunity for purchases on account of the Government when distant provinces paid their quota in money instead of goods delivered direct for use. The Government establishments opened under this law seem to have been something between an Owenite Exchange Hall and a pawnshop. The State became the chief trader, to the disgust of the literati and the masses alike; and private trade was ruined by the competition of the Government. Su-che's [illegible] however, was [illegible] as to the absence of any real gain to [illegible]. In the passage already quoted from Ma-twan-lin, over £[illegible] [illegible] employed on behalf of the public service; and [illegible] successful financially as the grain loans, [illegible] would be about £4[illegible] and this in a [illegible] where private traders still expect to clear 30 or 50 per cent on their [illegible].

[illegible] that their business was taken from [illegible] with the offer [illegible]

the security of town lands or houses at 10 per cent. interest for the half-year. In fact, if the execution of all these schemes had been on a par with their conception, and if the Chinese had been as manageable as the ancient Egyptians, the great financial *coup* attributed to the Hebrew Joseph would have been paralleled in China, and even without the help of the seven lean years of famine, Wang-ngan-shi would have bought up on account of the emperor the freehold of all China. The whole scheme foundered on the rock which is really the corner-stone of the political economy of the country—the conviction that ownership is based on use, as well as limited by the discharge of civil obligations. The State could only be allowed to make itself universal creditor on condition of extracting no more profit out of the rôle than a private person would do; and as both slavery and serfdom were ceasing to find a place in the national manners, it was at least a thousand years too late to establish State absolutism on an economic, for want of a political basis.

No doubt there had been a time when Chinese emperors, had they pleased, might have claimed for themselves the same boundless authority as the Pharaohs; and it is curious and significant of the force attained by what (for want of a better word) we must call Constitutionalism in China, that such would-be absolutists as Chang-yang, Wang-mang, and Wang-ngan-shi should all have felt that their best chance lay in reviving ancient customs with an altered spirit.

Like Wang-mang the Sung innovator included a new militia law amongst his regulations. A revival of the local military levies was proposed in order to save the cost of regular armies. From every family including two or more adult males, one was required to serve as a soldier; the burden on the agricultural population was so great that numbers deserted their homes, and the law could only be kept in force at all by an expedient, which could scarcely have been proposed in any other country, —that of exempting the peasants from its operation, a measure which of course only made it bear the more oppressively on the other classes.

One more curious revival brings us to the end of the too learned legislator's schemes. The archaic custom of boarding out the horses and cattle of the Chief among his retainers survived, it will be remembered, in the days of Chow, so far as the officers of the imperial stable were concerned. On this foundation, Wang-ngan-shi based a so-called "Law for the protection of horses," a development of the local military system applied to the maintenance of cavalry horses. The people were invited to volunteer either to provide or to take charge of one or more horses for the army. Nominally 250 bundles of hay, and payments in cloth and money, were allowed for the maintenance of each horse; but while the charge was practically made compulsory, the allowances were embezzled by underlings, and as the dead or diseased animals had to be replaced at the keeper's expense, the opportunities for oppression were virtually endless.

It is not surprising that with all these new regulations, added to the

chronic vexations which made the cultivator's life burdensome in the days of Tang, popular discontent grew deep if not loud; it was described by a contemporary as of that most dangerous sort, "when the people do not dare to speak but dare to be angry." Ssema-kwang headed the opposition, and boldly asked the Emperor if he expected to be able to govern with the help of three men (Wang and two obscure lieutenants of his), and he seemed for a moment not unwilling to repeal the obnoxious grain loan law. Wang-ngan-shi, however, threatened to resign if his policy was reversed, and the Emperor yielded to his insistence. Most of the censors resigned, and all the leading scholars and statesmen of the court either followed their example or were dismissed. Complaints came in from all quarters, from the local governors, of the people's suffering in repaying the loans and the charges of the tribunals for exacting payment.

The eloquent Su-che, who had been appointed to the non-political post of travelling Examiner, presented a memorial on his return stating that the literati were everywhere adverse to the new regulations, and that, with hardly an exception, all the compositions submitted to the examiners consisted of attacks on the policy of the Government—an unheard-of state of things, which he thought it his duty to report to the Emperor. In 1074 the Innovator was dismissed out of regard for the general clamour: but he was soon recalled, and the ascendancy of his views so far as possible secured by edicts ordering the exclusive use of his editions and commentaries on the Classics in the public colleges and official examinations. He also published a universal dictionary, intended, like his Commentaries, to give some appearance of authority and antiquity to his views.

Wang seems really to have been a learned and able scholar; and some of his interpretations have been accepted in the Imperial edition of the Classics published under the present dynasty. Of course only a minority of the annotations could have any direct bearing on the obnoxious laws, but in one quoted by M. Biot[1] the spirit of his financial policy is clearly illustrated. He looks upon the various benevolent regulations in the Rites of Chow as intended, not so much to promote the welfare of the people as to insure their being able to pay their taxes; and from this point of view it is obvious that, if the State could succeed in raising the [illegible] without taxation, it would in the eyes of the Innovator also be emancipated from the troublesome necessity of caring or providing for the material welfare of the population, so that the heads of the Government would have nothing to do but provide for their own advancement.

[illegible] the Dowager Empress became regent: Ssema-kwang [illegible] of the opposition were recalled to court, and [illegible] repealed. Wang-ngan-shi died himself in the [illegible] So did his great rival, Ssema-kwang, two years after [illegible] completed the general history of China from [illegible] B.C. to the end of the five posterior dynasties, known as Tse-tchi-tong-

[1] [illegible] p. 323.

Kien-Kang-Mou.[1] For the last fifteen years he had been living in retirement or a kind of honourable exile at the old court of Loyang, holding no appointment but that of historiographer and censor. In the latter character he was allowed to memorialize the Emperor, a privilege of which he never availed himself except for the sake of obtaining some lawful boon for the neighbourhood, where he was adored as an embodiment of wisdom and justice, appealed to by the country folk to arbitrate in family disputes, and habitually addressed by all in terms of friendly familiarity as plain "Master," notwithstanding his high rank and his former position.

His death at Cai-fong-fu was the signal for a popular demonstration the like of which had never before been recorded in the Annals. All the shops in the capital were shut on the day of the funeral; merchants and all classes wore mourning and attended the funeral ceremonies; and when the coffin was carried to his native place, representatives from every household followed it for a long distance, while every place upon the road paid similar honour to his memory. Public funerals arranged by authority may form an impressive pageant and draw crowds of lookers-on, but it is doubtful whether a mere statesman and historian, with none of the romance of a saint or soldier about him, would have received this sort of spontaneous popular tribute anywhere in the West between the Greek republics and the democracies of the Nineteenth century. Such enthusiasm at all events speaks well for the standard of political culture among the Chinese in the days of our William the Conqueror.

Mailla's great work comes to an end with the year 1224, and De Mailla's original is unusually silent upon everything connected with the internal history of the Southern empire. Chinese writers, within half a century of the fall of the dynasty, complain of the want of the usual records, from which statistical tables and facts of economic interest are normally compiled. But apart from the laws of Wang it does not seem that there was any sudden change in the system of land tenure or the condition of the cultivators. It will be remembered that slavery, as introduced by the Hans, made way under the minor dynasties which followed, for a kind of feudal servitude, which largely reduced the number of householders paying taxes direct to the imperial treasury. By the beginning of the Sung Dynasty, slavery had fallen into disrepute, the relics of feudalism were passing away, and in their stead we meet with a form of the modern relation of landlord and tenant.

It was complained that the total amount of the landlords' rents exceeded that of the emperor's taxes. The account of three departments added to the empire in 985 A.D. is interesting, as it gives the proportion between the rent or tribute-paying inferiors and their lords, when the latter had emancipated themselves from any external suzerainty. The district was occupied by 125 families, to whom 1,600 other families paid tribute.[2] Ten acres was at this time regarded as an average holding for a family, and at this rate the average estate of each landlord, besides what was in his own

[1] See App. G. [2] *Ibid.* p. 8.

occupation, would be nearly 1,300 acres, or 10,000 mow, a magnitude now almost unheard of and always considered extravagant. The proportion is doubtless mentioned because it is exceptional, and landlords who themselves had to pay taxes could not have so many tenants, while there were always freeholders who paid direct to the State. Still this glimpse of a large class of cultivators, who would be omitted from the census, on the ground of their not being taxpayers, is a sufficient reason for doubting whether the population of the empire had ever declined as much as the decline in the number of tax-paying families seems by itself to indicate.

Two classes of families are recognised in the Sung registers—the landowners in their own right and those who farmed the land of others on a kind of métayer system, who were described as "guests." With the prevalence of subletting, laws and customs grew up for the protection of the tenants, which are still in force, and have in effect robbed the rôle of landlord of all its charms. A fair rent and fixity of tenure were secured to the cultivator, and as the central Government again became strong enough to assert its claims as overlord, by the appropriation of all waste or ownerless plots, its influence began to be felt again as formerly in preventing rack-renting.

The custom of letting land had become so common that in 997 A.D. a minister, who was desirous to provide cultivators for the deserted fields round Cai-fong-fu, proposed as the most natural course to let them to willing tenants at a moderate rent, instead of ceding them out of hand, as had been done in earlier times, or granting them for a term, subject to redemption by the Crown, when the tenant ceased to rank as an able-bodied taxpayer. When the land was granted for three years rent free, the rent after that time was at first fixed at 50 per cent. of the produce, following no doubt the precedent of the metayer system in use among private persons; but the Government seems on the whole to have preferred a fixed rent, subject to allowances for bad years. This rent may have included a slight advance upon the ordinary land tax, to which the freehold properties were subject, and indeed otherwise the freeholder who had [illegible] his farm would be at a disadvantage compared with the State tenants who had paid nothing for a lease in perpetuity.

But it is obvious that, as freeholding again became the rule, the dis- [illegible]

Nevertheless, large estates continued to grow, and in 1263 it was again proposed to limit the amount of land which might lawfully be held by a single owner to 100 mow; and everything above this amount was liable to be bought or confiscated by the Crown. It was considered a proof of loyalty and liberality voluntarily to surrender such excess lands, without waiting to have them claimed; and a sufficiently absurd abuse is said to have grown up in consequence, officers not possessed of any land, but desiring to pay their court in this way, having obtained possession tyrannically of other men's lands, that they might make a merit of surrendering them.

Choo-hi is said (in a work compiled under the Ming, 1602 A.D.) to have put an end to disorders which prevailed in the district where he resided by restoring the system of public storehouses for grain. It was complained, that every spring and summer the rich closed their granaries and sold corn at a high profit, till the poor forced them open for plunder, riots and murders being multiplied. Choo-hi having taken counsel with the people of the neighbourhood established a public granary from which corn was issued at a steady price, security being taken for its repayment. The satisfactory result was reported to the emperor, and other provinces commanded to follow the same plan. The record of the grievance and the popular mode of dealing with it is no doubt quite authentic, and the story harmonises with what we are told of the attitude of the modern Chinese towards speculators for a rise in corn. But it is not clear how Choo-hi's action, which is praised, differs in principle from some of the measures of Wang-ngan-shi, which were regarded as practically mischievous as well as speculatively unsound. The fact seems to be that experiments in State socialism in China are judged by their result, which is only satisfactory when they are devised and carried out by exceptionally able and absolutely disinterested officials.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### *TAXATION AND FINANCE UNDER THE SUNG.*

Up to the year 1021 the record of the area of cultivated land subject to taxation continued to increase proportionately with the population. By 1052 it had fallen off unaccountably,—more than 50 per cent.,—whilst the number of tax-paying families still multiplied. Officers of the time, according to Ma-twan-lin, reported that as much as 70 per cent. of the cultivated land escaped assessment; but this is probably an exaggeration, as if taken literally, it would imply that a quarter of the whole area of China was under cultivation, which is scarcely possible, considering the scantiness of population in the wilder districts.[1] It seems most probable that the large landowners continued to defy the tax collectors, and it is possible that while the State tenants were counted as householders in the census, their lands, for which the rents were paid separately, were not counted as liable for land tax.

It is not conceivable that the average size of holdings should have been reduced by half in the course of thirty years, and the reference to a proposition made in 1062 to tax 20 per cent. of the cultivated lands, seems to imply that then, at all events, no attempt was made to tax, nor therefore to register, all the lands under cultivation. Usage oscillated between two plans, both sanctioned by antiquity, of levying a certain percentage of the whole produce and levying the whole produce of a corresponding fraction of the productive land. Either plan was open to objection, and it is likely that financiers from time to time thought it desirable to meet the abuses that had grown up under one system, by reverting to the other, till that in its turn [illegible] unworkable.

M. Biot[2] gives, after Ma-twan-lin, tables showing the total revenue from direct taxation in the years 997, 1021, and 1077 A.D. Besides the large contributions of [illegible], copper money, silk of various qualities, and fodder, [illegible] hempen cloth, gauze, tea, firewood, coal, feathers, [illegible] arrows; in 1021, leather, salt, paper, and undressed hemp are also added. It would be useless to attempt an exact valuation, where there are so many necessary elements of uncertainty, but the copper money received in 997 may be taken as worth under 1[illegible]

[1] [illegible] 1812 [illegible] 270 to the square mile [illegible]

[2] [illegible] 315 [illegible]

millions sterling, and the grain for the same year, while worth perhaps twice as much in money, would have served as rations for nearly five million persons for a twelvemonth.

In 1021 there is a slight increase in the grain receipts and a very material increase (nearly 35 per cent.) in the copper money. By 1087, when the area of tax-paying land had fallen off, the receipts in grain had fallen from 21 and 22 million chi to 18 million, and the money receipts were intermediate between those of the two former periods: in other words, the growth of the revenue had been arrested, but there was no positive falling off in its amount if the eighty years are taken together.

The increase of the receipts in copper seem to show that the Government had not been unsuccessful in its first attempts to deal with the standing difficulty of the currency. The first innovation was the introduction of iron money in addition to the familiar copper. Though it was even more cumbrous—a shilling's worth of iron cash weighed over 2 lbs.—yet it was found less laborious to use iron money in remote provinces, where iron was found and copper was not, than to import the necessary quantity of copper from a distance. On this ground the use of iron money was first sanctioned in Fokien and Sz'chuen, where it had been invented. So long as the iron money was in use alone, no fresh inconvenience was felt except from its great weight, and to meet this a first experiment in private banking was tried in Sz'chuen. A certain Tchang-yang invented the idea of notes or coupons exchangeable for metal money at a specified date: "this was not a money;[1] it was only a means of transporting the value of metal money." After 997 this invention received further development.

Sixteen leading firms associated themselves for the purpose of issuing *kiao-tsze*,[2] or bills of exchange, which were to be repayable at intervals of three years over a total period of sixty-five years. The bills were at first in great favour, and it is perhaps not surprising that some of the associated firms should have been tempted by the confidence reposed in them to indulge in rash speculations; the heirs of some of the sixteen partners were unable to meet their engagements, litigation followed, and as the case was one not contemplated by the common law of China, no satisfactory issue was possible, and in 1017 the Company was wound up by order of the local governor. The *kiao-tsze*, however, had become popular, and their suppression gave rise to the more inconvenience because engagements could be made by their help, which it became exceedingly costly to fulfil without them. Accordingly, in 1023 the Government itself established a bank for the issue of bills of exchange, and private persons were prohibited from engaging in the same business

In other parts of the empire the "flying money" of the Tang had already been re-introduced under the name of *pien-tsing*, or "convenient money."

[1] M[illegible], [illegible], *Journ. A. [illegible]*, [illegible], iv, p. 217.

[2] T[illegible] "[illegible]," [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

These bonds when given in exchange for metallic deposits were of course repayable on demand; and they only served to increase the amount of money in circulation, in so far as they passed from hand to hand oftener than the money they represented would have done. Similar bonds seem to have been given, as previously, on the security of tea, salt, or other recognised values, and these were only repayable in kind, so that they passed from hand to hand as money and could only be "cashed" by some one in want of the commodities specified on the bill. The *pien-tsing* thus, though a great convenience when money was scarce, were not a real paper money: they could not be issued in excess, as the quantity in circulation was regulated by the deposits of private persons; according to Biot, it never exceeded the moderate proportion of one in thirteen of the copper money in use.

To set against this security, however, there was the inconvenience of the original deposit which had to be reclaimed to time, and in the case of the salt and tea bonds the necessity of converting the paper into goods within a limited period. For all these reasons the *pien-tsing* disappeared from use with the introduction of the Government bills of exchange, a real paper money, which, like that of the first private banks, was to run for sixty-five years, covering twenty-two triennial terms of repayment. In the middle of the century the amount due for repayment at each term is said to have been between £300,000 and £400,000.

The Government, it is obvious, had not realized that the object to be aimed at was a permanent addition to the currency, limited only by the credit of the State; for the triennial cash payments seem to have been made regularly for nineteen terms, so that the paper currency must have contracted considerably before it was proposed (early in the administration of Wang-ngan-shi) to redeem the expiring bonds with a new issue to run for twenty-five terms, or seventy-five years in all.

Meanwhile the introduction of paper had done nothing to lessen the evils arising from the joint use of iron and copper, or from the dearth of [illegible]. To save the expense of carriage and to meet the cost of border wars, mines and foundries were opened in the neighbourhood of the armies, and their product, whatever it might be, was put into circulation. [illegible] copper and iron were used together [illegible] two [illegible] their [illegible] [illegible] and speculators exaggerated the fluctuation, so that all the disadvantages of a [illegible] corresponding benefit.

[illegible] from the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of 2,000. A [illegible] and the people cast 2,000 [illegible] 1,000 copper pieces, the Government

in my humble opinion sustains a considerable loss."[1] The iron pieces, he goes on, are bought and sold as bullion at half the price they bear as coined money; so to buy up the iron while still allowing the iron money to circulate was indeed ruinous. The most practical remedy finally applied was that of issuing copper money in some districts and iron in others; but this device could scarcely have been tried without the help of the new paper money, to serve for the larger commercial transactions between comparatively distant parts of the country.

The laws against the hoarding and exportation of metal were repealed by Wang-ngan-shi, who seems to have been an advocate for as much free trade as could survive the competition of the State as the greatest trader. His critics complained that the country was drained of its metal currency to supply the barbarians, while his defenders argued, like advanced economists, that there could be no loss if the money went out in exchange for goods, especially as it might be expected to come back again in exchange for more goods. The defect in this reasoning seems to have been that it assumed the Tatars to be a civilized and commercial people, instead of half-reclaimed nomads, able to find a use for money when other people would coin it for them, but, as a rule, more inclined to acquire such Chinese goods as pleased them by forays or blackmail than by the exchange of commodities. In any case it is obvious that a metal currency which was not sufficient in quantity for the needs of China proper could not be scattered over Mongolia and Central Asia without aggravating the domestic inconvenience.

As already mentioned, a fresh issue of *kiao-tsze* to run for thirteen years, making in addition to the original term seventy-five years in all, was made in 1072 A.D.; these were to be exchangeable for the expiring bills of the first issue. But in 1076 they were suspended on the pretext, we are told, that the merchants realized too large a profit on their purchases and sales at the expense of the Government. This may mean only that, by the help of the Government paper, private commerce continued to realize a return which the Innovator coveted in vain. We are not told exactly what happened on the expiry of the *kiao-tsze* at the close of the 11th century, but the first years of the next century witnessed the issue of a new kind of paper, issued in excessive quantities in the vain hope of so providing for the expenses of the war against the Leao. This paper was not much in request, and to mend matters the Government, which was in the hands of Wang's successors, ordered that all payments above a certain value should be made half in it and half in copper. The only result was that the paper fell to a tenth and then to a hundredth of its nominal value.

The military collapse of the Empire diverted attention from its financial failure, and as this money had been mainly used in the Northern provinces, the Southern Sung left their creditors behind them. The credit of the Government was not improved by the diminution in its territory, for barrier bonds, issued 1131, for the sake of saving carriage, in payment of provi-

[1] Vissering, *Currency*, p. 119.

sions delivered to the troops in Sz'chuen, were redeemed by the Government at only one-third of the price of issue, which of course made the tradesmen unwilling to accept payment in such coin in future. After this, one depreciated and inconvertible paper succeeded another, till in 1166 a vigorous attempt was made to revert to specie payment, and a million ounces of silver were employed to buy up the *hoei-tsze* in circulation.

This is the first time so large a sum of silver is mentioned, and we may infer from it that the metal was already used, as now, in private commerce as a medium of exchange by weight, but no attempt was made to introduce silver money. From time to time attempts were made to apply the precedents derived from the history of base copper money to the depreciated paper. Sometimes it was accepted in payment of taxes, though more often the Government helped to discredit it by only accepting it at its lowest rates. The acme of perversity was perhaps reached in 1167 A.D., when it was proposed to buy up the depreciated hoei-tsze at 10 per cent. of their original value. Apparently this offer so far improved their credit that private dealers were willing to take them at a less severe discount, but this was forbidden under heavy penalties. In 1133 the emperor Kao-tsung, in speaking of the depreciated bills, naïvely suggested that Government officials, who had a million strings of cash in their storehouses, should keep up the credit of the paper by timely purchases; but we do not learn that their patriotism took this form, and in 1160 the laws against hoarding metal were revived: £6,000 was the *maximum* allowed to a Government official, and half that sum for private persons.

Copper plates were used at this time for printing the notes instead of wood, and the constant issues of fresh paper may be excused to a certain extent by the flimsiness of the material, which caused them to wear out rapidly. In 1210 a quantity of bonds were again bought up in Sz'chuen by the Government, which dispatched gold and silver from the Treasury for the purpose. Meanwhile the complaints about the exportation of the precious metals continued, though the Kin had long proved their civilization, by issuing paper money themselves and reproducing most of the inconveniences of Chinese finance; that is to say, as soon as their convertible paper money had become popular and its conversion was seldom demanded, they [illegible] to discredit it by omitting to keep any cash reserve at all.

This [illegible] make the civilized subjects of the Northern Empire as anxious [illegible] from the South as their barbarian predecessors had been [illegible] Mongols [illegible] were; unfortunately, also, the first provinces to fall into [illegible] and [illegible] Mongols were those whence the chief supply of copper was derived, so that the material difficulties in the way of establishing a satisfactory [illegible] were [illegible]. Special bills of exchange were issued [illegible] communication between districts, like those on the [illegible] Hwai, which used respectively iron and copper money; [illegible] of the Government were aggravated by its habit of treating the paper money as naturally and necessarily destined only for [illegible].

A contemporary writer cited by Ma-twan-lin [1] thus describes the general result: "After having tried for years and months to support and maintain (the depreciated notes), the people had no longer any confidence in them, but were positively afraid of them. For the payment for Government purchases was made in paper; the funds of the salt manufactories consisted of paper, the salaries of all the officers were paid in paper, the soldiers receiving their pay in paper. Of the provinces and districts already in arrear there was not one that did not discharge its debts in paper. Copper money, which was seldom seen, was considered a treasure. The capital collected together in former days to supply the border fortifications was a thing not even spoken of any more. So it was natural that the prices of commodities rose, while the value of the paper fell more and more. Among the people this caused them, already disheartened, to lose all energy; the soldiers were continually anxious that they should not get enough to eat, and the inferior officials in all parts of the empire raised complaints that they had not enough even to procure the commonest necessaries. All this was a result of the depreciation of the paper money, and as the paper money depreciated the metallic money is consequently depreciated likewise."

This last not very lucid sequence perhaps means that the depreciation of the paper encouraged coiners to debase what was left of the copper money. But we certainly hear less of this grievance under the Sung than before the introduction of paper for general use. So far as the Government was concerned, perhaps the sound views enunciated by one Kung-I, of Nan-tsi, regarding the casting of money, may have come into general acceptance. This sagacious person declares, albeit rather late in the day, "That it is not allowed to be sparing of the copper or to grudge the workmanship; for as soon as the copper is not spared, the casting of money is without profit, and if no profit is to be made, false coiners do not care to arise; this again is the reason that the money comes back in its full value as it was cast, when it is withdrawn as well as when it is issued again . . . and this is the greater profit of the two."

If, to borrow Ma-twan-lin's phrase, the peculiarities of the institution of copper money had been thus penetrated a few centuries sooner, Chinese rulers would have saved themselves much trouble. And the same remark applies to the Encyclopædist's own criticisms on the use of paper money in his own times.

After observing that it would have been sufficient to issue paper money at the court alone, he continues: "At present there are besides the already circulating Hoei-tsze (or bonds) the credit notes of Sz'chuen, those of the Hwai provinces and the Hoei-tzse of the Hu region, and each of those provinces prints and makes them for itself, and the end of it is, that the repayment does not take place, and that they are no more a means balancing the actual possession. How is this? With the very first intention to institute this Hoei-tzse it was not originally so that they were looked upon as money, but they were then considered to be of the nature

[1] Ap. W. Vissering, *On Chinese Currency*, p. 2[illegible]7.

of the receipts for tea, salt, and other Government productions balancing money only temporarily. . . . (The different notes were of different values, but there was only printed on the receipts that the merchants must present them in order to receive for them tea, salt, aromatics or (other) articles, and therefore for these notes a separation and division into different districts was necessary, as for instance receipts for lump salt could only circulate in Shensi, while receipts for crushed salt are current only in the Kiangs and the Hwai regions.

"The Hoei-tsze, on the contrary, served to be given and taken in payments, when private as well as public persons bought or sold something, without its occurring that they disappeared not to be used any more" (like the receipts). If they were thus to be used as a substitute for ordinary metallic money, it was needless to have local issues with limited currency: the paper money, as long as it was not in excess, was naturally used for its convenience as widely as the metal it represented, and the restriction did not prevent its ultimate depreciation. "The reason why later withdrawals and repayments only produced new issues, and that after being repeatedly increased, they at last fell in value as the number issued became greater, is because in the beginning when the law was made and the plan discussed the Government had not penetrated all the peculiarities of the institution" (of the issue of paper money).[1]

Further criticism is needless, but as European economists have always taken a lively interest in this first known experiment in the use of paper money, it is well to note how far the experiment was influenced in China by the analogies of earlier and perverse regulations regarding the scanty metal currency. It may also be doubted whether the national loss and suffering caused by the depreciated paper can have been as great in proportion as it would in a community not already accustomed to every kind of monetary inconvenience. At the present day, English merchants in China watch with amusement the dexterity with which their clerks and errand boys play the part of a money changer, spending vast ingenuity and knowledge of the [illegible] to clear a single cent. Such a people are better able than most to defend themselves against Government frauds.

W[illegible] categorical assurance of Marco Polo, which counts for something, that the paper money was taken readily by both native and [illegible]. No doubt trade and commerce suffered from the confusion, [illegible] over the community than [illegible] country with [illegible] disastrous [illegible] economically; but in [illegible] by the richer classes, their loyalty to the existing régime was impaired, and dis- [illegible]

[illegible]

minister of Wen ti, who was urging his master not to allow private mints. The issues of provincial notes, not available throughout the empire, probably did more than any other single measure to counteract the centralizing policy by which the first Sung emperors hoped to save their empire from dismemberment. The dynasty was not destroyed by a discontented commercial class, but it was not defended with loyalty by any class; as Marco Polo says, the country would never have been lost if the people had but been soldiers; and to make soldiers of the peace-loving Chinese the central Government always needed to make itself at once strong and popular, so that its existence and maintenance should be associated in the minds of the multitude with their actual enjoyment of peace and plenty.

In the 12th century and the first half of the 13th, peace and plenty indeed reigned in Southern China, but the emperor's share in securing these boons was negative; he did not plunder his people of the fruits of their own industry, and he did not attack the neighbours he would have been unable to resist. The power of peace and war thus rested first with the Kin and then with the Mongols, and so the allegiance of the Chinese was half transferred beforehand to their new rulers.

The development of trade and industry indicated by the size and magnificence of the principal towns probably contributed, with the scarcity of money, to increase the price of the necessaries of life.

In some of the tables of taxes paid in kind, the *chi* of rice is put down as equivalent to a string of cash (1,000), which is more than three times as much as the price current under the Tang. M. Biot inclines to think that this is too high, and quotes an example from an arithmetical text-book by the great Choo-hi to show that 500 or 600 cash was a more usual price.[1] But prices even in English text-books are apt to become somewhat traditional, and a Chinese Colenso would be more likely to perpetuate in his examples the supposed prices of Yao and Shun than to follow the fluctuations of the contemporary market. In any case the rise in the value of agricultural produce would not bear hardly on the peasantry while they still formed the bulk of the population and received the price of their crops themselves. We learn incidentally from the famous littérateur, Su-tung-po,[2] that the owner of an estate, which brings in 1,000 pieces of silk per annum, is a rich man, who might live in a palace and enjoy all the pleasures of luxury. Unfortunately, we are no more able to put a price on the roll of silk than on the chi of rice of the period, but when we last compared these values they stood at about 3*s.* 3*d.*; so if the price of silk had remained unchanged since the Tang, a rich man in the 11th century would have rejoiced in the income of £102 10*s.*, or under £500, even supposing the price to have trebled, as is scarcely probable.

[1] *Journ. As.*, Sept. 1838, p. 320.
[2] Giles, *Gem.*, p. 190.

# CHAPTER XVII.

## *TWO LITERARY STATESMEN OF THE SUNG DYNASTY.*

THERE are many eminent scholars of the Sung age of whom we know little except that they were opposed to Wang-ngan-shi and wrote commentaries on the Yi King. Of all to whom this description applies, the palm of eloquence was by common consent awarded to Su-che, whose strictures on the Government have already been quoted. The life of this worthy, like that of Ssema-kwang, has a more than personal interest, as the account of his administration gives a clearer picture than we have yet obtained of the way in which the Chinese ideal of paternal government was realized under the occasional rule of learned and popular governors.

After his report on the disaffection of the graduates, he was naturally out of favour at court, and his disgrace took the form of appointment to the governorship of Hang-chow. The neighbourhood had suffered severely from brigandage, and even more from the excesses of the troops sent to put down the brigands. The new governor's discriminating firmness soon restored order, the officers who had connived at oppression were put to death, the common soldiers pardoned, and the people protected. The water supply of the town was in a deplorable state: the reservoirs built during the Tang Dynasty and the canals which fed them had been allowed to fall out of repair, and the public health was suffering from the want of drinkable water. Money was scarce and the necessary works very [illegible]

[illegible]

causeways, furnished with lofty bridges to allow of the passage of boats; and, though the city itself has much contracted in size and splendour since Marco Polo's day, the Chinese still regard it as a paradise and sober Englishmen as "a spot of peculiar attraction"—which might surely be heightened by a little knowledge of its historic associations. Part of the shore of the lake Si-hou planted by him with trees and water-lilies is still called "The quay of Master Su." All the neighbourhood had contributed cheerfully to the work, which was accomplished in four years. In commemoration of its success the citizens had their governor's portrait taken, and every householder insisted on providing himself with a copy.

Su-che belonged to a younger generation than Ssema-kwang, having only taken his degree in 1057, and the vicissitudes of his career were not yet over. He was removed to Su-chow, where his rule was equally beneficent. But on his next change of office, when required by custom to write a letter of thanks to the emperor, he allowed himself again to remonstrate on the subject of the new regulations; and his eloquence being of a rather fiery kind, his enemies took the opportunity of accusing him, not only of addressing the emperor in an improper manner, but also of having written certain biting satires and epigrams which were in the mouths of all men. The point of some of these is visible even to the European eye, and others only need to have their allusions explained for us to appreciate the sensation caused by such a revival of the plain-speaking of the satirical odes. Wang-ngan-shi may be excused if he thought there was not room in the same Government for him and the author of an epigram: "Kwan was employed by Yao and put to death by Shun: how many Kwans will have to be put to death by the successor of our august Yao, the wise prince under whom we have the happiness of living!"

The following was *à propos* of a duty on salt, and alludes to an anecdote of Confucius, who was so enraptured by some ancient melodies called Chao-yo that for three months afterwards the choicest delicacies made no impression on his palate,—he had no taste for anything but the music.[1] "Who can doubt the power of the music Chao? its effects have been renewed in our own days. For three whole months our food has lost its savour!"—the fact being that for three months the people had either gone without salt or procured it contraband, rather than supply themselves from the Government stores. A treasonable sense was ascribed to other less intelligible verses, and, notwithstanding the emperor's admiration for all Su-che's writings, and his reluctance to have them misinterpreted, the satirist was deprived of his charges and imprisoned, though not for long, and then sent to reside under surveillance in a provincial town.

In 1072 the Emperor was advised that it was time to have the historical memoirs of his dynasty arranged, and he at once proposed that the commission should be given to Su-che, for whose style he had an inextinguishable admiration. He had already, some ten or twelve years previously, suggested that Su-che should be employed as one of the historians of his

[1] *Analects*, xvi. p. 13.

own reign, but was dissuaded by Wang, who had a well-grounded foreboding of the figure he and his master were likely to cut in a history written by the most eloquent of their critics. When the emperor's proposal was overruled, a certain Tseng-kong was appointed. He tried his skill upon the interesting reign of the founder of the dynasty, and the result was submitted to the emperor, who, having read to the end, asked for pencil and paper, and wrote silently: "I appoint Su-che to the post of historiographer."

Apparently at this time, though the reigning emperor did not read what was written of his own days, the memoirs of previous reigns were open to inspection, and were edited from time to time, when the moment had come for an impartial revision. In a literary age no doubt the tendency was to abridge increasingly the conventional delays. The official history of the Tang Dynasty was not put in hand till the year 1060, and the incompleteness of the previous works of unofficial writers was explained by the statement that they had not had access to the documents of the Tribunal of History, which were now made public for the first time. The reigning Sung emperors apparently wished to do for their own immediate predecessors what had hitherto only been done for the preceding dynasty.

When Tche-tsong began to govern in 1093, the regulations of Wang-ngan-shi were revived, and Su-che was again hunted by his enemies from one post to another and finally exiled on a renewed charge of satirizing the Government. At his place of banishment, no house was provided for his residence, and the officials refused to render him any assistance; so he resorted to his old method of appealing to the general public. He posted upon placard: "The exiled Su-che wishes to build a hut, but has not the wherewithal." All the passers-by stopped to read, and the scholars began to exclaim one to another: "Su-che! the great man who saved Su-chow from inundation and made the great causeway in the lake Si-hou! surely it is our business to work for him if he is in need of help!" and promptly a subscription was opened and a neat dwelling built, where the exile proceeded to finish the commentary on the Yi King begun by his father. He died in 1100, just after the amnesty for a new reign which put an end to his exile.

[illegible] documents bearing on the private life of the [illegible] Yang-chi [illegible] (died 1132) [illegible] He was [illegible] in the [illegible] mined [illegible]

by the thoughts, and therefore the thoughts of the mind must be rigorously examined and controlled, the good thoughts adopted by the heart and translated into action and the evil ones rejected and forgotten. If the heart cleaves to the True and the conscience to the Good, Heaven and all beneficent influences will be favourable; while those who take the opposite course will find Heaven, Earth, all spiritual influences, and the remorse of their own consciences against them.

After this prelude, the document passes at once to practical matters. The sons are assured that it is not at all necessary to take a literary degree or to obtain office; but if they do the latter, they must not disgrace their father's memory by failing in uprightness or zeal for the common good. Their mother is an excellent and right-minded woman, they must conform in all things to her views; if they fail in piety towards her, their father's ghost will punish them—if it can. The two brothers are enjoined to live together without dividing their inheritance; the character of the younger one is impetuous, and his elder is requested to bear with him in this respect, while the younger is charged to apologise if he has offended.

Both brothers are married, the elder to the daughter of a graduate, the younger to the daughter of an officer. Unless both husbands look to it, this circumstance may lead to incidents fatal to domestic peace and decorum. The mandarin's daughter is not to dress too gaily, which would try her sister-in-law's patience; the best way will be for them to dress alike, and the brothers should set them the example. They should also all take their meals together; if each dined apart with his wife, they would, before long, love each other less. If any dispute arises between them, they must refer it to the arbitration of friends, and in no case go to law; if either were guilty of an appeal to the magistrate, the other was to produce this Will to convict him of a breach of filial piety; the wise magistrate will doubtless then exhort and admonish the dissentient, so as to effect a reconciliation, for which he may count upon the testator's gratitude—if the souls of the dead have any power to serve the living.

There are four cousins in the family who have not been on very friendly terms with the testator, but he exhorts his sons to respect them, and in regard to certain family property, of which the division is not yet complete, they are rather to yield part of their just rights than engage in litigation. The sons are warned to beware of persons who may try to profit by their youth, to lead them into extravagance and licentiousness; they are urged to use their studies as a means of spiritual cultivation, not to waste time upon the poets, but to read the Classics with a good master, and cultivate the society of solid and right-minded persons of independent judgment. The apartments of the women should be kept as secluded as possible, and the girls over ten strictly confined to them; visits from outside should be discouraged; there are women who only come to promote intrigues and encourage secret sales and thefts.

There should be a storehouse for the provisions, such as wine, oil, fruit, [illegible] for rice and vegetables; the accounts and keys

should be kept by the master of the household. The table should be frugal, clothing suitable to one's station, and useless expenditure on furniture and buildings, for the sake of imitating neighbours, rigidly avoided. The 400 *mu* of good land, of which the estate consists, should suffice for the two sons, but economy will be necessary: if they wish to add to the property for their children's sake, they are warned, on no account, to run risks with borrowed money; in general, the thirst for wealth is a folly; expenses and burdens increase faster than revenues, and the rich are exposed to many vexations besides the chance of official persecution.

Then follows a characteristic paragraph, in which the sons are told, in quaint detail, how to cultivate the kind of good manners which the barbarians Jou and Jouy admired in the State of Chow: they are never to take the best place or the best piece for themselves; to return courtesy for rudeness, and, if they are ever obliged in self-respect to stand on their dignity, they must be careful not to appear in the least contemptuous. Maxims that Macchiavelli or La Rochefoucauld would have turned into cynical epigrams are laid down in all seriousness and good faith as a part of politeness and morality. The good that one sees done should be praised and published, and the evil one hears forgotten. If somebody says, "So-and-so has done you a service," you should answer: "It is the more generous on his part, as I have never been able to oblige him in any way." If you are told that somebody else is speaking against you, reply: "We have always been on good terms, and I cannot believe that he would wish to affront or injure me." Both answers will be repeated to those whom they concern, and even the ill-will, if it existed, will be disarmed by such charitable disbelief. Such conduct is not only virtuous, it is the only way to secure the peace and tranquillity of a household.

The testator proceeds to lay down rules for his sons' conduct towards their other relations. He himself had a full brother and two sisters (the [illegible] children of different mothers is evidently not a close one). This uncle has four sons, all rich and prosperous: these need no help, [illegible] sons are charged to [illegible] their own father. Two other [illegible] possible in case of need, [illegible] this duty is irrespective of their [illegible] A younger sister is to be assisted [illegible] such is not to make her independent [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

and dependants. There is a favourite youth who has been brought up in the family; 50 *mow* and a cottage adjoining the family burial ground should be given him, if he proves trustworthy and loyal to the family interests; but this is only provisional: if he tries to make a purse for himself, the sons are discharged from all obligations towards him; but if he behave well, they are in due time to make over 20 *mow* and a little house as a gift to him in perpetuity. Three servants, who have attended the testator for many years in the exercise of his magisterial duties, are to receive 20 *mow* each, and houses by the family cemetery; but these are not given in absolute ownership, and may not be let or alienated. Nothing is said about the children of these servants, and their claim to inherit the above privileges would doubtless be decided equitably when it arose. There is no attempt to restrain the natural liberties of each generation by the authority of the dead hand.

Such a will, it is evident, could only be administered without litigation when its provisions were in accordance with popular custom and expectation; and if it was usual and proper for the modest estate of a gentleman of high official rank to be bequeathed subject to so many charges, for the benefit of poor relations, good servants and young dependants, we need not seek further for an explanation of the still subsisting scarcity of large fortunes and the generally equal distribution of wealth in China. This will has probably been preserved on account of its literary merits, but there is nothing in the substance of it that would be out of date or place in the present century or dynasty; and it shows even more clearly than Su-che's proclamations, how little change the course of centuries has effected in the paternally democratic organization of Chinese society.

The homely details of the paternal instructions gain in interest when we learn that their author was an illustrious scholar—one of those said to know all the Classics by heart at the age of thirteen[1]—whose reputation had spread as far as Corea while he was still occupying a private station. After his name was brought before the Emperor, he was made inspector of the Imperial College; and he is said to have given good advice, in vain, concerning treaties with the Tatars. He urged the emperor to fortify the frontier, instead of sending one army after another to be destroyed beyond it: and when complaints were made of the scarcity of soldiers and the multiplication of students, he proposed to discharge all the unpromising scholars in the hope that some of them would take to arms. Instead of this, they rioted, and Yang-chi had to be sent to quiet them, which he did by pointing out that they certainly deserved to be dismissed, if they could so far forget the teachings of Confucius and Mencius as to resist lawful authority.

[1] [illegible] Mr. R. K. Douglas's [illegible] of these particulars.

# CHAPTER XVIII.

## *CONTROVERSIES, THE SCHOOLS AND THE EXAMINATIONS.*

The feuds which had raged for the last generation were inherited and continued by the scholars and politicians of the 12th century. Under the regency in 1087 the use of Taoist and Buddhist authorities in the examinations had been forbidden, together with that of Wang-ngan-shi's dictionary; but the revival of the political regulations of the Innovator in 1093, was naturally followed by the rehabilitation of his literary authority, and ten years later an inscription defamatory of Ssema-kwang and his adherents was ordered to be engraved and posted up in all the towns of the empire. An engraver in the town of Chang-ngan was ordered to execute the work, but having read the inscription, he declined the commission, explaining with becoming courtesy that a man of his small capacity and scanty learning was unable to understand the utility of an inscription attacking the zeal and integrity of so eminent a public servant. Upon this the engraver was arrested and threatened with punishment; he then expressed his willingness to yield under compulsion, but he begged not to be obliged to affix his signature to the tablet,[1] so that he might escape the blame of posterity. History records that the officers were overwhelmed with confusion at this reply, and ordered the enlightened artisan to be set at liberty.

In 1113 the laws against the Taoists were repealed, and in 1116 the emperor established public schools for the propagation of their doctrines. In 1129, amidst all the turmoil attendant on the division of the empire, Kao-tsong atoned for all previous insults to the memory of Ssema-kwang [illegible] his portrait among those of the imperial ancestors. During the unfortunate reign of Hoei-tsong, the Innovator's commentaries had been again in use, and his portrait placed in the temple of Confucius by [illegible] Mencius. But after various vicissitudes, in 1241, this honour was conferred upon a number of his contemporary and posthumous adversaries [illegible] as one who did not fear Heaven [illegible]

[illegible] by the southern Sung towards the close [illegible] Kin had ceased [illegible] were taken up with internal [illegible] In 1170 [illegible] at the eternal animosities [illegible] most of the orthodox [illegible]

[illegible]

revered as the master of their masters), entreated the Emperor to cut the disastrous controversy short by prohibiting the works of both authors. This heroic measure was not adopted, and a virtual victory was secured to the school of Tching-y by a privy councillor, who, disguising his own partisanship, induced the Emperor to pronounce himself, in general terms, in favour of the writings of the ancients, among whom Wang could by no possibility be counted.

Choo-hi, whose commentaries on the Classics have been frequently alluded to, was the most prominent literary statesman of the period. He was born in 1130, of poor parents, and was somewhat rustic in dress and exterior. In 1172 he completed the classical abridgment or Kang-mou of Ssema-kwang's history, a jejune abstract standing to the full history in the relation occupied by the Chun-tsew of Confucius to Tso's commentary. In 1179 he was employed as commandant of the troops at Nan-kang, and addressed a long memorial to the emperor, who had invited all officers above a certain rank to submit to him their views as to the reforms which should be undertaken in consequence of bad harvests. Choo-hi advised that the best way of relieving the people, without cost to the State, would be to disband the troops and set them to reclaim waste lands, while training a sort of militia that could be called out in case of need.

The public revenue in salt, tea, and rice for the whole province of Kiangsi was put at his disposal for carrying out his plan. His courage and disinterestedness were on a level with his zeal for the public good; and when an officer with influential friends, whom he had accused of malversation, tried to quash the prosecution by getting Choo-hi promoted to a higher post, he refused to be so blinded, and declined the appointment. Yet this learned and sagacious statesman was not proof against the weakness of the age. He and another scholar of the name of Lin-tin had a controversy respecting interpretations of the Yi King, which assumed such virulence that Choo-hi refused an office in the Board of War, offered by the Emperor himself, because his adversary already had a seat there; and the latter was so indignant that the offer should have been made, that he presented a memorial against Choo-hi as vehement as any that had been launched against the Innovator himself.

M. Biot compares the debates upon the King carried on at the Imperial court with those of the theologians, who disputed at Constantinople about the interpretation of the Gospels, while the Turks were within a few days' march of the city. True patriots were seriously alarmed at a state of things which recalled the internal dissensions of the reign of Tche-tsong, followed by the dismemberment of the empire. The author of an interesting memorial, dated 1189, describes the change which had taken place in the interval between his first and second appearance at court. The scholars had begun to form parties rather than schools, and were more concerned to effect the ruin of their rivals than to promote the interests of the empire or even to establish those opinions which were the occasion of dispute.

Choo-hi himself was a rather startling and rationalistic commentator, and though his rejection, in the name of common sense, of a good many traditional interpretations, would not alone have sufficed to raise the theological storm, when men's minds were already embittered, they were enough to cause the reproach of innovation to be hurled as freely from one side as the other. Whatever the rights of the controversy might be, the dissensions were an evil *per se*, and the Memorialist concluded by entreating the Emperor himself to lay down the law with authority, and proscribe at one stroke both heresy and discussion.

In the next reign, 1194, the controversy assumed a fresh shape, and a comedy was performed before the new emperor of which the object was to ridicule the dress and manners of Choo-hi and his disciples.[1] The Commentator was dismissed the court, but his adherents resented his disgrace, so that the quarrel waxed warmer than ever. His doctrine was traced back, to prove its orthodoxy, through several generations of scholars to Tching-y and his brother, who professed to teach nothing save the truths of Chung-ne and Mang-tze; but on the other hand it was easily shown that Choo-hi rejected the interpretations of many intervening commentators who had been accepted as teaching, and intending to teach, Confucian truth. The shades of difference between the two parties were so slight that a neutral tinted edict, like the one which in 1178 secured the victory for Tching-y's school, was now held to mark the defeat of his titular disciple. The people were commanded (1195) to adhere to the doctrine of Confucius and not rely upon the authority of commentators.

This was intended and accepted as a crushing condemnation of those who believed in the commentaries of Choo-hi and the latter took up the challenge and composed an audacious protest which he intended to present to the Emperor. His friends and family adjured him not to court destruction, but he was deaf to all prudential remonstrances, and only finally agreed to burn the dangerous document after consulting the trigrams, which gave an oracle to the effect that the opinion of the majority was to be followed. Choo-hi died in 1200, while still out of favour, having borne with philosophy the desertion of fair-weather friends. It is noticeable that the historians regarded it as an unworthy piece of hypocrisy, that some of his adherents sought to escape the storm of persecution by renouncing the scholar's robe and taking to commerce.

The crowd of disciples anxious to attend his funeral was so great that the local magistrate applied to the Emperor for instructions, and to avoid the danger of disturbance the ceremony was ordered to be privately performed. A disciple, indignant at the cowardice of his fellows, wrote a memorial in defence of the master's memory, and when no one could be found willing to present it to the Emperor, he struck the drum, which hung at the palace gate, as a last resource for the oppressed, and compelled the reluctant officials to take charge of his appeal. He treated his judges with very un-Chinese impertinence, but was only sentenced to exile. In 1202

[1] De Mailla, viii. p. 634.

the leader on the other side, though still in power, made the fortunate discovery that persecution was not the best way to cool the zeal of partisans, and peace was restored by an edict which allowed freedom of opinion but forbade disputes under heavy penalties.

The periodical examinations were held regularly under the five posterior dynasties, though literature and learning were neglected. In 930 we find the head of the imperial college complaining that the students' fees (about twelve shillings) remained unpaid, and Ma-twan-lin regards the attempt to exact them as part of the general venality of the age, when poor scholars were oppressed and administrative offices put up for sale. Wood-engraving or printing from blocks, which was introduced in 953 for printing bank notes, was almost immediately applied to the multiplication of books, and in 983 mention is made of steel plates to be delivered to the imperial college, which received divers other benefactions from the two first emperors of the dynasty.

The provincial colleges had almost ceased to exist, and the first step towards their reorganization seems to have taken the form of charters, granted to existing libraries founded by private persons or associations. Such libraries had schools attached to them, and when these were well attended and thriving it was obviously needless for the Government to incur the expense of fresh foundations. In the neighbourhood of the modern Nan-king, one of these libraries was founded and endowed with lands for its support; in all six such libraries and schools were recognised in different parts of the empire, and their organization was imitated in the official establishments afterwards founded: the supply of the cantonal schools was left to the discretion of the local functionaries.

M. Biot gives, after Ma-twan-lin, full particulars[1] respecting the examinations, including the rules followed in marking papers under the Sung. It was considered a frivolous reason for putting candidates in the first rank that they had finished their papers sooner than others. The list of literary statesmen who made the dynasty famous in spite of its defeats, is enough to show that the examinations did bring men of varied ability into the public service. We hear less than formerly of the jealousy shown by the Board of Offices to the competitors selected by the Board of Rites, and, as M. Biot observes, the bestowal of the highest degrees was regarded as an important affair of State. In 983, for instance, it is recorded in the Annals that three scholars were bracketted, so to speak, senior wranglers, and all three at once made *profès d'arrondissement* of the second grade.

The old "College of the Four Gates" was re-established by Gin-tsong in 1043, and admitted both sons of officers and promising scholars taken from the ranks of the people. The "Great College" was reorganized later and did not reach its full number of 900 pupils till 1068. About the same time complaints were made of the quality of the teaching at the

[1] [illegible] Paris, 1845. [illegible] 341.

State colleges, where the teachers were ill paid, as well as at the surviving private schools. The students came, not for love of learning, but to qualify for a post in the public service, and having got the desired office or degree, troubled themselves no more about their books; hence the number of competent teachers fell off, with the result of still further lowering the standard of education. It is quite possible, however, that these complaints were partly also a sign that the examinations were being taken more seriously than before, and were being watched by really learned scholars on behalf of the Government.

A Commission to inquire into the conduct of the examinations had been appointed, which made its report the year before Wang-ngan-shi came into office. One member of the commission reported in favour of abolishing the demand for original verses from the candidates, another wished to have the morals of the competitors alone considered, and a third defended the existing system. Under these circumstances the Innovator had an easy task; and his recommendations as usual had a plausible side. Under the plea of making the study of the Classics more practical, he abolished the tests in mere caligraphy and the verse compositions; and, to ensure the Classical texts being understood, instead of only learnt by heart, the examinations were to include the meanings—as expounded in his own commentaries.

In 1071 a thousand *m* *w* were allotted to each district college, in addition to their other endowments, to provide for the maintenance of the students, and in 1079 a vain attempt was made to enlist the sympathies of the professoriate on the side of the new regulations, by making an allowance for the support of the district colleges, out of the proceeds of the land and house-tax and the interest on the State loans. In the same year the "Great College" was reconstituted and divided into three grades, with 2,000 students in the first, and 300 and 100 respectively in the second and third; and the magnificent annual income of [illegible] string of cash was allotted to it. The highest class had privileges in regard to examinations and employment, so it is to be supposed that the object was to attract the best scholars to the college from the open provincial examinations.[1]

But the literati, who as a body seem never to have much loved or [illegible] the State colleges, were not likely to be attracted to them when [illegible] for the views of the [illegible] Innovator. And to [illegible] a supply of civil servants trained to [illegible] very strong measure was taken, in 1103, [illegible] for the higher degrees. [illegible] were introduced, and success in [illegible] higher school, while it became impossible for private students to obtain employment without passing through the training colleges. This was virtually giving the State patronage into [illegible] who were thought capable of sending [illegible]

[1] [illegible] *en Chine*, p. 347.

students for promotion in return for bribes. Any way it was said that the number of graduates was improperly increased, and in less than twenty years the open examinations were restored.

A summary of the teachings of Choo-hi, published in 1602 by Ka'o pau,[1] contains interesting details, which may probably be regarded as authentic, since the sayings and doings of the head of a school in China are dutifully written down by his immediate disciples, whose works are faithfully reproduced by the successive generations of commentators. According to this work, when in office, Choo-hi himself as minister selected all the superior officials except the prefects and district superintendents, who were nominated by the Crown. The higher officers were allowed to select their subordinates, but the minister dismissed any who misbehaved and only bestowed promotion on those who deserved it by their services.[2] He introduced a regular system of examinations, dividing the Classics into three groups, the Yi-King, the Shoo, and the Shi forming the first, the three Li the next, and the Chun Tsew with three commentaries the third. He gave out in advance in which King and which historical book the papers would be set, and by taking them all in turn obliged the candidates to go through a serious course of study in all.

In 1142, the Southern Sung opened a "Great college" at their new capital, and 5,000 students entered to compete for the 300 vacancies. A few years later we hear of complaints that rich families had appropriated the college lands to their own use; and the Emperor, by way of putting matters to rights, ordered some of the lands belonging to the Buddhists monasteries to be given to the defrauded colleges instead of their own. Choo-hi described the estates of one college, and maintained all to be insufficiently endowed in proportion to the number of students admitted. The State was, however, too poor to do more for them, and the critical commentator frankly admits that he does not know how the ancient dynasties contrived to pay for the elaborate system of education which they are supposed to have maintained.[3] He contents himself with the surmise that, as the State was then sole proprietor of the land, it may have endowed the colleges so; and we may be content to take his authority for the fact that China could not in his day support more than a part of the institutions described in the Chow Li, and conjecture accordingly that even in the days of Chow the system described was an ideal rather than a transcript from reality.

Choo-hi is made to quote Mencius, for the opinion that nothing is more useful than to record and publish how much the people of every *Hien* and every *Hien* make out of an acre of land, how much they pay in taxes, and how much in contributions over and above the ancient custom: what was the annual revenue in money and food of each division, how it

[1] *Ko'u Ki Ts. Sew* (Ap. 1888), *Tsi Yu-Tsuen* & *Tsi u-ki* (Annals), by C. de Harlez, pp. 210–271.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 254, 255.
[3] *Institutions politiques de Chine*, p. 375.

was employed, and what was done with the surplus. And to obtain this kind of information for himself he visited all parts of the country under his government, travelling without suite, in a single carriage, taking all he wanted with him, so that nothing was levied on his account in the towns he passed through. Thus, "*though he visited many places, nobody was aware of it.*"[1]

In the 12th century attempts were made to raise the standard of military efficiency by examinations in the theory and practice of archery and other warlike arts; but the civil degrees were in the highest repute, and in 1170 we find the minister of war complaining of the too rapid promotion to high office of brilliant Competition Wallahs. Even Choo-hi, it will be remembered, held a semi-military post. The Sung princes steadily discouraged the admission of candidates to office by "protection" or family interest, and the number of sons of officers entitled to employment as such was rigorously limited. During the brief interval of peace and splendour enjoyed by the Southern Dynasty, letters and the public examinations were more popular than ever: the half empire produced as many graduates as the whole had done in its brightest days, and even when the Mongols had invaded the provinces north of the Kiang, rather than allow the learned of those provinces to miss the privileges of civilization, supplementary examinations were held for their benefit on the south bank of the river.

Special edicts invited men of virtue and ability to come forward and prove themselves worthy to save their country in a special competition, and the title of graduate was accorded *honoris causâ* to those who furnished corn gratuitously to the armies, or the cultivators in districts which had suffered from the war. This last measure, which has frequently been resorted to by impoverished Governments, must not be understood as involving the sale of office, only of the honorary degree equivalent to that which, if obtained by competition, would qualify its holder for official employment.

The Sung period is one of the most brilliant in the history of Chinese literature, and the works belonging to it are still counted among the current modern literature of the people. The letters of Su-tung-po to his brother, Su-che, are read like those of Horace Walpole or Charles Lamb, while the poems of the same writer are among the most popular in China. And at the same time the philosophy of the age corresponded with that of ancient sages, "like the two parts of a bucket."

According to Choo-hi, the decrees of Heaven make what is called Nature. "That which is divided is clear and distinct;" so the first point is to distinguish what we mean by Nature. Nature consists of humanity, justice, propriety, and wisdom. Humanity includes the ideas of

[1] [illegible]

gentleness and peace; justice those of fear, force, firmness and resolution; propriety (or the Rites) only include the conception of an external manifestation, which instructs and enlightens, and an external production, which excites and animates. Wisdom consists in seeking, collecting, constructing and forming, without material action or result. Nature is fate, but—Yang Koui-Shan used to say—human passions are not nature.[1] Ou-fang, of Honan (a contemporary of Choo-hi), often repeated that it was well for a man to know his own heart. As to which the Master (Choo-hi) said: "The heart must know things, but who can know the heart? The human eye sees other objects, but how can a man see his own eyes?" The heart is laid bare when the learned have revealed the secrets of reality and desires. The nature of heaven and earth is also that of man; there is one rule for all, from which there is no escape even by death. Man dies, but he is not entirely destroyed; he possesses no special property entirely peculiar to himself. To set up humanity as the base and standard of existence is an "*excès de liberté de la pensée*"—a freethinker's extravagance. If things were thus, one could not say that death and birth are regulated by nature and heavenly destiny.

To be quite sure of understanding any Chinese philosopher, we should require to have him translated into a European language by some one who had translated Locke, Comte, or Herbert Spenser into Chinese which a Han-lin doctor could appreciate and approve. But we are probably justified in believing that behind the Emersonian sound of the above phrases there is a kernel of hard, rational, and scientific positivism, which has more in common with the scientific side of Spinoza's ethics than with any other European system of philosophy.

The manufacture of pottery continued to flourish. Towards the close of the 10th century, two brothers Tchang, of Tche-kiang, were famous for vases, mostly of a pale blue, but differing from each other in the enamel and the crackle. A whole clan of workers, bearing the name of Tseou, under the Sung, before the division into north and south, made a brilliant kind of white china; and two Chus, a father and daughter, were famed in the same period for the manufacture of curiosities in porcelain, figures of birds, animals, etc. One of their large flower vases was worth several ounces of silver, and the work of the daughter fetched nearly as high a price as that of the father.[2]

The practice of inoculation dates from this dynasty, having been introduced, according to Mr. Lockhart,[3] in 1014. The ordinary laws of the country underwent little change between the Tang and the Ming. In the 13th century a curious and elaborate set of instructions to coroners was drawn up.[4] As in the present code, the person guilty of wounding

[1] M. [illegible] 224, 226, 228, 242, 244, 245.

[2] [illegible] *du Chin* [illegible] p. 17.

[3] [illegible] 22[illegible]

[4] [illegible] 34. [illegible] the injury may [illegible]

another is held liable for all the cost of his illness and medical treatment, and made responsible for his death, if it occurs within a prescribed interval. But in these instructions it is further required that the accused shall himself nurse and care for his victim: for, it is said, the relatives, unless their tie is of the closest, will wish the wounded man to die, that they may extort money from his slayer, while the accused wishes him to live, that his own punishment may be lightened. The want of affection on the part of the relatives may, perhaps, be regarded as compensated by the absence of malice presupposed in the assailant. The very sensible plan of imposing on the person who has committed an act of violence the troublesome and expensive duty of nursing the victim till he gets well, has probably done a good deal to encourage the formation of peaceable habits in China. The lower classes, in their quarrels, scold and gesticulate with great violence; but modern travellers are struck by the fact that in their utmost heat, they always carefully stop short of touching one another—a caution which this law may well have suggested.

With all its weaknesses and controversies, the age was one which, for generous feeling and acute understanding, deserves a creditable place in the world's record office. And the words, written by a captive in the hands of Kubla, who scarcely survived his sovereign, may be taken as representing the sincere belief entertained at this time by an unusual number of highly educated statesmen: "The foundation of all that is great and good in heaven and earth is itself born from the everlasting obligations which are due by man to man."

## CHAPTER XIX.

### *FOREIGN ACCOUNTS OF CHINA UNDER THE SUNG AND THE FIRST MONGOLS.*

Our notices of intercourse between China and the countries of the West are at their scantiest during the first two centuries of the Sung Dynasty. After 1077 A.D., "tribute" was brought almost yearly from Khotan, and commercial and other intercourse with Corea was closer than usual, till private commerce was put a stop to towards the close of the 11th century, at the instigation of Su-tung-po. Under the year 1200, we are told that "no commerce was allowed but what was carried on by Government capital;" but subsequently everything except gems was allowed to be sold in public market, subject to a fixed duty. After the partition of the empire, the Southern Sung were cut off from most of their northern and western tributaries. The eastern provinces of Yunnan and Sz'chuen seem to have been in direct communication with India. Arab traders still frequented the ports of Southern China, while intercourse with the Northern empire was close enough to fix the mediæval name of the empire.[1] But private trade could subsist through disturbances which are adverse to the presence of scientific travellers or political embassies. Chinese authorities mention such embassies as arriving from the Caliphate in 974 and in 1011, that is, before the power of the Khitan became dangerous; and "the caravan of Cathay" is referred to as a source of opulence in a remarkable Ugour poem of the last half of the 11th century.[2] But it cannot be said that we have any account worth mentioning of Northern China from independent sources during the 11th and 12th centuries.

The Arab geographer, Edrisi, writing at second-hand, about 1150, adds nothing to the received tradition of the just and beneficent government of China, its large population, wealthy cities, commercial activity, and skill in arts and manufactures. Silk stuffs and porcelain are specially mentioned; the terminus of the western trade is placed at Hang-chow (Khan fu), the Yang-tse-kiang naturally being more important for the inland trade than the Canton River. Foreigners at a distance are generally behind [illegible] [illegible] or historical geography; and Ibn Batuta, who visited China in the middle of the 14th century, when the country was reunited under the Mongols, has a clearer notion of its division into the two regions of Cathay

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[illegible] H. A[illegible]ry, 187[illegible].

and Manzi than Edrisi, who wrote when the power of the Northern and the Southern empires was most nearly equal.

A Franciscan friar, known as John of Plano Carpini, is the first European who gives us any information about the Mongol empire in Northern China: and he, though distinguishing the Tatars from the Cathayans, clearly does not know of any difference between the Cathayans recently conquered by Genghis Khan and the Chinese. What he says of the people of the country clearly applies to the latter. "They seem to be kindly and polished folks enough. They have no beard, and in character of countenance have a considerable resemblance to the Mongols, but are not so broad in the face. They have a language of their own" (and a written character, as he has already observed). "Their betters as craftsmen, in every art practised by man, are not to be found in the whole world. Their country is very rich in corn, in wine, gold, silver, silk, and in every kind of produce that tends to the support of mankind."[1]

A few years later Rubruk, a Flemish friar, describes the Cathayans as "little fellows, speaking much through their nose, and, as is general with all those Eastern people, their eyes are very narrow. . . . It has always been their custom that the son must follow the father's craft. . . . They are first-rate artists in every kind of craft, and their physicians have a thorough knowledge of the virtues of herbs, and an admirable skill in diagnosis by the pulse. . . . They have no wine in Cathay, but make their drink of rice. . . . The common money of Cathay consists of pieces of cotton paper about a palm in length and breadth, upon which certain lines are printed, resembling the seal of Mango Khan. They do their writing with a pencil such as painters paint with, and a single character of theirs comprehends several letters so as to form a whole word."[2] The last remark proves that Rubruk was an intelligent, as well as an observant, traveller; and as he did not proceed beyond Karakorum, his account of so many thoroughly Chinese traits shows how far, and how thoroughly, Chinese civilization had already spread.

About the same time as Friar John, an Armenian prince, Hayton, was sent to make terms for his brother with the Tatars, and in the beginning of the next century, a monk of the same royal house embodied in a geographical work some of the traveller's experiences. According to this writer, the people of Cathay "are exceedingly full of shrewdness and sagacity, and hold in contempt the performances of other nations in every kind of art and science. They have indeed a saying to the effect that they alone see with two eyes, whereas the Latins see with one, and all other nations are blind." . . . Men in good sooth, there is such a vast variety of articles of marvellous and unspeakable delicacy and elaboration of work-[illegible] parts, that there is really no other people that [illegible] in such matters." The essentially [illegible] of their civilization has not escaped the good monk, who [illegible] "[illegible] intelligence in all matters [illegible]

wherein material things are concerned, yet you shall never find among them any knowledge or perception of spiritual things."[1]

Abulfeda, who flourished between 1273 and 1331, complains of the rarity of travellers from these remote parts, and adds nothing to the reports of earlier writers, except that the Tatars had destroyed the walls of Zayton, which is identified with Chin-chow, and described by all mediæval travellers as nearly or quite the most wonderful port of commerce in the world. Ibn Khordadbeh, however, gave the preference to Hang-chow, and makes especial mention of the fresh-water lake to the north of the town, and the wells which supply the town with water, as if these achievements of Su-che were among the chief attractions of the great city.

Following the chronology of Sir Henry Yule, Marco Polo, with his father and uncle, reached the court of Kubla in 1285. His position in China was not unlike that of the Jesuit missionaries in the reign of the emperor, best known as Kang-hi. He was in the service of a foreign monarch, and looked at China and the Chinese from the conqueror's point of view; unlike the Jesuits, he does not seem even to have understood the Chinese language, at least not so as to read or write it, and hence he is unable to distinguish between Chinese and Tatar customs, where they overlap. Thus he describes the people of Tangut, the former kingdom of Hia, which included part of the modern province of Kansu, as burning paper copies of money, houses, etc., at funerals, using elaborate air-tight and varnished coffins, and arranging posthumous betrothals between children or young persons who have died unmarried, all which are purely Chinese traits, and must have been borrowed by the Tanguts, just as the Khitan and the Kin adopted the manners and customs of their subjects. Similarly in a passage given from Ramusio,[2] after describing the three staple food crops, rice, panic, and millet, which all "render an hundred fold," and the industry of the people, which leaves no spot of arable land untilled, the author, in the same breath, dwells on the fruitfulness of the cattle by which, "when they take the field, every man is followed by six, eight, or more horses for his own use," though this would apply to the Mongols only, and is quite out of place in an explanation of how the country of Cathay supports its vast population.

The description of the functions of an officer whom Marco calls "The keeper of lost property," at once recalls the provisions on this subject of the Chow Li; but if the Mongols borrowed this institution from the Chinese, they must have attached particular value to it, as it is described as prevailing at the Perso-Mongol court as well; and it should more probably be regarded as a common inheritance of all branches of the Tatar stock. According to the Chow Li,[3] found property must be declared at once to the provost of the market, who takes charge of it for ten days, and then appropriates it, things of small value being given to the finder, while those of

[1] [illegible] *Way [illegible]*, [illegible]. [2] [illegible]
[3] [illegible]

great value fall to the State. According to Marco Polo, the finder of any article, sword, horse, hawk, or whatsoever else, without a known owner, is bound to bring it at once to the keeper, or is liable to punishment. This officer's tent is pitched in a conspicuous place, with banner displayed, so that both those who have lost and those who have found anything may know where to find him.[1]

The exact direction of Marco Polo's journeys within the borders of China is not of much importance for our purpose. The extent of his facilities for observing the general condition of the country are sufficiently indicated when we know him to have travelled between Peking and Pin-yang, Pin-yang and Si-gnan-fu, Si-gnan-fu and Ching-tu-fu, Ching-tu-fu and Yunnan (to say nothing of Yunnan and Burmah); and then again between Peking and Tsinan, along the Grand Canal to the Yellow River, which, at its junction with the Hwai, then marked the eastern boundary between Northern China and Polo's Manzi; further along the canal to Yang-chow, of which city Polo was for three years governor, to Su-chow and Hang-chow, the two jewels in the southern crown of which it was said, "Heaven is above, but Su and Hang are here below;" thence by land and water into Fokien, to its two great ports, Foo-chow and Zayton, while on some other occasion he certainly proceeded up the Kiang as far as Ngan-king, and probably thence to Woo-chang, and by the Han River to Siang-yang, though this point may also have been reached from Si-gnan-fu. Whether the diagonal of the primitive Chinese empire was thus traversed or not, Marco Polo certainly saw with his own eyes all that lay along the two principal lines of traffic from north to south, through the western and the eastern provinces.

Except in the remote south-west, where cowries and salt were used for money (as the latter is still in the same regions), and where gold was to be bought from unsuspicious natives for only five times the price of silver, the traveller's descriptions show us everywhere Chinese civilization flourishing in [illegible] the same manner and degree throughout the empire. Special products, such as rhubarb, asbestos, coal, ginger, musk, grass-cloth, [illegible], [illegible], and the like, are mentioned in their place; the omission of any notice of tea probably indicates that the Mongols had not yet [illegible] for that beverage, and remained faithful to the spiced [illegible] which Marco thought "makes better drink than any other kind of [illegible] with the incidental advantage of also producing drunkenness sooner than any other."

The [illegible] of the country between such great landmarks as mountains, [illegible], and [illegible] of capital importance, is described in recurring phrases which [illegible] of the Mahomedan travellers four centuries before:

[illegible]

"fine districts, with plenty of towns and boroughs, all enjoying much trade, and practising various forms of industry;" "excellent hostelries for travellers, with fine vineyards, fields and gardens, and springs of water;" "many cities and walled towns, and many merchants, too, therein;" "cities and boroughs abounding in trade and industry, and quantities of beautiful trees and gardens, and fine plains planted with mulberries, which are the trees on the leaves of which the silkworms do feed . . . also plenty of game of all sorts, both of beasts and birds;" "a succession of cities and boroughs, and beautiful plains, inhabited by people who live by trade and industry, and have great plenty of silver." Then follow "great mountains and valleys," with towns and villages, and people who "live by tilling the earth, and hunting in the great woods;" or, to give Marco's favourite formula at length, "You meet everywhere with fine towns and villages, the people of which are all idolaters,[1] and burn their dead, and are subject to the great Kaan, and have paper money, and live by trade and handicrafts, and have all the necessaries of life in great abundance."

To the foreigner, this teeming population, all devoted to the arts of peace, appears as a triumph of civilization. It is the native sage who, having beheld the fall of Governments, while the fruitful earth nourishes men so crowded together that their shoulders touch, their sleeves sweep one against the other, and three young children might hardly find a vacant corner whereon to stand upright,[2]—it is he who, looking back upon the past, finds little comfort in the thought that, " . . . the individual withers, and the world is more and more." As if remembering or divining the clear inspiration which the fathers of his race drew from the unclouded visage of the Sun God, Ma-twan-lin surmises that as the climate became denser, the sons of those born under happier influences lost capacity, wisdom degenerated, scholars blushed to bear arms, labourers, with no thought above the plough, were ignorant of both war and letters; and thus the growing population gave no real accession of strength to the State; the people were many, but without worth or virtue; they had become good for nothing but to pay taxes, and with taxes they were overwhelmed; the State no longer found a protection in the people, and the people cursed their lives beneath the oppression of their rulers! If we let these two pictures supplement each other, it becomes obvious that China, in the 13th century, had reached that point of material civilization which has never yet been attained without attendant materials for moral and intellectual discontent.

Marco Polo saw as little of the misery caused by oppressive tax-gatherers, debased assignats, and an alien Government, as pleasure tourists in the Western world see of the effects of a commercial crisis or the low standard of comfort reached by the labouring classes. But Chinese

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writers compared one historical experience of their own country with another; and the very fact that the period when China appeared so prosperous to the Venetian, is not, by comparison, reckoned among the most fortunate times of Chinese history, goes to prove that there had been reigns when China felt herself as prosperous as she seemed to Marco.

Of the people themselves he gives the same account as all earlier and later travellers: They "have an ornate style of speech; they salute each other with a cheerful[1] countenance, and with great politeness; they behave like gentlemen, and eat with great propriety. They show great respect to their parents." They are "men of peaceful character . . . you hear of no feuds or noisy quarrels, or dissensions of any kind among them. Both in their commercial dealings and in their manufactures, they are thoroughly honest and truthful, and there is such a degree of good-will and neighbourly attachment among both men and women, that you would take the people who live in the same street to be all of one family." They treat their women with the greatest respect. "They also treat the foreigners who visit them for the sake of trade with great cordiality, and entertain them in the most winning manner, affording them every help and advice in their business."[2]

The European standard of cleanliness was not high in the Middle Ages, so we need not suppose Chinese manners to have changed for the worse since their love of hot baths led our traveller to describe them as "very cleanly in their persons."[3] Gay water parties and picnics were the favourite amusement; and if sometimes, as foreshadowed in the ancient odes of Wei, these expeditions were not undertaken in company such as a classical moralist could approve, there was at least a varnish of literary polish thrown over even disreputable *liaisons*. The Aspasias of the period were well educated, and several plays of the Yuen Dynasty were written by literary *comédiennes*, who by law and custom belonged to this class. The virtuous courtesan was another favourite heroine with the dramatists, and one plot turns upon her right, under an ancient law, to be allowed to marry lawfully a respectable citizen, as a reward for having dutifully cherished and maintained her mother till the latter's death.

[illegible] Marco Polo's detailed description of the magnificence of the two capitals of Cambaluc (Khanbalig or Peking), and [illegible]

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fore responsible for the statement that "there were in the city twelve guilds of the different crafts, and that each guild had 12,000 houses in the occupation of its workmen. Each of these houses, it was said, contains at least twelve men, while some contain twenty and some forty, not that these are all masters, but inclusive of the journeymen who work under the masters."[1] These are obviously round numbers corresponding, perhaps, to the classification of the dwellings paying house-tax; the "10,000 bridges" mentioned by Marco, much to the distress of his editors and commentators, is only a fresh proof of his ignorance of the language, since *kwan* ("ten thousand") is only Chinese for "ever so many."

The number of "fires" or households given by the traveller is 1,600,000, which at five persons to a family gives the enormous population of 8,000,000, figures almost equally difficult to accept and to reject, when accompanied by a perfectly correct account of the manner in which the census returns are obtained, from the list of inmates which each householder was obliged to exhibit on his doorway. The most probable explanation of the eight millions is, that the government of the town included a considerable suburban area of which the population was included in the district. Marco does not profess to give the population of Peking in the same way, but early in the next century[2] we find the emperor giving presents of silk to 2,331 old men of ninety and upwards, and to 8,331 of between eighty and ninety. According to modern experience, the number of the first class, who got a double portion of silk, is out of all proportion to the octogenarians; but supposing all the 10,662 to be really over eighty, that number is about one-fifth of the men of corresponding ages shown in the census of 1881 for England and Wales; and if the proportion of such seniors were the same in the two cases, this would give a population of some five millions for Peking—a not impossible proportion, at all events, between the two capitals. Most probably in both cases the numbers refer to the districts of which the capital was the administrative centre, not to the town alone.

According to M. Pauthier's Chinese authorities, the administrative province of Che-kiang included thirty circuits, and in 1290 the circuit of Hang-chow alone (presumably the area enclosed by the city walls) had a recorded population of 360,850 householders, and 1,834,719 persons of all ages. Hang-chow was likely, as the Sung capital, to have reached dimensions unequalled by any single town of modern China; it was the centre of domestic trade, like Canton; of foreign trade, like Shanghai; and of government, like Peking: so Ser Marco's millions must have had at least a colourable foundation in fact.

The fiction, by which the emperor was supposed to have a monoply of the goods brought by foreign traders, was still kept up in a way; but in the case of the Southern capital, which was also a great seaport, the rights of the Crown evidently tended more and more to be compounded for harbour and custom duties, amounting to 10 per cent. on most foreign mer-

[1] Yule, ii. p. 140.

[2] Le Monde, x. p. 506.

chandise. Then, as now, the empire considered itself responsible for the safe-keeping, as well as the good behaviour, of the foreign visitors. In Peking different inns were assigned for the use of travellers of different speech or nation, and throughout China the hotel-keepers were required to report to the officials the names and destination of their guests. This sort of police supervision was, and is, intended rather for the protection of travellers against the dangers of the road, than for the detection of evil-disposed conspirators against the public peace.

The regulations of the inns were founded on those for the regulation of the Government post-houses, which in their turn were a portion of the system of the public roads and posts. According to Marco, station houses, fit for the reception of a king, were to be found at intervals of twenty-five miles on all the principal highways leading to the various provinces; and even in the least inhabited parts, the stations were not more than thirty-five to forty-five miles apart. The existence of highways, with shelters at stated intervals for tribute-bearers and Government couriers, dates from the days of the three first dynasties: Yu having provided the roads, and the Chow Li, at latest, the regulations. But we seem to see traces of Wang-ngan-shi's "Law for the protection of horses," in Marco's assurance that all these stations, with their 200 or 400 horses ready for the use of messengers, "cost the emperor nothing at all." According to him, each city, village, or hamlet, is required to provide the horses for the nearest post station, half of which are always out at grass, and half ready for use.

The Mongol demand for horses was naturally larger than that of the native rulers; and fourteen great centres—in Corea, Yunnan, Kurakorum, and other suitable districts—were kept up to supply horses for the army. And whatever traces could be found, in the old laws, of the Emperor's right to have his horses maintained at the public expense, were sure to be revived and made the most of, to the great disgust of the Chinese, who objected to the charge of the Government horses, even when nominally [illegible]. The disuse of horses and wheeled carriages in the 10th century, which has generally been attributed to the increase of population and the [illegible] may have begun with a reaction under the Ming [illegible].

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conflagrations which spread through the streets of wooden houses, are also mentioned.

The traveller's general impression of the abundance and cheapness of all the necessaries of life, sometimes makes way for a more particular admiration, as of pheasants at a penny apiece, or the "delicate living" evidenced by eating flesh and fish at the same meal. Marco Polo does not exactly give his authority to the description by Mandeville[1] of the "gode custome" in Jamchay of the great Chan, whereby innkeepers supply *diners à domicile*, at so much a head, to persons wishing to entertain their friends without trouble; but his description of a pavilion on the lake Si-hou, where glass, china, linen, and service are supplied to picnic parties, points to something of the same kind: and, in fact, it is probable that in the material refinements of crowded civilized life, China had even then forestalled most of the inventions of the West;—from the printing of books and bank notes to the building of boats with water-tight compartments; and from the hotel-keeper's notice that he will not be responsible for property left in the traveller's room, unless the door is locked, and the key handed in at the bureau, to the bad custom by which young men pay money to be allowed to serve as waiters in fashionable restaurants, where fees are numerous and large.

Marco Polo's account of the public granaries, and the liberalities of the great Kaan is all the more interesting, as a confirmation of the Chinese authorities, from his being obviously unaware that what Kubla did was no more than every well-disposed Chinese sovereign was expected to do under penalty of historical obloquy. Moreover, Marco, as a foreigner, would not have cheated himself, as interested officials might, with the assumption that the correct thing was being done, when there were no visible signs of the doing. His opportunities of knowing were so much better, and his description is so much more detailed than that of the Mahomedans of the 9th century, that it may be quoted in full as the first European account of usages, then some 3,000 years old.

"Now you must know that the emperor sends his messengers over all his lands and kingdoms and provinces, to ascertain from his officers if the people are afflicted by any dearth through unfavourable seasons, or storms, or locusts, or other like calamity, and from those who have suffered in this way, no taxes are exacted for that year; nay more, he causes them to be supplied with corn of his own for food and seed. . . . And when winter comes, he causes inquiry to be made as to those who have lost their corn, whether by mildrain or other mishap, and such persons not only go scot free, but get presents of cattle. And thus, as I tell you, the lord every year helps and fosters the people subject to him."

After a short digression about the wayside trees, rice wine, and the "black stones" used for fuel, he continues:—

"You must know that when the emperor sees that corn is cheap and abundant, he buys up large quantities and has it stored up in all his pro-

[1] After Odoric of Pordenone.

vinces in great granaries, where it is so well looked after, that it will keep for three or four years. And this applies, let me tell you, to all kinds of corn, whether wheat, barley, millet, rice, panic, or what not, and when there is any scarcity of any particular kind of corn, he causes that to be issued. And if the price of the corn is at one bezant the measure, he lets them have it at a bezant for four measures, or at whatever price will produce general cheapness; and every one can have food in this way. And by this providence of the emperor's, his people can never suffer from dearth. He does the same over his whole empire; causing these supplies to be stored everywhere, according to the calculation of the wants and necessities of the people."[1]

A passage found only in the Ramusian text of Marco Polo's travels (which, as Sir Henry Yule ingeniously suggests, may perhaps embody supplementary notes, written by Marco's uncle) describes a rather cheap form of charity practised by Kublai, which consisted in giving clothes to the poor and to mendicant monks, the materials for which were obtained by a tax, while the labour of making them up was provided by an onerous corvée, as all artisans were bound to give a day's labour weekly. He makes no mention of the very enlightened Mongol institution of free dispensaries, established in 1237, during the reign of Ogatai, at the suggestion, we may be sure, of his temperance-preaching, rhubarb-collecting minister, Yeliu-tchoutsai.[2] In connection with the exposure of new-born infants, of which Marco Polo speaks in Southern China, he mentions the orphan asylums, maintained by the Sung emperors, and the applications made to them by childless rich men wishing to adopt an heir; those not thus provided for were married to one another, and started in life at the emperor's expense, as many as 20,000 boys and girls being thus provided for every year.

The greatest original work of Kublai's reign—the construction of the Grand Canal—is an example of the strength and weakness of the early Mongol Government. The conception is statesmanlike and magnificent; the Suez Canal is probably the only similar work of equal magnitude that [illegible] purpose for which it was undertaken, and Kublai's object was as legitimate as his means were well chosen. Kiang-[illegible] the Kiang River, was the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] for their food supply [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] The canal [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] In the year after [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] travelled by this water [illegible]

[illegible]

nication in the shape of a wide and deep channel dug between stream and stream, between lake and lake, forming as it were a great river on which large vessels can ply;" and he must have been actively concerned in the grain transport service, as the city of which he was three years Governor is the centre where most of the provincial stores would be delivered. But he was not enough behind the scenes to realize the cost of these great works when not executed under the vigilant eyes of paternal native administrators. The official annals of the dynasty describe this and other canal works, as executed by the forced labour of millions, "of whom the majority perished;"[1] and it is obvious that even roads and waterways are a doubtful boon when their chief use is to transport the armies, or the increased taxes required to maintain the armies, of an alien conqueror.

No stronger proof of the candour of the Chinese historians can be given than the character which they give of Kubla. They praise his ability, his love of letters, his humanity, and give him credit for a sincere zeal for the welfare of his subjects. They complain that no native Chinese were employed in offices of trust or importance, but they admit that his foreign ministers were chosen with discernment, except in the all-important case of the Minister of Finance. The sight of a wealthy *nation* was new to the Arabs and other Mahomedans of Western Asia, and they naturally thought to "squeeze" the whole population, as rich merchants were squeezed with impunity by every Commander of the Faithful. Ogatai was tempted by a financier of this school, and Kubla himself was ill served by one Ahmed (Marco's Achmath, the Ahama of the Annals), whose insolence and extortions provoked a conspiracy among the Chinese, by whom he was assassinated.

The Emperor was absent at the time, and on his return applied to one Polo, an assessor of the Privy Council, to enlighten him as to the cause of the murder. Fortunately the Venetian rejoices in one of the very few European names that can appear unaltered in Chinese; and there is not the slightest reason to doubt that it was either Marco, or some member of his family, who then deserved the praise of history, by the courage and firmness with which he described the villainies of the dead minister,[2] whose wealth was confiscated while the memory of his executioners was rehabilitated and honoured. He and other Mongol ministers of finance are accused of having profited by the theoretical right of the Emperor, to a monopoly of foreign merchandise, to plunder the merchants, whom it had been the fashion of Chinese monarchs to patronize and enrich.

Marco's account of these transactions, in their legitimate form, is associated with his description of the paper currency, and is worth quoting at length, because, while denying the existence of oppression, he expressly indicates the point where it might be expected to begin. "All merchants

[1] Pauthier's *Marco Polo*, p. 481 n. The comparative inefficiency of the canal [illegible] in the course of the rivers feeding it, as well as to neglect [illegible] other necessary works.

[2] De Mailla, ix. p. 413.

arriving from India or other countries, and bringing with them gold or silver or gems and pearls, are prohibited from selling to any one but the Emperor. He has twelve experts chosen for this business, men of shrewdness and experience in such affairs: these appraise the articles,[1] and the emperor then pays a liberal price for them in those pieces of paper. The merchants accept his price readily, for in the first place they would not get so good an one from any one else, and secondly they are paid without any delay. And with this paper money they can buy what they like anywhere over the empire, whilst it is also vastly lighter to carry about on their journeys. And it is a truth that the merchants will several times in the year bring wares to the amount of 400,000 bezants, and the Grand Sire pays for all that in paper. . . . So he buys such a quantity of those precious things every year that his treasure is endless, whilst all the time the money he pays away costs nothing at all. Moreover, several times in the year proclamation is made through the city that any one who may have gold, or silver, or gems, or pearls, by taking them to the Mint, shall get a handsome price for them. . . . Thus the quantity they bring in is marvellous, though those who do not choose to do so may let it alone. Still in this way, nearly all the valuables in the country come into the Kaan's possession. . . . And if any Baron, or any one else soever hath need of gold, or silver, or gems, or pearls, in order to make plate or girdles or the like, he goes to the Mint and buys as much as he lists, paying in this paper money."

Marco is not able to assure us that the paper money is taken at the same valuation in the two cases: but we have seen that a limited amount of paper was readily accepted by private dealers because of its convenience in use. The enormous amount of paper issued by the Mongols, amounting in the 34 years of Kublai's reign to little less than £125,000,000 sterling in nominal value, can obviously not have been in circulation except at a much depreciated rate. Yet we may believe Marco that the notes were taken readily in exchange for goods at the current rate, whatever that might be. The uncertainty which attaches to Marco's rendering of Chinese money values makes it impossible to use his information as to the revenue drawn from Hang-chow and the surrounding [illegible] with any [illegible]. He puts this at 14,[illegible] [illegible] of gold [illegible] Henry Yule's estimate of the Venetian saggio makes equivalent to over £[illegible] sterling, for only one, albeit the richest of the [illegible] of the empire.

It would [illegible] such figures like those which show the total revenue [illegible] Sung emperors, we should have a [illegible] is too great a check on fraud for finance ministers of this period to have followed such prece- [illegible] after our traveller's report. Chinese [illegible] for the total summary. [illegible] of the revenue is [illegible] Sung [illegible]

to suppose that Marco gives it in paper money without allowance for depreciation.[1]

The presence of Mahomedan money-lenders gave rise to a grievance in Northern China which illustrates the fatal results of a mixture of the institutions characteristic of nations of a totally different type. Not unnaturally, in a newly conquered country, cases of brigandage arose; and by Chinese custom the fine for that offence was levied on the district where it was committed, according to the ancient rule of "mutual responsibility." It was now complained that the local magistrates had to borrow the money for these fines from Mahomedan usurers who doubled the sum by usurious interest, and then insisted on selling up their insolvent clients. The evil reached such dimensions that Yeliu-tache persuaded the emperor to pay off the usurers with 760,000 ounces of silver, which, however, of course came ultimately from the pockets of the conquered people.

The land tax was heavier under Kubla than it had been under Ogatai, and besides this a number of special taxes were levied, not, as heretofore, upon special sources of profit, but merely to meet particular items of expense, as a tax for the public examinations, a tax for the medical dispensaries, for the granaries, and even a tax for the relief of distress. As some of all these monies unquestionably stuck to the fingers of the tax-collectors, we need not wonder that the Mongols had a shorter tenure of power than any other dynasty founded by soldiers and administrators of such eminence as Genghis, Ogatai, and Kubla.

The fall of Ahmed took place in 1282; but only three years later, before the departure of Marco Polo, similar complaints began to be made of a successor and former protégé of his, who was accused of reviving the same malpractices, under cover of elaborate regulations not unlike those of Wang-ngan-shi. This minister proposed to coin copper money, which was to be issued to the inhabitants of the southern trading ports, for exchange against foreign merchandise, subject to a charge of seven-tenths of the profits thus made, which was to be paid to the imperial treasury. The rich, who apparently profited by the scarcity of metal to sell weapons at a fancy price, were forbidden to engage in that manufacture, and the profits to be derived from it by the State were ordered to be spent in replenishing the granaries, so that corn and rice should be sold at moderate prices. The tax on wine was raised, and wine-sellers' licenses put up to auction. It was a part of the plan to farm out the charge of the imperial stables and cattle to Mongols, in return for payments equal to one-fifth of the breeder's profits, and the trade between China and the steppes was in the same way to be retained in the hands of the Government. But the attempt at once to multiply and to monopolize the opportunities of corruption raised a storm of enmity against the ingenious financier, and he

[1] *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian, concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, newly translated and edited with notes by Col. the late Sir Henry Yule, i. pp. 379, 380.

was finally condemned to be cut in pieces, by the tribunal before which he was accused of fraudulently enhancing the tea duties.

The effect on the condition of the people of such fiscal abuses, which escaped detection except in cases of special enormity, is seen in the results of the census in 1290, when the returns showed only 13,196,206 tax-paying families, or a total population of 58,834,711 persons, exclusive, it is stated, of the large number of rebels and others, who had taken refuge upon the lakes or in the mountains. It had been the intention of Kubla to reduce the amount of taxation to what had been exacted during the Sung Dynasty ; now, however, the increased number and expensiveness of the imperial family compelled the abandonment of this design, and the utmost that could be conceded was immunity from further burdens. Then, as always, the lawful demands of the tax-collectors formed the least part of the sums exacted, and in 1293 the number of bureaux and revenue officials was largely reduced, as a means of relief even more practical than a nominal reduction of taxation.

## CHAPTER XX.

### *THE MONGOLS AFTER KUBLA.*

KUBLA Khan did not long survive the departure of the Venetian travellers to whom he is indebted for so much of his fame. The Polo family started on their return to Venice in 1292, and in 1294 Kubla was succeeded by his grandson Timour, known in Chinese annals as Tching-tsong. An edict of his first year mentions the allowances of grain made at the public expense, for the support of students in the State colleges. The insufficiency of the revenue was lamented, and attributed partly to defective receipts, owing to the exemption of Buddhist and Taoist priests from taxation, which caused laymen to adopt the dress; and partly to the cost of pensions granted to members of the imperial family.

While the Mongol Government thus complained of the unprofitableness of its empire, the rich provinces in Southern China had, during the forty years of peace after the Mongol conquest, recovered much of their former wealth and splendour. So long as the revenue returns sufficed for the wants of the administration, the condition of the subject population received little further attention. And, under cover of this indifference, while the number of brigands, vagabonds, and refugees had multiplied, so as to cause a serious falling off in the roll of tax-payers, the great families in Kiang-nan had become so rich as to own as serfs more than "ten thousand" subject households. In 1309 the increase of such agglomerators was denounced, on the score of the political danger to the dynasty likely to arise, when subjects of alien race attained such a degree of power and opulence.

To check the aggrandizement of these large landowners, they were required to furnish an exact return of their property, and each family with a revenue exceeding 50,000 measures of grain was required to pay a tax of 10,000 measures, half of which was allotted to the support of the troops, and half to the public granaries. Odoric of Pordenone describes the revenue of a fabulously rich and luxurious citizen as amounting to 300,000 sacks of rice, and the figure may be accepted as representing the contemporary idea of wealth *à la Monte Cristo*. Besides the above substantial income tax (equivalent to 4s. in the pound), the same families were required to send one son as a sort of hostage, to serve in the Mongol armies.

In 1313 the literary examinations were restored, and the Chinese admitted in greater numbers to a share in the administration. As a further

measure of conciliation, new honours were conferred on Confucius, and the tablets of all the great orthodox authors of the Sung Dynasty were finally ordered to be hung up in his temple. Sumptuary regulations were also introduced, distinguishing the dress of officials and literati from that of the common people—a measure which may have been connected with these other attempts to obliterate the sharp distinction between Mongols and Chinese. In pursuance of the same policy we find the Tribunal of public Works presenting a Treatise on the Cultivation of mulberries to the Emperor in 1318, and two years later the official code of the dynasty was promulgated, in 2,539 articles. In the same year the young Emperor was assassinated, and throughout the next half-century few years pass without some complaints of dynastic rivalries, Mongol malversations, and Chinese seditions, interspersed with abortive attempts at reform and repression.

In 1323 a Chinese minister denounced the trade in precious stones, which dealers were compelled to purchase from the court at ten times their real value, and the pearl fishery at Canton, to which many lives were sacrificed every year; and he gave voice once more to the classic Chinese horror of the undue influence at court of women, eunuchs, and the ministers of strange religions. Wu-tching, the president of the Han-lin College, was actually invited to write a preface to the edition of Buddhist works, written in letters of gold, on which nearly 4,000 ounces of the precious metal had been spent; and, though he refused to do so, the request itself shows how wide was the gulf between the ruler and his most independent subjects.[1]

The relation between the Yuen emperors and the literati never became really cordial, and the introduction of Mongols into the Han-lin College did not prevent that body from offering an effective passive resistance, when it was required to prepare a collection of Mongol customs corresponding to those published by the Tang and Sung Dynasties. To conciliate one nation was to offend the other, and, after more short reigns and threatened rebellions, in 1337 there seems to have been a reaction among the Mongol magnates, jealous of the Chinese, who in their turn declared that all the existing discontent arose from the avarice and corruption of the Mongols employed in the chief offices of State. The political ineptitude of the ruling faction may be gauged from the fact that the Chinese were now forbidden to keep horses or learn Mongol.

The founder of the Ming Dynasty was born about this time; he entered a Buddhist monastery at the age of seventeen, but soon abandoned the religious life, and in 1352 enlisted under one of the many partisan leaders whose bands turned all China into a battlefield. At the same time great and lasting discontent was provoked by the labours exacted in order to divert the course of the Hoang-ho into one of its deserted beds. The works failed to remedy the inundations complained of; but 70,000 workmen at a time were employed, the number of brigands and rebels increased as the reluctant cultivators deserted, and the bands of malcontents were

[1] [illegible] by T. [illegible], p. 407.

further recruited by the colonies of peasants whom the Government had forcibly transplanted from their own lands. Fleets of pirates commanded the sea, and famine, pestilence and rapine raged inland, as in the miserable turmoil of the Posterior dynasties: human flesh was eaten. The familiar chapter of history was to repeat itself, a righteous deliverer needed but to appear for the Appointment of Heaven to give the empire into his hands. Dynastic rivalries hastened the ruin of the alien house, and in 1368, only 89 years after the fall of the Southern Sung, the Mongol Dynasty in its turn became extinct.

It is from Chinese sources only that we learn to regard this 14th century among the iron ages of the long history of the black-haired race. To Europeans contemporary with the Hundred Years War, the peace and plenty of China at its worst provided food enough for admiration; and, as it happens, the number of our Western authorities is just at this time increased by that very relaxation of the bonds of orthodoxy, against which native critics protested in vain. It was under cover of the Buddhist zeal of the Mongol princes that the Latin friars of the 14th century established their missions, even while denouncing the latitudinarianism by which they profited. A somewhat fiery bishop Andrew of Zayton[1] observes, in 1326, that there are persons of every nation and sect in the empire, all allowed to live freely according to their own creed, owing to the erroneous belief of the people "that every one can find salvation in his own religion." "Howbeit," he continues, "we are at liberty to preach without let or hindrance"—the opposite doctrine!

John of Montecorvino, a Franciscan, afterwards made bishop of Cambalec, seems to have been intellectually on a par with the less intelligent of the later Jesuit missionaries; and the learned Persian physician and vizier, Rashid-eddin (1247–1318), refers mainly to the China of Marco Polo in his descriptions. But it is interesting to know that the details of Chinese administration were better understood by Persian statesmen then, than by many Western diplomats of later ages. He describes the six Boards of Administration, the nine grades of towns which give their names and rank to the officer in charge of them;[2] and is not unfamiliar with the etiquette of the council chamber, while he particularly mentions the function of an official, whose duty it is to examine all the drafts of memorials that are presented to the Emperor. Even the geographical description of the different provinces of the empire is tolerably circumstantial and correct, considering the great distances and the imperfection of the available maps.

The travels of Odoric of Pordenone date from 1316 to 1330, so that his

[1] He is impressed, in spite of himself, by the greatness and order of the empire, "within which no man dares to draw a sword against his neighbour," and with its "variety of merchandise greater than in the territories of Rome or of Paris." (*Yule*, ii. p. 245.)

[2] *Ib.*, p. 262. He explains the transfer of the seat of Empire to Cambaluc by Kublai, by the fact that it "was reckoned to surpass all other kingdoms and countries in the world." (*Ib.*, p. 257.)

residence in China coincides with the decadence of the Mongol empire.[1] The first city he came to, supposed to be Canton, seemed to him "as big as three Venices" and has more shipping than all Italy together. It is a land in which Treviso and Vicenza would be places of small importance, and in many parts the population is denser "than the crowds you see in Venice on Ascension Day. And the land hath great store of bread, of wine, of rice, of flesh and of fish of all sorts, and of all manner of victuals whatever that are used by mankind. And all the people of this country are traders and artificers, and no man ever seeketh alms, however poor he be, as long as he can do anything with his own hands to help himself." The men are comely enough, the women the most beautiful in the world, and for less than a groat you can buy seven pounds of sugar or three hundred pounds of fresh ginger! The people of Zaiton are described by the cheerful friar as "of pleasing manners, handsome and courteous, especially to foreigners:" and he finds in this city two houses of the Friars Minor, with whom he deposits the relics of certain martyrs of his order which he had brought from India.

A [illegible] 1330, by a certain archbishop of Soltania, reproduces Marco Polo's admiration for the justice and humanity of the [illegible] Khan, so that no advices to the contrary effect can have yet been embodied in the *Lettres édifiantes* of the period. Odoric, however, who, [illegible] is [illegible] and independent observer than the arch- [illegible] of the grievances of the Chinese when he mentions [illegible] of the Imperial family; and his account of [illegible] used for the decoration of the ladies of the court must be read in connection with the complaints already recorded concerning [illegible] fisheries and [illegible] in precious stones.

He describes the use of [illegible] for fishing, the long nails and com- [illegible] by men and women of gentility; and localizes [illegible] "[illegible]," Marco's old government, the innkeeper's [illegible] providing [illegible] for those desirous of entertaining their friends [illegible] which has not been quite conclusively [illegible] greater plenty than perhaps any other [illegible] it is at its dearest, yet can still have [illegible]

[illegible]

which furnished the first materials for the classic book of History. And the description of the artificial wooded hill, the "Green Mount" planted by Kubla's orders with large trees of various kinds brought from afar, with the earth around their roots, carries us forward to the horticultural triumphs of a modern *Jardin d'acclimatation.*

Commercial intercourse at this time between Italy and China was sufficiently frequent for Odoric to feel assured that his traveller's tales would be confirmed in Venice by many who knew from personal experience of their truth. The overland traffic was not less important than that by sea, and Florentine, Venetian, and Genoese traders were to be met with upon both routes. An employee of the great Florentine house of Bardi, Pegolotti by name, compiled about this time (1340) a practical commercial guide and vocabulary,[1] in which, along with other interesting and instructive matter, he describes the journey for "such as will go from Azov to Cathay, and come back with goods," and the comparative advantages of land and water carriage: where are the best markets, and what goods it is most profitable to lay in here or there in relation to the cost of transit. At Azov the Genoese and Venetians were the "most favoured nations," and paid only 4 per cent. duty on wine and hides, while other traders paid 5 per cent.

Pegolotti gives in detail the payments exacted from traders between the gulf of Iskenderan and Tabriz for caravanserais, and baths, guards, watchmen, duties and licenses, and he advises the merchant to give presents to the custom-house officials and their servants, in consequence of which they will undervalue the goods. The road from Tana (Azov) to Cathay is described as perfectly safe, but the lord of the land inherits the property of travellers who die within his borders, unless they have a natural heir in the same company. The first part of the road is the most dangerous, but no serious disturbances are anticipated: for the traveller is informed that, though he need not do so unless he likes, he may if he pleases, take a woman of the country with him, and will find his comfort increased by so doing. With a party of sixty "you will go as safely as if you were in your own house." The cost of the journey for a merchant with interpreter, servants, pack animals, and goods to the value of 25,000 gold florins, is estimated at 300 to 400 florins; the cost of the return journey depends on the number of pack animals employed, but these will average about forty-five florins each.

The weight drawn by each camel, ox, or horse wagon is further given, and the price per pound of Chinese silk, which is expected to form the chief article of traffic, so that we seem on the verge of being able to estimate the percentage of profit made by a discreet trader; but weights and values are too uncertain for any trustworthy conclusion to be reached. Putting the florin at 9*s.* 6*d.*, the merchant's stock-in-trade will be worth about £12,000, and at the same rate the price of silk would be about 3*s.* a pound. Pegolotti declares that the paper money in which goods are paid

[1] *Cathay*, ii. p. 270 ff.

for is not depreciated, and the unanimity of foreigners upon this subject is perplexing in the face of the not less uniform complaints of native writers, who count the abuse of paper money by the Mongols among the causes which led to the rebellion against their authority, resulting in the fall of the dynasty.

A new paper money was issued in 1309, and about the same time, the only metal coinage issued by the Mongols was put in circulation, but it failed to obtain currency, and paper only continued to be used till their expulsion. The inconveniences caused by the use of depreciated paper could hardly be greater than those arising from the use of debased copper, and from time out of mind, the Chinese traders had been familiar with the latter. The good faith which presided over their commercial dealings with each other and with foreigners brought these evils to a minimum; they were not aggravated by Bourse speculations, and hence the only substantial grievance lay in the dealings of the Government with the native traders and tax-payers; and of these Odoric and Pegolotti might easily remain ignorant.

Sir Henry Yule[1] understands Pegolotti's account of his merchant's itinerary as bringing him down the great canal to Hang-chow, and thence back to Peking; but the expressions used do not seem naturally to indicate such a journey, and, in fact, it seems as if the line of overland traffic had led normally to Mongolia, Peking, and the districts north of the Yellow River, while maritime trade had stopped short in Southern China. Pegolotti speaks of the capital city (Cambalec) as the resort of merchants, in which there is a vast amount of trade; and the absence of any special description of the greatest seaport then known seems to indicate Peking as the real goal of the journey. It is difficult to see what a European traveller had to gain by going from one end of China to another, in the interval between selling the goods he brought and buying those he meant to take away, both of which it was his interest to do in the market nearest to the frontier, Si-ngan-fu for instance. To go to Hang-chow *via* Central Asia and Peking would be as expensive as to go to Peking *via* the Indian Ocean and the sandy mouth of the Hoang-ho.

It was in Southern China that the chief interruption of foreign trade took place towards the close of the Sung Dynasty, but it was regularly restored in 1292. In 1350 the foreign trade at Canton was stopped, but only for a year, and in the early decades of the Ming Dynasty it was tolerated, though strictly regulated. At the beginning of the 15th century 120 houses were built for foreigners, but "ships bringing tribute" were required to land their goods and wait till harvest was over before attempting to dispose of them.

The next in date of the Western travellers who brought independent reports from the land of Cathay is another Minorite friar, despatched on an embassy to Cathay by Pope Benedict XII., in 1338. A letter had been addressed by the Mongol Emperor to the head of Christendom inviting

[1] *Cathay*, i. p. 288.

intercourse.[1] Presents of horses and four legates were sent in reply, of whom one was John of Florence, otherwise de' Marignolli, who was rewarded after his return by a Calabrian bishopric and commissioned by the Emperor, Charles IV., to compose the annals of Bohemia. The good bishop, apparently aware that he knew less about Bohemia than other parts of the world, wisely conceived his task upon an extensive scale, which allowed his description of India and Cathay to take precedence of the history of Bohemian kings and bishops. The annals of the Franciscan Order mention the arrival of this embassy at the court of Cambalec in 1342, and the Chinese annals for the same year mention the arrival of horses of unknown race from the kingdom of Fu-lang, brought as an offering to the emperor.

The Bohemian chronicle adds some interesting details as to the entertainment of the embassy, which consisted of thirty-two persons and was maintained at the court of Peking with all hospitality for four years at an expense which the grateful friar estimates at not less than 4,000 marks. Suitable apartments, meat and drink, costly raiment, all necessary servants and "even down to such things as paper for lanterns," everything needful for their comfort and dignity was provided, at the imperial expense, by the care of two princes specially told off to attend to their wants. The overland route by which the ambassadors had arrived was closed by war when the time came for their return, so they were conveyed in state through Southern China, and besides the usual raptures over Campsay and Zaiton, our author writes, "On our way we beheld the glory of the world in such a multitude of cities, towns, and villages, and in other ways displayed, that no tongue can give it fit expression."[2]

Ibn Batuta, the greatest wanderer of his age, on reaching Southern China, after various misfortunes on the road, speaks of the country as "the safest as well as the pleasantest of all the regions on the earth for a traveller."[3] Besides repeating much that is already familiar to us, he describes the dishes of lacquered ware, the greater cheapness of silk as compared with cotton, and the skill of the native portrait painters, who were employed, apparently in lieu of passports, to depict the features of foreigners whom the Government may wish to identify. Another trait which has not yet been mentioned is the custom by which, whenever a Chinese junk is about to undertake a voyage, "the admiral of the port and his secretaries go on board and take note of the number of soldiers, servants, and sailors, who are embarked. The ship is not allowed to sail till this form has been complied with. And when the junk returns to China, the same officials again visit her and compare the persons found on board with the numbers entered on their register. If any one is missing, the captain is responsible and must furnish evidence of the death or desertion of the missing individual or otherwise account for him."[4]

[1] This emperor Chun-ti, 1335, is accused in the native annals of favouring "false religions and disregarding morals."

[2] *Cathay*, ii. p. 342.

[3] *Ib.*, iii. p. 485. He was born 1304, and began his travels in 1325.

[4] *Ib.*, iii. p. 483. Cf. *Ta Tsing Lu-li*, 225, § 31. *China Review*, viii. p. 13.

The institution of the Hong merchants, who were made responsible for the foreign trade in recent times, existed already in embryo. The Mussulman trader who landed in China was allowed to take up his abode either with a resident merchant of his own faith or in an hotel. In the first place the merchant, in the second the innkeeper was made responsible for his property and sustenance, and was required to act honestly as trustee on his behalf. The foreign merchant was allowed to buy slaves or marry if he pleased; but he was not allowed free access to the Chinese parts of the town, as it was held contrary to public policy to allow the growth of any class making a trade of ministering to the profligacy of foreigners. The inland traffic was protected with the same kind of vigilance, and "you may travel the whole nine months' journey to which the empire extends, without the slightest cause of fear, even if you have treasure in your charge," owing to the good care taken by the officers of the post and hostelries to see that all lawful travellers pass on their way, and that none disappear without being accounted for.

The only region in the world to be compared to the fertile banks of the great Canal above Hang-chow, is "that space of four days' march between Anbar and Anah," which includes the plain of the Euphrates for 120 miles up the course of the river above Bagdad. Like other travellers, Ibn Batuta observes that Cathay is the best cultivated land in the world: "in the whole country you will not find a bit of ground lying fallow," and his inquiries as to the cause of a state of things so unusual in large Oriental empires were met by the information that "if a piece of ground be left uncultivated, they still oblige the people on it, or if there be none, the people nearest it, to pay the land tax;"[1] an account of the matter which, though not strictly accurate in itself, hints at the two real facts, that private owners are not allowed to leave their holdings untilled, and that the State is interested in providing every plot with a cultivating owner, since so only can the land tax be raised without difficulty.

There is no hint in any of these writers at any systematic policy of isolation, or the exclusion of all foreigners from China, such as was [illegible] with in the 16th and 17th centuries. On the contrary, the Flowery Land is a place of strange meetings, and Ibn Batuta recognizes in one of the cities on the Grand Canal a Moor of Ceuta, whom he had met formerly, not in his own native Tangiers, but in Delhi, and whose [illegible] he was to encounter two years later in Negro land. The world-wide [illegible]

[illegible]

## CHAPTER XXI.

### *THE MING DYNASTY.*

(1368–1649, A.D.)

We enter now on the penultimate chapter of Chinese history. Allowing for the slow development and long duration of the empire, there is a certain analogy between the brilliant dynasties of China and those single reigns or periods which count as epochs in the West. And, from this point of view, the period of native rule between the Mongols and the Mantchus may be regarded as the 18th century of China. The founder of the Ming Dynasty does not certainly seem more distant in the historical perspective than William of Orange, and the porcelain of his successor, Yung-lo, occupies in the esteem of collectors the same sort of place as belongs with us to the decorated furniture of Queen Anne; and, to complete the parallel, the literature of the dynasty is copious and correct, but less original and varied than that of the Sung, which has been described as the Elizabethan age of Chinese poetry.

Hung-woo, which means "The warlike fortune,"[1] is not the proper name of the first emperor of the Ming Dynasty, though it is often so used. It is the name which he gave to the years during which he reigned. The emperor of China, it has been said, has during his life "no name peculiar to himself." After his death, one is assigned to him by which he is known in history, and some of these names repeat themselves by a tacit convention. Thus "Tai-tsou," or "great ancestor," is the stock name for the founder of a dynasty, Tai-tsong, "great and honourable prince," for the second ruler who consolidates its power; and other names, like Wu-ti, the "warlike," Wen-ti, the "learned" prince are of frequent recurrence in the chronicles. These and others repeat themselves in different dynasties, with the adjunct of the dynastic name, so that the proper historic name of the expeller of the Mongols, whose reign (1368–98) was called "warlike fortune," is Tai-tsou-Ming, the Great Ancestor of the Bright Dynasty.

After abandoning the tonsure for the sword in 1352, the ex-Buddhist was loyal to the chief under whose command he enlisted; but he was disgusted with the oppressions exercised by officers and soldiery, and at the earliest opportunity, set up on his own account as partisan leader and protector of the people. Instead of ranging the country in search of

[1] [illegible] in the [illegible] the dynastic title and the titles of reigns or periods given in parallel columns.

plunder, he introduced good order in the districts he subdued, forbidding his troops to plunder, and in general conforming to the precepts of Mencius regarding the way to "win the States." The success which attended his arms reconciled his soldiers to the self-denial imposed on them, and he gradually superseded one rebel chief after another, including some of those who had claimed the title of Emperor.

Two years after his formal accession, a census of the cultivated lands was taken, and the tax brought in about 29½ million measures of grain, or slightly more than in the palmiest days of the Sung Dynasty; but silk and money are the only other objects mentioned in the table of revenue, so that fewer commodities and thus on the whole an amount of less value was received in kind. In the same year an expedient for supplying the frontiers with grain was introduced, of which we shall hear more in the next century.[1] Traders were allowed to receive salt from the central Government mines in return for rice delivered to the border garrisons at rates varying according to the distance which it had to be brought. Local tributes consisting of articles of costly luxury, such as ginseng, wine, and scented rice, were declined by the emperor, lest the collection should become unduly burdensome. The Government was called on to deal at the same time with the two evils always bequeathed by a period of civil disorder—the depopulation of agricultural districts and the growth of a landless class; and, as is usual in China, the two evils were allowed to cure each other. The landless inhabitants of five towns, amounting in all to 4,000 households, were removed to colonise a vacant district; cattle, seeds, wagons, and necessary provisions were given them, together with three years' immunity from taxation. In other parts soldiers were employed to reclaim waste lands; and in the North, where population was sparse, the number of public functionaries was reduced.

Perhaps the most durable result of the Mongol empire was the opening of Tatary to the tea trade. This beverage had in the course of a century begun to take its present place as a necessary of life upon the Steppes. The trade was important enough to attract the attention of financiers, and a tax of a tenth was levied on the tea which was sold in exchange for horses, and which all the tribes of the West rushed to buy. In 1375 an attempt was made to limit the currency to paper and copper cash, to the exclusion of tea; but on the introduction of paper the supply of horses fell off, and the export of silk and tea had to be renewed to obtain them. The regulation price for a first-class horse was eighty pounds of tea, and for the next hundred years or so, in fact, until the Chinese empire deliberately abandoned the use of carriage horses, in the middle of the 16th century, the regulation of the trade was a constant anxiety to the native administrators.

In 1391 [illegible] was drawn up of the contributions and forced labour to be

[illegible]

exacted throughout the empire; 110 households were reckoned to make a village; the ten largest taxpayers being counted as chiefs; the other hundred were divided into ten sections, so that theoretically each headman represented ten households. The old people and widows and orphans were not counted; the lists were revised every ten years, and the share of each group in the public works allotted every year.

Tai-tsou died in 1398, after a reign of thirty years, bequeathing the empire to a grandson of sixteen, the eldest son of his eldest son, instead of, as had been his own wish, to an active and ambitious younger son of his own. The native historians of his reign had had a difficult task; for Tai-tsou's conduct, at least after his accession, was by no means uniformly virtuous, while precedent requires that the founder of a dynasty shall serve as an exemplar to all his imperial descendants. In 1402 an order was given to re-write the true history of his reign, as the officer to whom the task had been first entrusted was put to death for his veracity; and even this second attempt gave so little satisfaction that ten years later we hear of the same history being again revised.

But the most damning entries on Tai-tsou's record are those made with Confucian brevity in the history written by his Mantchu successor, whom Europeans call Kien-lung. This work is written in the curt style of the "Spring and Autumn;" but what "righteous decision" can be more eloquent than that involved in the single word "assassination," used to describe the death or execution of Se-lou in 1382, and of Wang-pou in 1396, both guilty only of addressing remonstrances to the emperor, the former on his addiction to the worship of Fo, and the latter in the discharge of his office as censor.

When Wang-pou was being led to execution, the Emperor appeared to repent, and asked him if he would amend his ways? He replied with stubborn dignity: "If I have committed no crime, why order me to be put to death? If I have committed any crime, how can you let me live? To-day I desire to die." The enraged Emperor ordered the execution to proceed; but as he passed the office of the censors, Pou cried out, "Dr. Such-an-one! Record this day, this month, this year, the emperor put to death the blameless censor Pou!" And even so it was done, to the edification at least of the imperial historian four centuries later; who, by the way, might have been saved from his own few acts of tyrannical barbarism had a Wang-pou been numbered among his subjects.

Tai-tsou had been persuaded not to nominate his younger son to the throne, lest such a course should lead to a disputed succession; but the discontented uncle, who was already in possession of an important principality, revolted, and, in 1403, obtained the empire, while his nephew, Kien-wen-ti, fled into the Southern provinces, disguised as a Buddhist priest. History speaks throughout of the new Emperor as an usurper, though he was a zealous patron of letters. He ordered the compilation of a great encyclopædia, which was never printed on the ground of expense; but a single imperfect copy of it was said subsequently to have

preserved 385 ancient and rare works that would otherwise have been lost.

Yung-lo followed his father's example in attempting to give a penal character to the land tax. In his first assessment, Tai-tsou had punished certain Southern towns for their adherence to another leader by confiscating the territory of all the great families and rich inhabitants, and had taken their annual rent as the standard for the tax. This tax had again been raised on account of the fertility of the district, so that Su-chow, Hang-chow, and three other towns were disproportionately burdened: and the former alone, in 1381, paid as much as the whole province of Tche-kiang. In 1400, as a measure of relief, the land tax on the towns of Kiang-nan and Tche-kiang was equalized, and the maximum tax apparently fixed at one measure of grain per acre. Yung-lo, however, renewed the attempt to tax personal opponents, and after putting one such to death for loyalty towards his deposed nephew, he increased the taxes upon his family property, "that all future generations may curse his memory,"—an edict which was doubtless among those that his son earned credit by rescinding.

In 1409 three horse-fairs were established on the frontiers; but everything except tea and horses were treated as contraband. Peculation followed as a natural consequence from the attempt to keep the trade in the hands of officials; and in 1409 an officer was accused of giving 80,000 lbs. of tea for seventy indifferent horses, or more than 11,000 lbs. for what was priced in Tai-tsou's tariff at 80 lbs. There must, however, still have been some honest and capable officials, for in 1411 the Yellow River was successfully conducted back into one of its old channels, after a flood at Cai-fong-fu, in which 14,000 families perished. In 1413, we are told, "the people were made to maintain horses," a statement of which we learnt the significance in the days of Wang-ngan-shi and the Mongols.

In the last reign the people of Nanking, the then capital, were required to provide for the emperor's stud, and the measure was now extended to Peking; families under a certain size had to maintain one horse, and those over the size had to maintain two. The smaller households, which formed groups subject to mutual responsibility or collective punishment, were required to maintain one horse for every seven households. As the horses multiplied, the people had to give up more of their pastures to make room for them, and the labour of herding them occupied all or most of the youths of fifteen, to whom their charge was committed. By a further practical abuse the people were also required to maintain free of charge the horses of official underlings.

In 1321 the capital was removed to Peking, and an instructive memorial[1] presented against the change helps to show why the vicinity of the court was not regarded as a boon by the townspeople. The town had to be remodelled, and the modern walls, enclosing a much smaller city than Kubla's, built. Besides the necessary expense of such public works, the

[1] Ibid. Mong. p. 1[illegible]3.

workmen oppressed the people, demolishing and removing their houses arbitrarily and without need, either wantonly or for the sake of bribes. The memorialist repeats the complaint that products are taxed twice over; the people live on roots and bark, while 10,000 priestly idlers are maintained at court. Every year the Emperor gives largesses of precious wares and money to obtain a few horses from the adjoining subject tribes, and when obtained they are apportioned amongst the people, who have to make good whatever losses occur amongst them. "What is the good of so many horses?" asks the writer in conclusion; "these people are not moved by any real desire to be governed by a wise ruler."

The embassy sent to the court of China in 1419 by Shah Rukh, the son of Timour, who was meditating the reconquest of China when he died, may have had a genuine political purpose, but the border Tatar tribes were certainly innocent of any desire except that of finding an advantageous market for their wares. A writer quoted by M. Remusat[1] observes, under head of the year 1424, "All the barbarians are very curious about the stuffs and merchandise of China, so that the markets were constantly filled with merchants who came to make exchanges under pretext of bringing tribute." The writer goes on to explain that it was attempted to repress this disorder; but the so-called tribute-bearers, who received free quarters and maintenance, always contrived to leave stragglers behind them to dispose of their unsold goods.

In 1424 the usurper was peaceably succeeded by his son,[2] whose short reign was only marked by the rehabilitation of those whom Yung-lo had proscribed as traitors. The ten years' reign of the next king, Sieuen-tsong, opened with a curious complaint lodged by the literati of the Northern provinces, who, it must be supposed, had fallen behind the subjects of the Southern Sung in literary culture. At any rate the Northerners complained that all the highest degrees were taken at the examinations by candidates from the South, and the Emperor was entreated to remedy this grievance.

The proposed compromise, that one-third of the whole number of doctors' degrees awarded should be reserved to the North and two-thirds kept by the South, was not very soothing to the *amour propre* of Northern scholars. In 1380 mention is made of an exchange or transfer of officers in the North and South, a tentative measure in the same direction as the present fixed rule, which forbids an officer to be employed in his native place. Evidently it would be a hardship to the Northern provinces to be habitually governed by Southerners, the rather if the Southerners had been favoured in the original distribution of offices, on account of political sympathies opposed to those of their destined subjects.

Sieuen-tsong began his reign with several minor reforms. In 1430 he

[1] *Hist. de la ville de Khotan*, p. 104.

[2] The tomb of Yung-lo is one of the best preserved in the famous burial-grounds of the dynasty, which the head of the dispossessed family is still required by the Government to visit annually for the performance of the ancestral worship.

proposed to excuse the people from making good the loss of the imperial horses, and asked Yang-se-khy if there was anything else he ought to do. He was told to excuse arrears for wood and forage, to enforce justice in the purchases made on account of the emperor, not to oppress the over-numerous workmen in the capital, and to reduce the rent of the State lands. The rents of the public fields around Su-chow were reduced accordingly from twenty to seven million bushels. The transport of the grain required for the army had become even a greater burden than the supply of the grain itself, and it was hailed as a welcome measure of relief when, in 1431, the troops were allowed to undertake the transport themselves. About this time a whole batch of virtuous officers were appointed, and continued to hold their posts for the next ten or twenty years. The same vermilion pencil which stigmatizes the "assassination" of Wang-pou observes now, "It was a prosperous time." One of these virtuous governors fell to the share of Su-chow; he opened a granary called the "Labourers' Aid," out of which all loans to the poor and losses by weather and theft were defrayed, and during the twenty years of his government scarcity was unknown, and the taxes were never in arrear.

Several times in the course of the half-century the system of money fines, extended by Yung-lo in 1413, is objected to on the ground that it is useless to let officers guilty of corrupt practices ransom themselves from punishment: "They lose their place by coveting wealth, and regain it by giving up a part of their gains. Is that the way to check avarice?" Yng-tsong, a child of eight, succeeded his father in 1436; as he grew up, a council of regency, famous as "the three Yangs," and the Empress mother struggled vainly to resist the influence of a favourite eunuch. In 1443 he took the government into his own hands, with the eunuch as chief minister, and, what proved still more calamitous, as commander-in-chief against the Tatars in a war provoked partly at least by his own imprudence.

The confusion between trade and tribute, wilfully kept up by Chinese officials, was a fertile source of trouble. Regarding the Tatars as tributaries, it was becoming for the Emperor to be liberal in his presents, to maintain all the followers of the embassies, and not to be too exacting as to the quality of the gifts brought by the barbarians. On the other hand, these liberalities attracted vast caravans of camp-followers, whose only object was to share in the Emperor's gifts and the free rations enjoyed by his guests. The people of one district alone, which used to send embassies of thirty persons, sent so many thousands, that their entertainment [illegible] as much as 300,000 taels. The number of tribute-bearers was then limited to 300, but over 3,000 came.

The Tatars [illegible] wares were supplied, and that [illegible] to return in safety. An unsuccessful [illegible] ended in the death of the eunuch [illegible] capture of the Emperor. The latter incident is regarded in a [illegible] light by Chinese politicians. Yesien, the Tatar general, at first

demanded a ransom for his prisoner, and when that was refused, hoped to secure the gratitude of his involuntary guest by an unconditional release. To his disgust, however, he discovered that the Chinese regarded his prisoner as *de facto* dethroned; and that the Empress mother had forthwith proceeded to appoint a successor, as upon the emperor's death.

Passing over Yng-tsong's infant son she appointed his brother, known as King-ti. The Tatar ambassador inquired if Yao and Shun would have behaved like this younger brother, and was told that Yao gave the empire to Shun, who was no relation, and that in this case the unfortunate elder brother ceded place to his junior. Finally Yng-tsong was released without ransom, and the ritual observed by Hieuen-tsong of the Tang Dynasty was carefully observed on his return. A sham protest against his own elevation was made by the reigning prince, upon which he was commanded on his allegiance by the ci-devant Emperor to accept the succession.

Peace being now concluded with the Tatars, their complaints were considered, and met with the rejoinder that their furs and horses, like the Chinese silks, were apt to be of inferior quality, both doubtless by default of inferior officers; while out of embassies with three or four thousand members, some were likely to misbehave, run away, or perish in brawls.

King-ti was desirous of nominating his own son instead of his elder brother's to the succession, but this was not permitted, and in fact upon his death Yng-tsong was restored and allowed to bestow the epithet of "the Perverse" on his supplanter. The empire was not in a very flourishing condition. The paper money which in Tai-tsou's reign was worth 1,000 cash now circulated for three. The use of metal money was forbidden in the vain attempt to force paper into use, and a similar failure attended the new tax imposed on market gardens in the two capitals, with the same object, in the hope that if the gardeners were taxed and compelled to pay in paper, a demand for the unpopular currency would be created and its value raised. From time to time benevolent edicts were published remitting taxes or arrears, but such action no longer met with universal approbation, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the period allows himself to protest, or at least to inquire where else he is to get the means of meeting other necessary expenses.

As this is the first time that such a difficulty is noticed in the annals, it is not without reason that Wang-tchi-tchang[1] contrasts the modern policy with that recognised in the Rites of Chow. It was probably a real innovation for the fixed expenses of the Court and Government in time of peace to be so considerable that it was impossible to remit taxes without danger of a deficit. China moves slowly, and she is still without a National Debt; but in the 15th century she had already fallen from the state of economic innocence in which a surplus is the rule, simply because money is not spent on account of the Government until it is received in the Treasury.

Two events are recorded for the year 1404—the death of a native of

[1] *Ante*, p. 35.

Peking at the age of 110 years,[1] and the "beginning of the establishment of imperial farms." It is recorded as something new that the Emperor kept for himself the confiscated lands of political or other offenders. "After this" (*i.e.* in the reign of Hien-tsong, 1465–85) "members of the imperial family and nobles frequently took lands from the people to make estates." Light is thrown both on this abuse and the change in the financial order just referred to, by the complaints which begin to be made, that the revenue of the Emperor and Empress is now regarded as private property to be spent in buildings, and fêtes, instead of in maintaining the army or preventing scarcities. In fact, the court had begun to hanker after a Civil List, while the people still took the primitive view that the sovereign should pay the expenses of his sovereignty out of the pocket which his subjects fill for him. In early English history the same point gave rise to a good deal of controversy, but in the monarchies of the West it was raised comparatively soon after their foundation; the noticeable point in China is that the discussion of it could be put off so long.

In 1468[2] one of the Emperor's daughters, a prince, and a priest had asked for grants of land and had obtained them, in one case as much as 4,000 acres. An officer represented that uncultivated land used to be allotted free of taxes to the cultivators—of old an estate of 10,000 acres formed the hereditary domain of 100 families: was it fitting to make such a grant to one man? The emperor on reflection thought not, and ordered restitution, but later applications on a somewhat more moderate scale were nevertheless allowed to pass. The following year the Empress's maternal uncle asked for a grant of fields which he declared to be neither taxed nor cultivated. A commission of inquiry was sent, and reported that all the land was on the register and under cultivation, but that 7,000 *mow* of confiscated land were ownerless. The uncle thought this was not worth having, and another commission was sent; but, instead of bringing back a discreetly revised statement of facts, their report set forth that "Since the beginning of the dynasty the lands in the department concerned had been ceded in perpetuity to the cultivators, to till and reclaim, free from taxation for the encouragement of agriculture. Is it fitting that families united to the emperor by the memory of services rendered or matrimonial alliances should dispute with the people for an inch of ground?" The two [illegible] were thrown into prison [illegible] demand of the magistracy.

[illegible] corrupt officials omitted to carry the reclaimed lands on to the register for [illegible] the Government.

[illegible]

In 1474 the Great Wall was repaired, and military colonies settled near it, so that the empire was not troubled from without, yet the number of houseless adventurers in at least three provinces was so great as to raise the alarm of brigandage. No fewer than 438,000 persons were enumerated, and all the well-disposed settled in new townships with a light assessment. About this time, the dealers in Government salt, who since 1370 had acted as contractors to the frontier armies, began to offer money for the salt in lieu of grain. Originally they had established agricultural colonies at points convenient for the supply of grain to the troops, and it was only after delivering the grain to the army that they became entitled to receive their consignments of salt. The money given for salt in lieu of grain was, of course, supposed to be spent on supplies; but there being now no inducement for the traders to keep up the border markets, cultivation fell off, and, when provisions came to be wanted, there were no means of obtaining them. Hence in 1492 the regulations of the salt monopoly were revised. Hitherto purchases for the garrisons of the Great Wall had been made only wholesale, by the 10,000 bushels, perhaps in the first instance to limit the number of authorized salt merchants. But in 1497 it was decreed that small quantities might be received, and in two months' time provisions of all kinds were supplied in plenty again.

While thus free from disturbance on the North, China was not altogether without anxieties in regard to her protectorate over Central Asia. The rich oasis of Hami, one of the last and most important halting-places for caravans from the West, had been held, under Chinese protection, by a prince of the banished Mongol Dynasty. In 1488 this prince was surprised and his territory seized by Hahema, the chief of Turfan; and as a means of retaliation against the latter, the Chinese frontier was closed for a time to trade. On this occasion the blockade was not long maintained; Hami was given up and the road re-opened for tribute-bearers, among whom none were received with higher honours than the embassy of the prince of Turfan. Nevertheless, the episode has its importance: it is the second link, if the difficulties with the Tatar horse-fairs are reckoned as the first, in the chain of causes which led in the 16th cent. to the full development of that policy of exclusiveness, which we have learnt to regard as characteristically Chinese.

At the close of the 15th century the census returns give a population of over 50 millions, forming slightly over 9 million families. The area of cultivated lands given in the same tables has been estimated at about 200 million acres, or an average of over 20 acres to a family—the portion which under the Sung formed a provision for a favoured servant. The grain revenue at the same time consisted of 266 million measures of grain of 100 lbs. each. Taking the old estimate of 2 lbs. of rice a day as a liberal allowance for the support of one person, this revenue is equivalent to a year's rations for 36 millions, or more than half the tax-paying population.

For this period we miss the careful comparative tables of Ma-twan-lin and

his continuator. In the latter half of the 16th century the money revenue is stated at 43 million taels, say £15,000,000 sterling,—but the value of money at the time is uncertain. All we can be sure of is that the revenue was still moderate, and yet the rate of taxation per head of the population stood higher than at present. The wealth of the empire was meanwhile evidently on the increase, to judge from the treasures confiscated on the fall of a chief eunuch: 24 million taels in gold, 251 million silver taels, two measures of precious stones, suits of armour, rings, etc., of precious and other metals, with furniture and dresses described as fit for an emperor, represented the accumulations of a single favourite during his short term of office.

The ascendancy of the eunuchs showed itself in the usual way. In 1504 the historiographers complain that their occupation will be gone if the Emperor sees functionaries in private with no officer present to take down his words: "If this continues, it is to be feared that after a time every one will write things down in his own way, and there will be no record of the sequence of events." The Emperor was finally requested to order the mandarins who were at court to write the accounts of their interviews, and to hand the record on to the historians after submitting it to him. Even if this recommendation was followed, we need not wonder that there is some want of vigour and variety in the annals of this dynasty.

In 1513 the quarrels with the Tatars for the protectorate of Hami were renewed, and, while the Emperor with his troops amused himself by hunting expeditions north of the Great Wall, Tatar bands ravaged Shensi, carrying off booty and prisoners. Wu-tsong, the reigning emperor (1506–1521), also wished to visit Southern China and enjoy the pleasure of sailing on the waters of the Han and the Kiang. He was dissuaded by a threatened rebellion, and by the strongly adverse feeling of his councillors. The tours of inspection ascribed to the emperors of the first dynasties had long been forgotten, and, as in the Tso Chuen, it was now taken for granted that an imperial progress can only be an expensive amusement for which the people will have to pay. The utmost to be expected from the Court is to do no mischief, and with that object it is best at home. He succeeded, subsequently, in passing several months at Nanking, during which, we are told, he paid as little attention to business as previously. He died without male heirs, and without having appointed a successor: so the vacancy was filled, as usual by the Empress, who selected a boy of fourteen, the first son of the second son of Hien-tsong.

In 1547, Yenmaka Tatar chief on the borders of Shensi, applied to be received as a vassal, or in other words as a person who might be trusted within the Chinese border. His only desire was to obtain a market for his horses; and, when his request was refused, he invaded the territories of the predatory tribes. In 1551, it was proposed by a general to allow bands of freebooters to settle in Yunnan, "the kingdom of the Black and White Wu" (Burmese and Shans), "and to make use of them against the Barbarians." Yang was impressed for his opposition, but persisted to

favour two years later, when his objection proved to be well founded. At first the horses were accepted at a reasonable price, and Yenta sent two of a rare kind as tribute to the Emperor. But his motives were suspected, as he continued to prowl round and press for more markets, and the fairs were abolished as giving a pretext for Tatar inroads. The chronicles of the time are very meagre, and, so far as one can judge, certainly not written with the eloquence of a Su-che or the sagacity of a Ssema-kwang, but their scantiness only makes the prominence given to this Tatar market question the more significant.

A hostile cloud now appears on the horizon in a third quarter. In 1559 complaints are made of the inroads of Japanese pirates. In 1403 Japan had paid tribute to Yung-lo, but this soon ceased, and in the interval there had been little intercourse, friendly or otherwise, between the two nations. Friendly powers not calling themselves tributary were only allowed to send embassies once in ten years, and such a privilege naturally soon fell into disuse. But while Tatar and European traders were trying to force their way uninvited and unwelcome into the markets of China, native trade had made an outlet for itself in this not less dangerous direction. And the greed and bad faith of the traders was considered to have provoked the attacks subsequently made by the Japanese on the coasts of the empire. Each warlike Japanese reckoned himself a match for ten of the proud and wealthy foreigners who had the impudence to try and cheat him, and the spoils of war in such a case were tempting.

The Chinese Government, to do it justice, has never wished its subjects to make money out of its tributaries; on the contrary, it has winked indulgently at the opposite result, and itself paid virtual tribute in the form of gifts to almost all who asked it. But it is one thing for a Government to wish its subjects to be true and just in all their dealings, and another to undertake to make them so. The commercial probity of the Chinese in their dealings with each other is a triumph of the policy of *Laissez faire*: amongst persons of cultivated intelligence a bankrupt gets no credit and a swindler no custom, and so commercial morality takes care of itself. But, as has been seen in other empires, traders who, for these or other reasons, are moderately honest at home, allow themselves more license in dealing with an inferior race, and the inferior race retaliates with its own best weapons. The fundamental difference between China and other commercial empires is that in such a case she considers the civilized citizen who has got himself into hot water with savages as *ipso facto* in the wrong, and instead of sending war junks to support or avenge him, she tries sincerely to protect the inferior races against the enterprise and acuteness of her own subjects, forbidding and punishing whatever may lead to aggression.

The long reign of Chi-tsong (1521–1566), though free from any great convulsion, was not "a prosperous time." A memorial was addressed to him in the last year of his life, reminding him of the good intentions and fair prospects with which he ascended the throne, when he even forbade

the erection of statues to Confucius, lest they should be mistaken for idols; and rehearsing all the misfortunes which his backslidings had brought upon the empire. The memorialist was at first thrown into prison, but soon afterwards released and restored to office.

The Emperor's death followed shortly, and, if everything in the Chinese annals is literally true, he dictated a deathbed confession, exhorting his subjects and successor to beware of following his bad example. It is said that he ordered this edifying document to be published after his death; at all events it was so published. Mu-tsong, his successor, began by imprisoning the vendors of so-called elixirs of immortality; but in other respects his morals can have been little improvement on those of his father, as he is accused in the history of pottery of a taste for china decorated with licentious subjects.

In 1571, Yenta applied again for the title of tributary prince, and with representatives of seventeen hordes asked to pay tribute and to be allowed to bring horses to sell at appointed market-places. The Council of State was divided, the votes being twenty-two for, seventeen against, granting the application; five of the twenty-two were for allowing the tribute, which Yenta did not care about, and refusing the markets, which he did, so that in effect the opinions were equally divided; the emperor decided to agree.

In 1572, the first year of Chin-tsong's reign, the Tatar sent a tribute of 250 chosen horses; but the danger of concessions to such neighbours became manifest in 1574, when his son asked for a horse-fair to the west of the Hoang-ho. The governor general of the province pointed out that this was opening a gate for the Tatars to come in whenever they pleased; but, as on former occasions, when they revenged themselves for the refusal by raids for plunder, the Chinese gave way, and the Emperor granted [illegible] for two fairs. In 1577 fresh demands were made for a market for [illegible] as well as horses; but after the death of Yenta, in 1583, the leading rôle passes to another branch of the great Tatar race.

In [illegible] the same year that Michel Roger, the first of the Jesuit missionaries, entered China) the Nutche Tatars, representatives of the old Leao Dynasty, reappear upon the scene. On the accession of the Ming Dynasty they were almost crushed for harbouring the banished Mongols. [illegible] by the trade in ginseng, horsehair, and furs; [illegible] wars, they began to consolidate into one king[illegible] Mantchu conquest was to proceed. They were [illegible] willing to adopt a settled life, and might not [illegible] of the empire if they had been received [illegible] rights as tributary allies had been respected. [illegible] of their dynasty from 1618, its founder [illegible] by Chinese officers in the [illegible] Tatar colony, dependent but [illegible] claimed to treat the Tatar districts as [illegible] whereas they had been formally ceded to

the barbarians for occupation. The proposed official visit of inspection was resisted, and upon this the whole colony was evicted by force and the inhabitants transferred to the interior of the province.

In all earlier troubles with the Tatars, the aggressions came from the latter, and the Chinese could only be blamed for injudicious concessions and a weak military defence; but on this occasion, corrupt officers seem to have been misled, by the aptitude of these colonies for a settled life, into the belief that they had forgotten how to fight like other Tatars, and might be plundered with impunity. They were undeceived by the terrible fidelity with which the first Mantchu Emperor kept his vow, to immolate two hundred thousand Chinese to his murdered father's memory.

While trouble was thus brewing on the north-west, a costly and disastrous campaign had been proceeding outside the frontier on the north-east, against the Japanese, who disputed the Chinese protectorate of Corea. In 1599 the generals at the seat of war were expressly advised to send home only reports of successes, real or imaginary; the consequences of the real defeats, which were not reported, took some time to make themselves felt, but the loss of men and money in this Corean war was one chief cause of the dynasty's fall. The troops who should have garrisoned the frontier against the Tatars were butchered by the Japanese, while even a foreigner at the southern extremity of the empire learnt to associate the extortions of the eunuchs, the new taxes and the inquisition into private fortunes, which provoked popular riots, with the fact that the Corean war had emptied the imperial treasury. In 1616 there was a famine, and a dog for eating was dearer to buy than a young man for a servant.

The reign of Chin-tsong (called the period Wan-lih) came to an end in 1620; the standards of the Mantchus had already been seen at the gates of the capital, and the end was approaching. The next seven years are almost entirely taken up with wars, in the course of which the Mantchu Emperor claims continually to have right as well as might on his side, and accuses the Chinese of arrogance and bad faith. In 1628 Hoai-tsong, the last of the Ming emperors, ascended the throne. At the outset of the next campaign the Mantchu Emperor ordered his troops to spare non-combatants, trees and buildings, not to maltreat their prisoners, and to give quarter to all who asked it. As he advanced, proclamations were issued inviting the officers, soldiers, and common people to submit, reminding them that the Liao, the Kin, and the Yuen had before now become masters of China. Who could say that Heaven did not intend him to succeed the Ming?

As a first step towards claiming their inheritance, he sent to perform funeral ceremonies at such of the graves of the Kin Emperors as were still preserved. In 1631 he adopted the Chinese methods of administration; three years later he instituted examinations on the Chinese model, and founded schools and prizes for the study of the three languages, Mantchu, Mongol, and Chinese. In 1635, at the instance of Mongol and Mantchu princes, he consented to take the title of Emperor of China; and, though he died without designating a successor, the Tatar armies were still

victorious, and in 1642 Cai-fong-fu itself fell into their hands, after a siege in which the horrors of war were aggravated by flood and famine; human flesh was sold in the streets of the starving city.

Meanwhile the Chinese court was in danger from native rebels almost or quite as formidable as the Tatars. In 1643 the Imperial general was reduced to beg the assistance of the European Tang-ja-wang (Adam Schall), who understood the use of artillery and the construction of bridges of boats. In accepting the command, the general had counted on the private resources of his family and himself; but on arriving at the seat of war, he found all his possessions in the hands of the rebels, and had no means of paying his troops; no assistance was to be obtained from the imperial revenues, which were distributed by the eunuchs among their own families and supporters. His force was thus paralyzed, and Li-tse-ching, the rebel chief, pressed on victoriously to the gates of Peking.

In this crisis Hoai-tsong appealed to his remaining adherents for advice; some proposed abdication, others flight to Southern China, others thought posterity would condemn the weakness of both these expedients; but no voice at once loyal and vigorous was to be heard, and the unhappy Emperor could only wait in hopes of succour from without. Before this could arrive, panic and treason delivered the virtually impregnable capital into the hands of the rebels; and to save himself from capture, the last Emperor of the Ming hung himself by the girdle, having first traced upon his clothes a few characters in which he protested that his shortcomings alone were not to blame; the nobles in his service had betrayed him, by concealing the truth as to his affairs. His body was left to the mercy of his enemies; he only prayed that the innocent people might be spared.

Hoai-tsong was justified in complaining of the pusillanimity of his adherents, for even a loyal general in command of an army on the frontier against the Mantchus could think of no better way to avenge his master's death than to invite the Mantchus themselves to come and help him to defeat the rebel, offering as a reward not only gold, silver, and silk, but also a number of girls, "of which he knew the Tatars to be in want, to serve as wives for their young men." Li-tse-ching had proclaimed himself emperor, but made no attempt to hold Peking, and was in retreat when the Chinese army, joined by 60,000 Mongols and Mantchus, intercepted his passage. The victory of the allied forces was complete; but the barbarian troops, as might have been foreseen, declined to take their departure when it was won.

For eight years there had been no Mantchu emperor, only a Council of State, where all the princes sat in order of age. They now proposed to choose an emperor for themselves and China, rendering meanwhile due honours to Hoai-tsong as the last emperor of his dynasty. Li-tse-ching, the rebel chief, still called himself emperor; and the Chinese had invited a grandson of Chin-tsong to accept the throne, so that there was a choice of pretenders. But the Tatars had already got astute Chinese advisers on their side, or else the historian of the conquest has

been careful to give his record the colour most acceptable to the conquered, for the young Emperor is represented as protesting that it is not he, but the rebels, who overthrew the Ming Dynasty, and that he had only come to supplant the traitor and avenge and honour the memory of the last legitimate prince.

The distant provinces troubled themselves little about the whole affair, and it may be doubted whether any preceding dynasty possessed itself so quickly, and with so little serious opposition, of the whole empire as was the case with this alien house. The Ming pretender perished like the last representative of the Sung. An attempt was made to form a party for another prince of the same house who was strong in Fokien, and the alliance of the pirate chiefs of the coast was sought against the invaders, but with no better result than that of encouraging the most formidable of the pirates in his turn to covet the imperial rank. A militant Buddhist rallied the patriotic party for a time, but by 1649 all the serious rivals of the Mantchu Emperor were subdued, and the reigning dynasty entered on its career.

## CHAPTER XXII.

### *EDUCATION, ART, AND SOCIAL CHANGES UNDER THE MING.*

THE literature of the Ming Dynasty, in so far as it has been made accessible to European readers, does not throw much additional light upon the social and economic condition of the people. Philosophic historians, who had witnessed the expulsion of the Mongols, reproduced in picturesque language the doctrine of the alternation of growth and decay, which was already a commonplace in the time of Ssema-tsien. Nothing human can last for ever, and no human foresight can guard against the ever-varying dangers which prove fatal at last to each State or Dynasty in turn. Even the sages of antiquity had no thought of avoiding this doom of change, and were content if, by following truth and virtue, they might earn so much of the blessing of Heaven that the evil days were deferred to another generation.[1] This philosophy was not new in China, but some practical difference arises when, as now, it is professed by scholars who find in it an excuse for political inaction, instead of representing the conclusions of statesmen who, having done their best, discern with rational stoicism that even the best action has but a finite scope.

The history of the dynasty translated by the Abbé de la Marre gives more details than De Mailla's work respecting the struggle between the cultivating peasantry and the "agglomerators" of land in the 15th century, but unfortunately only half the work was completed, or at least published before the translator's death. Four lists of the amount of cultivated land registered for taxation were published under the Ming Dynasty: the first in 137[illegible] by order of its founder, and the others respectively in 1502, 1542, and 1582. The quantities show a surprising variation:[2] and it will be observed that the minimum is reached in 1502, just at the time when the revision of the salt monopoly, following the attacks upon agglomeration, began to encourage the industry of small cultivators.

Complaints of the growth of luxury and extravagance are met with from time to time, but at least as frequently at the beginning of the dynasty as

[1] [illegible] p. 224, 228.

| | |
|---|---|
| 137[illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] |
| 1582 | 7,013,076 |

[illegible]

later. For instance, we learn from a semi-political skit of the 14th century, that persons who gave dinner parties, of pretensions beyond their means, used to hire fruit for dessert, to be looked at, not eaten. A costermonger was reproached for selling oranges a year old, which had been carefully kept so as to look fresh and bright outside, though dry and withered within, and "only fit for show at banquets." The dealer admits the imputation, and defends himself by observing that they are not more hollow and worthless than the degenerate rulers of the State![1] The author of this apologue was attached to the fortunes of Hung-woo, so the custom in question may have prevailed under the Mongols or earlier.

As a measure of the extent to which the paper money of the Mongols had been depreciated before their expulsion, we are told that a pound of rice cost about 6*s.* in paper. One of the first measures of Tai-tsou-ming was to issue a new copper money with coins of five different values, but in less than seven years paper was again resorted to; the people were forbidden to use either gold or silver for purposes of exchange, and required to sell all they had to the Government at its own price in paper; while payment of taxes was received half in copper and half in the new paper, which was naturally soon discredited. According to the rates laid down for the purchase of gold and silver, the value of the former appears as 4 to 1—a much lower rate than prevailed under the Mongols, when it was more nearly 10 to 1; but as there is nothing to account for an increasing scarcity of silver, it is probable that the proportion fixed by the edict was purely arbitrary. Gold not being in ordinary use, either as money or merchandise, the commerce of the country was not threatened with disorganization because the holders of gold were, in effect, more heavily taxed than the larger class possessed of silver.

Copper continued to be cast, and worn-out paper was called in from time to time, though in 1450, by a supreme absurdity, the use of copper money itself was prohibited for a time. Base money made of tin was in circulation, and in 1467 the ordinance of Tai-tsou was revived, requiring the taxes to be paid half in copper and half in paper. In 1489 a special edict was directed against the Government officers and other rich individuals who speculated in the Government paper, as the capitalists of the Tang Dynasty had done in the copper money of the day. As the paper was virtually inconvertible, and, according to any sound financial system worthless, it is difficult to see what can have been the inducement to attempt operations in it. But paper money, however much depreciated, like copper money, however much debased, can be made at a pinch to serve the purpose of a medium of exchange: some such medium was necessary up to a certain point, though Chinese ingenuity reduced the necessity to a minimum. And the supply was liable to fall short even of the modest, irreducible demand, so that if the cultivators had to pay any part of their taxes in paper, the holders of it could make their own terms.

After this, nothing more is heard of the Ming paper, and little of cur-

[1] Giles, *Gems*, p. 226.

rency troubles, perhaps because the use, as at present, of uncoined silver for commercial purposes became general. In the middle of the 16th century, an emperor is reported to have said that each of his predecessors had coined copper money to the value of about £3,000,000 sterling, and that he proposed to issue three times that amount. No fresh issues of paper are mentioned, but the old ones seem to have remained in circulation till they died a natural death. According to M. Biot, an elementary arithmetic, published in 1593, speaks of the paper *tchao* and copper cash as both legal tender, though the examples given in the work are of such different date and origin that they give no reliable clue to their comparative value.

At and after this date various regulations were issued respecting the use of silver in small bars, from which it appears that all attempts to restrain the use of silver for exchange had been given up. And with the use of silver in all transactions of importance, of course the demand for copper became less clamorous; and the existing supply may have proved fairly adequate, when its use was restricted to the petty trading of the masses. The circulation of paper was not formally put a stop to until the present dynasty, but the subsisting solution, such as it is, of the currency problem must have been worked out gradually by the unaided ingenuity of the commercial classes during the last century and a half of Ming rule.

What is regarded as the flourishing period of the Ming Dynasty is shorter in proportion than that boasted by former lines. It closes soon after the reign of Yung-lo in 1426, and so comprises less than sixty years. Most of the edicts respecting the public Examinations and the imperial Colleges, which continue in force, date from the earlier years of this period. Immediately after his accession (1368), Tai-tsou founded an imperial college at the then capital Nanking, and in the following year he issued an edict for the restoration of provincial and departmental colleges. A decree of 1370, which is still in force, declares that "all places of civil officers, whether attached to the court or to the government of the provinces, must be obtained by passing the test of examination." This was repealed for a time in 1373, but definitely re-enacted in 1384 after a short experience of the drawbacks to promotion by favour. In 1375 village schools after the pattern of the Rites of Chow were required to be provided, but this decree was never completely carried out. In 1382 a slight alteration was made in the allowance of rice assigned for the maintenance of scholars and teachers in the different district colleges, and grants of newly confiscated lands were made to the latter, so that they might grow their own grain instead of receiving it periodically from the Government.

The [illegible] of 1384 show that the examinations had become purely literary: law, mathematics, riding, and shooting had dropped out altogether, [illegible] shown by the Emperor to revive the solemn [illegible] of the Chow, with a view to restoring the military spirit of the [illegible]. The first examination for the degree of Doctor took place at the capital in 1385, together with one of a more arduous character for admis-

[1] [illegible] those three first Tsin-sse, or doctors.

sion to the Han-lin College. Students from Corea, Cochin China, and Japan resorted to the imperial college, and the sons of officers stationed in the remoter provinces, like Yunnan and Sz'chuen, were allowed to send their sons to enjoy the same privileges as foreigners. Special apartments adjoining the Empress's side of the palace were assigned for the residence of wives and children of married students. The local colleges were allowed to send a certain proportion of picked scholars to the imperial establishment, and for some time the ranks of the official hierarchy were recruited to a considerable extent from amongst the imperial scholars, who were transferred to a sort of apprenticeship in the various departments, after which they were qualified for office without examination.

In 1391 Tai-tsou complained that the students learnt by heart stock pieces of composition, which they wrote out for the examiners as original; and the side entrance to office, through the administrative bureaux, had to be closed to prevent all the imperial students from deserting the colleges in favour of what they thought an easier road to preferment. Private examinations of the college students were held, and those who did best were allowed to compete in the general examination for degrees, while those who failed were beaten, reprimanded, or dismissed. In the middle of the 16th century the colleges seem to have suffered so much from the competition of unattached students assisted by local libraries, that edicts were passed for the suppression of the latter, but fortunately withdrawn before being executed.

The number of degrees conferred annually seems to have risen from 500 to over 2,000, and this number was sufficient to meet the wants of the administration. In the earlier years of the Ming Dynasty, any acting official could retire from his post in favour of his son and secure the reversion to him as a matter of grace. Both provincial governments and court places were so bequeathed, and officers' sons were also considered to have a special claim to admission at the colleges; but these privileges were gradually curtailed, and in 1595 some members of the imperial family were required to pass a regular examination before receiving office.

Another abuse, which increased with the financial embarrassments of the Government, was the bestowal of degrees in return for gifts of money or grain. In the middle of the 15th century a professor of the Imperial College protested against students being admitted to the college by purchase; and the continuator of Ma-twan-lin waxes eloquent upon the injury done to the public service when degrees, not merely honorary, but carrying with them eligibility to official employment, were bestowed upon men who have only frequented the market-place and cannot even understand the literary style. In the account of the first three Tsin-sse, or doctors, appointed by examination, it appears that each received a special title and had a special duty assigned to him in which his literary attainments would find full scope. The first on the list was employed to revise the works prepared for publication, while the second and third revise the official editions of works which have been published before. On this

occasion a fourth officer was also appointed as "Collector of documents."

Mention is made of an interesting foundation of the 16th century called the "Temple of emperors and kings;" it contained the tablets of all good emperors, irrespective of dynasty; the tyrants, enemies to liberty, and usurpers were excluded, —a rule of selection which, with appropriate modifications, probably prevailed in the analogous monuments of Egypt, like the famous tablet of Abydos of Seti I.

Art as well as literature profited by the internal peace which prevailed under the native dynasty, and the sites of the most famous porcelain works were fortunately at a safe distance from the disturbed frontiers. The china made during the reign of the usurper Yung-lo is counted as the third best of the dynasty. The reign of his grandson (1426–35) is the period from which the finest dates. Deep red and sky-blue vases, tea-cups of pure white with exquisite paintings, choice specimens of crackle and enamel and pieces of the most varied colour and design were produced by the artists of the day, and all were equally excellent of their kind. Imperial patronage contributed a good deal to the development of the art: a kind of porcelain known as "magistrates' china" being now made for the first time, by processes too costly to be tried at the expense of private individuals. Early in the Sung Dynasty (1004–7), pottery was first made at King-te-tching, the site of the present Imperial factory, which was established by Hung-woo in the second year of his reign.

All the famous artists of this period are known by name. One Lo (1426–35) was celebrated for his representations of cricket fights; and two sisters, the elder and the younger Sieou, excelled at the same time in making cups engraved with similar subjects. Between 1465 and 1487 two artists flourished, one of whom excelled in wine cups, while the other made jars ornamented with hens, or with a peony in flower above and group of hen and chickens like life below. Early in the following century, a governor of Yunnan obtained cobalt blue from foreign parts for twice its weight in gold; and the china of this period (1506–1521), known as Tchin-te, painted in blue, is justly valued by collectors.

In the middle half of the 16th century, 1522–72, an artist known as the veteran [illegible] was famous for imitations of the best work of the preceding century; his pieces were in request all over the empire. A little later, one of the most [illegible] artists of the dynasty settled at King-te-tching. The prices [illegible] are stated to have been [illegible] [illegible] in money, but this was either [illegible] [illegible] plates. We are told as [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] 10 [illegible] was given him for a copy of an ancient tripod, undistinguishable from the [illegible] single inspection.

In the same period another artist was famous for his reproductions of [illegible] of two brothers, who flourished early in the Sung Dynasty, and were famous for vases mostly of a pale blue

colour, but differing from each other in the enamel and crackle. Not less highly esteemed was the work of a poetical potter, who called himself "The old man who lives in retirement," a signature[1] which appears on all his works; some of these were of white egg-shell china, others brilliant red, some again blue, like those of the elder Tchang, but without crackle, and others purple and dead-leaf colour.

By a curious refinement of dilettantism, the colour of choice cups was designed to blend with that of the liquid for which they were used, so that the description of their beauties always specifies, not merely the colour of the cup when empty, but also the shade which appears when it is filled, with tea or wine as the case may be. The imitations of Chinese designs in Persian pottery, with vague scrawls to represent Chinese characters, probably belong for the most part to this dynasty; and their existence shows that the overland export trade in porcelain must have reached a considerable development, to introduce the fashion for forgeries in a country with a vigorous native art of its own.

It is a curious question, which perhaps a further investigation of Chinese texts might clear up, how far the Tatar clamour for official horse-markets was due to a falling off in the natural Chinese demand for them for use, or how far the use of horses was deliberately discouraged because the trade in them brought their aggressive breeders within the frontier. Other causes may have co-operated. Semedo remarks upon the substitution of litters for carriages about 1546,—the time when the latter came into use in Spain and Italy; and the Jesuits tell us that the palanquin was thought more dignified than the saddle. The age was on the whole one of peace and luxury, and Chinese officials no doubt were already adopting the sedentary habits which they still retain. On the other hand, population was increasing, and native economists may have begun to grudge to quadrupeds, especially those used only for war or ostentation, the food which is available for mankind.[2] The horse had never been generally used for agriculture, and the abuses connected with the official studs may have tended to discredit their use by private persons. But all these causes together seem scarcely sufficient to account for so considerable a change of old and widespread custom, as is involved in the disuse of wheeled carriages for pleasure and ceremony in a country with high roads.

The fact seems to be that the horse was never really naturalized in China. Semedo says that, though plentiful, they appear tame and spiritless; and our friend the anarchist, Chuang-tze, has explained why: "Horses have hoofs to carry them over frost and snow; hair to protect them from wind and cold. They eat grass and drink water, and fling up their heels over the champaign. Such is the real nature of horses.

[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible] Thomas Moore admits few horses to Utopia for this reason; and it will be [illegible] Egypt the use of carriage animals was long [illegible] The [illegible] was felt the more [illegible] which [illegible] foreigners [illegible] of feeding quadrupeds on "[illegible]" [illegible] rice was probably included, identical with those used for human food.

Palatial dwellings are of no use to them. One day Poh-Loh appeared, saying, 'I understand the management of horses.' So he branded them, and clipped them, and pared their hoofs, and put halters on them, tying them up by the head and shackling them by the feet, and disposing them in stables, with the result that two or three in every ten died. Then he kept them hungry and thirsty, trotting them and galloping them, and grooming and trimming, with the misery of the tasseled bridle before and the fear of the knotted whip behind, until more than half of them were dead. . . . Nevertheless, every age extols Poh-Loh for his skill in managing horses."[1]

If horses failed to thrive in the days of the Warring States, when waste lands were still plentiful, and grass not quite unknown, we scarcely need any further explanation of the mortality among them when the increase of population turned the natural wastes into corn and rice fields, and horses had to be shut up, not to please the fancy of their grooms, but because there was no place left where they could "kick up their heels" without damage. Whether it be that an exclusive diet of grain disagrees with them, and that, failing grass, horses must have hay, or that they cannot stand being stabled in the climate of China, it seems clear that it grew more and more difficult to keep them alive. They died fast and did not breed, so that the numbers required for use had to be kept up by importations from Tatary, Corea, and other less closely cultivated lands. Under the Tang Dynasty, a fatal epidemic, which destroyed many, was introduced by the animals brought in tribute by the Tatars and said to be the result of change of climate.

For some time, however, as we have seen, the horse trade with Tatary was not conducted on a purely commercial footing; while nominally paying tribute in horses, the Tatars were virtually receiving it in tea and silk; and while utilizing the horse fairs to obtain a footing in China, they had not the smallest desire to keep the empire efficiently supplied with the animals they claimed the right to sell. It was said that when the Yuen had to retreat before the founder of the Ming Dynasty, they actually had not horses enough for use in their flight; and if this was the case with the Mongols, who had made the care of their steeds an oppression to the people, much more would the number naturally decline under a pacific native dynasty.

The introduction of horses after the discovery of America led to a marked distinction between the Indian tribes with and without these animals; and, no doubt, a detailed history of China would show a variety of indirect consequences following from their disuse. The decay of the

[1] [illegible]

high roads is certainly one, which has produced injurious political results, and would threaten others, but for the counteracting influence of telegraph wires now, and possibly railways before long. Whether expedient or not, the change was almost a matter of necessity: the present enormous population of China could not be maintained at all, to say nothing of maintained at its present standard of modest comfort, were it not for the extreme economy in the use of the national food stuffs, rendered possible by the scarcity of large graminivorous live-stock.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

### *FOREIGN ACCOUNTS OF CHINA UNDER THE MING.*

A SUDDEN lull in the intercourse between China and the West follows the expulsion of the Mongols. The ravages of Tamerlane compelled the traders of Europe to seek an opening for their enterprise in other regions of the world than Central Asia. The power of the Turks formed another barrier, and we have to wait till the 16th century, when the attractions of the new Western continent began to pall, for a sort of rediscovery of China, as a great kingdom accessible by the Indian seas; followed by a slow and dubious recognition of the northern part of the kingdom, also accessible by land, as identical with the far-famed Cathay of Marco Polo and other early travellers.

The ambassadors sent by Shah Rukh, as previously mentioned, in 1419, state that two virgins stood on each side of the throne, with paper and pencils to take down every word spoken by the Emperor: a trait which recalls the employment of women in place of eunuchs at the end of the Tang Dynasty. Only one other report, of so much as second-hand authority, comes to us during the interval. A Venetian gentleman,[1] who first started for Tana in 1436, after long mercantile experience of these distant parts, was sent, in 1471, as ambassador to Persia. There he was told, in answer to inquiries, that Samarcand was the great mart for those who came from Cini, Macini, and Cataio. He himself did not proceed farther, but he heard from many that Chin and Machin were very great provinces, the place whence porcelains, silk wares, and such choice goods were brought. Through them you go to Cathay, and he was told by a Tatar ambassador, whom he saw afterwards at Tana, that, when you enter Cathay, all expenses of the merchants are defrayed and they are brought to a place called Cambalu, where they prostrate themselves before the lord, and tell their business, which is then referred to the nobles, who promptly settle it. The lord takes what he pleases of the merchant's wares, giving more than its value, and they sell the rest. "A land of liberty and great justice:" paper money is in use.

These rumours are only of interest as showing that there was no material change in the attitude of the Chinese Government towards such foreign traders as reached the empire, during this period of comparative isolation. The freedom of trade, enjoyed by Arabs and Italians under the Tang and Sung Dynasties, was not refused by China; it was only not claimed, on account of obstacles quite outside the reach of her influence.

[1] Ramusio, i. p. 100.

The commercial colonies of Mahomedans and Jews already settled in China were practically cut off from their countrymen and co-religionists, and were regarded as naturalized Chinese.

China had commerce enough of her own to thrive by, and the foreign ships were scarcely missed; but the habit of hospitality to sea-borne foreigners was interrupted in the South, just at the time when, from other causes, it seemed necessary to exercise a strict control of the overland traffic, which knocked at the Northern gate of the Empire. Had the trade of Western Europe and Asia been able to come in any volume by this route, the conditions of foreign traffic would have been regulated to meet its needs; as it was, though the Tatars were not absolutely the only traders desirous of offering a well-rewarded tribute, they were the nearest, the most numerous, and the most dangerous, and therefore the general course of trade was controlled in the way that seemed best adapted to keep the Tatars at once at a distance and in a good temper.

Portuguese ships rounding the Cape of Good Hope were the first to re-enter the China seas. In 1517 a fleet of eight sail reached Canton, bearing an ambassador, with presents for the Emperor of China. They passed peaceably through the Chinese naval force, then stationed outside the Canton River to protect merchant vessels from piracy, and the provincial authorities, though cautious, were not unfriendly. The Portuguese were allowed to dispose of their wares while awaiting a reply from Peking, as to the proposed embassy. This was delayed till 1520, and, meanwhile, the naval commander had been induced, by sickness among the sailors, to return to Malacca. Before his departure, he satisfied the claims of all Chinese creditors against members of the expedition, thus at once securing a reputation for good faith, which, if kept up, would in all human probability have established free trade with China three centuries and a half ago.

Unfortunately, a brother of the first commander, who was placed at the head of the second expedition, was a more typical representative of Portuguese commercial enterprise. He set at defiance all the laws and regulations of the country, despised its ceremonies, and while nominally desirous of establishing peaceful intercourse, actually displayed the greed of an invader and the insolence of a conqueror. Small wonder then that the emperor, who had just accomplished his visit to Nanking, was prepared to believe the warnings, which reached his viceroys from Bintang and Malacca, that the Portuguese sought to obtain admission as traders, in order that they might conquer China, as they had already conquered its tributary, the king of Malacca, and those parts of India in which they had obtained a lodgment. The suspicion was perfectly well founded. Portugal, Spain, Holland, and England in succession cast their eyes on China, as a finer prey than any to be found in the Indies, east or west; and the Chinese have only themselves and a wary Government to thank for their escape from the fate of Spanish America, British India, and the shorter-lived Dutch and Portuguese settlements.

The annals of Canton say that the king of Portugal, a country in the Western ocean, sent an ambassador to China in 1525, and another, with tribute, in 1528. The Memoirs of Mendez Pinto, whose buccaneering exploits date about 1540, are enough to explain why these new tribute bearers seemed to require to be as much kept at a distance as the Tatars. But with the best will in the world, their numbers were too small to make them really a formidable annoyance to the already enormous empire, and hence it is that the question, of admitting or excluding the Western islanders, occupies much less space in the official annals than the problem of tolerating horse fairs. Apart from the personal rhodomontade which has discredited them, the author of the Memoirs just referred to seems to be fairly veracious, so far as his Chinese experiences are concerned.

Piracy, with a slight flavour of commerce, was the profession of himself and the comrades with whom he entered the China seas. After various discreditable adventures, they were wrecked, after an attempt to loot an imperial cemetery, and it was in consequence of this mishap that they were able to see as much as they did of inland China. They endeavoured to make their way by road to Nanking, where they hoped to get a vessel for Ningpo, and as long as the foreigners were able to persuade the country people that they were unfortunate sailors and not pirates, they were helped on their way by private and public charity. In a town where the officials were more suspicious or better informed, they were arrested as bad characters, and completed their journey as prisoners. From Nanking they were transferred to the capital for judgment, and we are able again to view the Chinese highways with a European eye.

The interval that separates Chaucer from Shakespeare has made little difference to the Middle Kingdom. Pinto repeats the tale of all earlier travellers. China is "the country in the world most abounding in all things that may be desired. The roads and waterways are lined with great numbers of villages and little hamlets of two or three hundred fires apiece; woods and orange groves, plains of wheat, rice, beans, pease, millet, panic, [illegible] gardens and houses of pleasure [illegible]. In one town with a water supply that is supposed to yield the brightest hues for dyeing silk, he is told that there are 13,000 dyers at work, [illegible] taels [illegible] to the Emperor [illegible]. As they [illegible] the country grows more [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

the feathers, and so on. He notices the brisk trade in town sewage, by means of which, used as manure, their grounds bear three crops in a year. He recognises as one chief cause of the great wealth and commerce of China, the multiplicity of rivers and artificial waterways, to the construction of which ancient kings, great lords, and the people themselves have in all times contributed, so as to render the whole country navigable, and enable all parts to communicate and exchange the produce of their labour.

Even the pagodas help to promote traffic, for fairs and markets are free on religious festivals; and the temples, erected on the river banks to profit by the consequent concourse, enable the people to do their business and their devotion under one. He sums up, that after having seen great part of Asia, as well as his own country and other lands, he would set China by itself above the whole of Europe for abundance, riches, and magnificence, and most of all for the exact observance of justice, "for there is so well ruled a government in this country as it may justly be envied of all others in the world."

In 1560 the Portuguese obtained leave to rent a site for their factory at Macao, and before long 500 or 600 merchants of that nation were established there. By 1565 the missionaries had also effected an entry, and the zeal of the religious orders for the conversion of China was much stimulated by the reports of success already obtained among the similar people of Japan. Mendoza's history of China is a compilation, first published in 1585,[1] to which his own short residence in China enabled him to contribute comparatively little of his own knowledge. The process of making porcelain is not described amiss, and he mentions the use of large visiting cards, as now, and other since familiar characteristics.

Otherwise, he does little but summarize and combine the accounts given at first hand by Galeotto Perera and his fellow-captive, Gaspar da Cruz, a preaching friar, who resided in China between 1556 and 1569, and published an account of his experiences on his return to Portugal.[2] Da Cruz is probably to be identified with the over-zealous monk, who nearly got into trouble, according to Mendoza, by throwing down images in an "idol" temple, but saved himself by a rationalistic discourse on the impotence of idols, which should rather be expected to worship their maker, man, than conversely. He speaks of all the foreign traffic in Canton, putting together that of the Portuguese and all that came from Siam, as insignificant when compared with the local and national trade. Other writers dilate on the enormous revenue derived by the Emperor from the provinces; but he is more struck by the smallness of the individual taxpayer's contributions, the chief of which is a poll-tax of 9*d.*, paid by the heads of households for the members of their family.[3] It is a land where

[1] Translated by the Hakluyt Society. For an account of the trade with Cathay, by [illegible] (circ. 1500), see *Ro[illegible] Ha[illegible]*, pp. 320–30.

[2] In [illegible] *Ha[illegible]*, including many particulars [illegible] translated in *Pur[illegible] Ha[illegible]*, vol. iii.

[3] Mendoza puts the tax at about half as much again.

every one works, and all are free to enjoy and bequeath their own earnings as they please. Prices, it would seem, have not risen much since he wrote, for he speaks of shoes to be bought at from two crowns each to threepence; boots vary from ten crowns to two, and the good friar evidently regards the variation as a popular trait: "even the very poor may wear shoes."

He experienced the "great courtesy" of the Chinese in his own person, and apparently rather admired the custom of not receiving friends in "undress." He is introduced to the "somewhat bitter, red, and medicinal drink called Cha" (tea), and during his thirteen years' intercourse with the Chinese, certainly gained a degree of familiarity with their institutions and modes of thought, which must have made Ricci's task less difficult. One of his statements must be the less omitted because of its singularity; he says: "the merchants are commonly false, and lyars,"—a complaint which the Jesuits echo at rare intervals,[1] though their general evidence is the other way. Probably, such Portuguese as may have tried to engage in a cheating match with the idolaters, were left with a livelier sense of the moral obliquity of cheating as their sole gain from the adventure.

Mendoza's authorities have a tolerably clear understanding of the position of the literary class, or "a certain order of gentlemen called Loutea." Offices are given for merit, not descent; but, it is added, correctly, while the higher offices of justice are bestowed "after trial made of their learning," the lower posts in the administration, as of "constables, sergeants, receivers and the like" are given by favour. No man governs in his native place, or for more than three years, so that the king is well served without fear of treason. There are no nobles, as in Europe and Japan, except the emperor's kinsmen, and these are not allowed to take any part in public affairs. They take all possible pains to avoid condemning any to death, and it is thought cruel to issue more than six or eight death-warrants at a time, though prisoners liable to sentence of death, who are not executed, and who have no friends to pay for their support, are [illegible] allowed to die of starvation instead.

The system of reports to the Emperor, and of periodical visits of inspection by his delegates, is well understood, and the custom of offering all [illegible] in writing is also noticed.[2] The Mandarin [illegible] is compared to Latin, as the common language of the learned; but Tri- [illegible] the written character only [illegible] "universal language." According to Perera, the Government examinations and the periodical gaol deliveries [illegible] He was told [illegible] [illegible] for failing [illegible] [illegible] the Chinese courts; [illegible]

experience of both was gained as prisoners, their evidence is sufficiently impartial.

Apparently Perera's party had fallen under the suspicion, which in Pinto's case was justified, of being merchants in pretence and pirates in practice. They resisted by force the attempt made to capture them, and some Chinese were killed in the mêlée, so that there were two counts in the indictment,—first, that of piracy, and secondly, that of resisting the officers of justice. After the usual delays and exchange of letters with Peking it was decided that the Portuguese were honest merchants, and the officials who accused them unjustly of being otherwise were punished and disgraced; but the leaders of the resistance who had taken the lives of two Chinamen were found guilty of that offence, and sentenced to die whenever Chinese justice might find convenient.

Perera thinks that the great security of justice was the publicity of the trials; no witnesses would dare to perjure themselves *coram populo*; but he also describes with admiration how the "loutea," great men as they are, "be patient above measure in giving audience;" in another place he speaks of the Chinese as "more ready in their dealings, after their manner, than any other Gentiles or Moors." And it is probably to their own share of this "readiness," mixed with a little dignified self-respect, that the prisoners were indebted to the substantial justice they received. "We might say what we would," continues Perera, and notwithstanding the omission of the usual ceremonies (of prostration), "yet did they bear with us so patiently that they caused us to wonder, knowing specially how little any advocate or judge is wont in our country to bear with us."

Unknown men, however innocent, so accused in any town of Christendom, would, he thought, have had good reason to fear the end; but here they, in a heathen country, without interpreters or knowledge of the language, and accused by two chief officers of the place, "did in the end see our great adversaries cast into prison for our sakes and deprived of their offices and honours for not doing justice, yea, not to escape death, for as the rumour goeth they shall be beheaded."

All these writers understand that by Chinese law natives cannot leave, nor foreigners reside in the country, without a special license, hard and costly to obtain; but this seemed to be rather by ancient custom than immemorial law, and the attachment of the modern Chinaman to his pigtail shows that a custom can obtain more than the force of law during the reign of one dynasty.

The Augustinians and the Franciscans made abortive attempts to get a footing in the empire, which all felt sure of converting could they only reach it. Father Alessandro da Valignano, who was in charge of the latter expedition, describes the administration of the great Empire as going on so smoothly and easily as to resemble rather that of a small, well-behaved family than a large State. Idleness is tolerated in no class except the priests, and he observes, rather aptly, that though tolerated, their idleness is the chief reason of the contempt in which they are held. He notices

with surprise that after forty years' intercourse the Portuguese have made no progress, and are still confined to one part of Canton; and gives as a proof of the Chinese distrust or dread of foreigners that the Portuguese have not here, as elsewhere, succeeded in establishing any private relations of friendship with the natives; but it is perhaps an open question which of the two nations is most discredited by the fact.

In 15[illegible] and 1583, as already mentioned, the two first Jesuit missionaries arrived in China, and henceforward it is hardly necessary to look elsewhere, than in the records of that order, for side-lights upon Chinese customs and history. Matteo Ricci, the real chief and founder of the mission, had landed in 1583. His *Lehr Jahre* may be said to have lasted for ten years. In 1593 he adopted the dress of the literati; the first unequivocal sign of the intelligent sympathy which has made the Jesuit Fathers such valuable interpreters of things Chinese; and in 1601, by way of appropriate reward, his (Chinese) name meets us in the Annals. Europeans who flourish after 1648 cannot know, until the fall of the Mantchu Dynasty discloses the records of its historiographers, what the calm verdict of Chinese history will put on record in the way of "righteous decisions," concerning them and their deeds. A special interest therefore attaches to the brief mention made from time to time of Li-ma-teou (Matteo Ri) and his friends, showing exactly how much space in proportion the good Father occupied in his adopted country.

"At the second month of the year 1601,[1] the eunuch Ma-tang of Tien-tsin caused Li-ma-teou, a European, who had rare objects to offer to the emperor, to be conducted to court. The memorial of the eunuch" (asking permission to make the offering) "was referred to the Board of Rites, which replied: 'Europe has no relations with us and is not subject to our laws. The images or pictures of the Lord of Heaven and of a virgin which Li-ma-teou offers in tribute are not of great value. He presents a purse which he says contains the bones of immortals, as if the immortals, in rising to heaven, did not take their bones with them. Upon a [illegible] Han-yu said that such novelties should not be introduced [illegible] of evil consequences. We decide that these presents [illegible] accepted, and that Li-ma-teou should not be allowed [illegible] be sent back to his own country.'"

Notwithstanding this report, the emperor received the presents and [illegible] The fact is [illegible] [illegible] It was a [illegible] time were [illegible] [illegible] by this new [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of the "H[illegible]

and the foreigner who brought it was allowed to reside at the capital, so as to be at hand in case it should get out of order.

In 1613 the President of the Nanking Board of Works, a Christian convert, is said in the Annals to have recommended "certain strangers from Europe" as qualified to correct the calendar, which had got into such a state that eclipses of the sun and moon were not correctly foretold. This recommendation is reported without note or comment; but in 1629 a similar recommendation by another high officer, the Christian known as Paul in the writings of the missionaries, is followed by the nomination of four Europeans, whose names are given, as members of the Board of Astronomy, in which capacity, the annalist adds, "they distinguished themselves."

The account of the mission published by Father Nicholas Trigault, in 1615, is not exactly either a life of Ricci or a description of China; it is professedly based on Ricci's memoirs, and it may embody all the information he had collected, and it is at the same time the best account that exists of his personal work. Trigault gives some account of the Chinese classics and of "Confutius," and the honour in which his posterity are still held. Mahomedan astronomers were employed as well as Chinese; the whole art of medicine, he thinks, would be included in the European science of botany. But no one who is capable of "philosophy" would study either medicine or astronomy. The education of the young is carried on mainly by private tutors, not in public schools; and Semedo explains that unsuccessful candidates for degrees become teachers while waiting to try again. Rich families employ the successful licentiates who are still pursuing their studies with a view to the degree of Doctor, a dignity which those who take office at once are not entitled to go in for. The examinations are described at length. At the second examination of bachelors, the second day's task consists either of three essays on set historical questions, or a memorial to the Emperor as to the course to be taken in a case proposed.

The doctrine of the literati is described as the first of the three "religions" of the Chinese. This sect has no temples except that to Confucius; filial piety and the commemoration of ancestors are the cornerstone, but the ceremonies are intended for the benefit of the living rather than the dead. The aim of this sect and the purport of all its precepts is to secure "public peace, popular tranquillity, household economy, and the disposition of individuals to the practice of virtue." Ricci devoted himself to confuting the other two sects of idolaters (Buddhists and Taoists), but as to the literati, so far from blaming, he extolled their doctrine highly and gave warm praise to Confucius, who was silent concerning those things of which he was ignorant, such as a future life, and adjusted all the precepts of his law, to the regulation of the individual life, and the government of the family and the kingdom according to truth and justice.

These discoveries took time, and nearly ten years passed before Ricci and his companions abandoned the dress of the despised Buddhist priests. The use and significance of the Chinese "tones" does not seem to have

been understood till after the first visit to Peking, though it is evident that without such knowledge intercourse must have been carried on very much by guess.

Trigault's description of Chinese manners and customs is the first of those containing the full details which have become so familiar since. There has been so little change during three centuries that modern travellers might substitute a reference to his pages for most of their descriptions. The use of cotton, he was informed, had been introduced only about 400 years before, and that of tea also was not very ancient. As to the arrangement of native feasts, civilities, dress, new year's ceremonies, marriages, coffins, the duties of magistrates and censors, the superstitions of Feng-shwuy or geomancy, the state of arts and manufactures, and similar topics, Trigault forestalls Semedo and Duhalde, to say nothing of 19th century writers like Doolittle, Williams, and Archdeacon Gray, on most points as to which he and they had not already been forestalled by Da Cruz and Perera.

Trigault conjectures that the jealousy of foreigners dates mainly from the time of Mongol supremacy, while it was fostered by the Mahomedans at Canton, who did not wish the benefits of naturalization, obtained by themselves at the cost of expatriation, to be depreciated through their extension to non-resident traders. About 1618, when the attacks of the Tatars became menacing, the Portuguese offered to send a force of artillery to the emperor's assistance, and the offer was favourably regarded at Peking. Fortunately, however, for China, who has always military adventurers enough of her own, intrigues at Canton proved fatal to the project, and the mercenaries were dismissed with thanks and pay without having been employed.

While Ricci was still in the South, a memorial of the local elders was drawn up against the admission of foreigners, and produced an edict the politeness of which is a curiosity in the history of what passes for religious persecution. Ricci and his friends were considerately invited to return to their own country: he had not, it was explained, entered the Empire of China with any evil intent, and had not done anything contrary to the laws, yet he should not forget his own country, seeing that it is possible to [illegible] while it is not proper for a stranger to [illegible] of the vice royalty. Therefore, the edict [illegible] not unjust or discourteous to send him back to [illegible] to the expense he has been at in building houses, [illegible] but on the other hand, [illegible] him as alms, he cannot [illegible] Nevertheless [illegible] for his journey. I [illegible] the Viceroy in [illegible] so that [illegible] with be sent back to his own country [illegible] annoyed by R[illegible]

to accept the money; but, curiously enough, he did not insist on his going with or without compensation, and allowed him to settle somewhere else.

Ricci's introduction to the Chinese court has already been described. Ma-tang, the eunuch, who overruled the Board of Rites on the subject of his admission, had no more friendly purpose than to "squeeze" the foreigner, and get some credit with the emperor by introducing him to new toys. Such an introduction was calculated to strengthen the prejudice against the stranger entertained to begin with by the orthodox magistracy; but Ricci had the wit to free himself as soon as possible from the compromising patronage, and made his excuses, not unacceptably, to the learned. He reminded them that even the highest magistrates found it difficult to resist the undue influence of the eunuchs; what wonder, then, that a poor foreigner should be unable to avoid some breaches of propriety under the same pressure? In 1605 the Fathers were permitted to buy a house in Peking, and were actually allowed exemption from taxes like the literati.

The identification of Peking, the capital of China, with Cambalu, the capital of Cathay, was not effected till 1608, when the Jesuits in China received the account of their lay coadjutor's journey and death at the entrance of the empire. Benedict Goes started from India expressly to ascertain whether the Cathay, of which Mahomedan traders at the court of Akbar had so much to say, was a separate empire from the not less famous land of China, where the order had already established itself. He started on the journey across Central Asia in 1604, saw Khotan, till the other day, as then, "the most central and inaccessible State of all Asia."

At this time seven or eight of the kingdoms of Western Asia were allowed to send ambassadors to China, to the number of seventy-two every six years, who in return for their presents received money and more valuable gifts. A Mahomedan merchant told Akbar that he had been admitted in the character of an ambassador from the king of Cashgar. Trade was the real object of the embassies, and it was probably owing to his want of skill in maintaining the character of a merchant that Goes was delayed at the frontier, after he had learnt from a return caravan that he would find his brethren at Peking. The latter part of the journey between Turfan and Hami and the Chinese frontier was at this time considered the most dangerous, owing to the Tatar raids.

Goes was able to communicate with Ricci by letter, and a Chinese Christian was sent to meet him and arrange for his admission, but only arrived in time to comfort the gallant traveller's last days. Ricci compares the "palace of foreigners," where these mongrel embassies were lodged, to unfurnished sheep-pens, and he successfully established his own status as a private person, drawn to the capital by a disinterested admiration for the Emperor's virtues and the learning of the Middle Kingdom. His death in 1610, after some anxious negotiations, resulted in one of the greatest victories yet achieved by the mission. Somewhere or other within the empire, every person of condition has a share in some family burial-ground, to which, wherever he may die, his children will dutifully convey his coffin.

Intra-mural interments had long been forbidden by the sanitary intuitions of the law, and foreigners could not buy land outside the towns, any more than houses within them, without a license by no means to be counted on. It was therefore quite as difficult for a foreigner to be buried decorously in China as to reside there openly. After his death, Ricci's status as a friendly foreigner of eminence was again expounded by his representatives; the distance from his own country was shown to be such that his friends were not unreasonable in shrinking from the journey involved in bearing his remains to their proper resting-place among his own people; and out of regard for his personal character and these weighty and exceptional circumstances, the imperial sanction was given to his interment in Chinese soil. After the question of principle was decided the rest was easy, and a small farm, belonging to a disgraced eunuch, was given to the Jesuits for a burial-ground.

Semedo's account of China is dated from Goa in 1638;[1] he mentions a few traits that had escaped Trigault, but, like him, is substantially in accord with all later travellers. He admires the horticultural skill of the Chinese, and their use of hot water-pipes to force the growth of plants. The pleasure boats which abound on the lake Si-hou seem by his account to have been more usually private property than now. The very numerous barbers, he explains, are not employed to shave, but to comb and dress the hair, which both men and women allow to grow long, whence the name by which they call themselves, of "the black-haired people." He also notices those advantages of the Chinese method of block-printing which have since led to the adoption of the modern "stereotype edition." He contrasts, as other writers have done, the abundance of all things for use with the thrift that suffers nothing to be wasted, even rags and bones being carefully gathered and sorted for manure. He connects the low prices which prevail with the scarcity of money, and compares both with the state of things in the reign of John I. of Castille, or the old days in Portugal when, for one maravedi, worth six sols, six different things could be bought.

In the south of China, where commerce was most active, and money [illegible] prices, he observes, tend to rise. In large transactions, silver only is used as a medium of exchange, and its purity is care- [illegible] trifling provisions, he expressly says that base money is as good as the purest, which proves that under the Ming, as we [illegible]

Chinese agents did not always come to hand; but Semedo, on the contrary, met with kindness as well as honesty: for more than once, as strangers from a distant region, the Fathers had money lent to them without interest.

Our author endeavours to interpret the Chinese feeling as to the close connection between good manners and good morals. "They believe," he says, "that no virtue is more important than courtesy, an appearance of composure, and to do things with circumspection, reserve, and mature judgment, all which they express under all circumstances and at all times by the word Li." The maxim to which chiefly they attribute the duration of the empire is that which recommends that THE COMMUNITY SHOULD BE RICH, AND ITS MEMBERS POOR.

He goes on that, it is true, those who pass for rich in China would not be so considered in Europe; but, on the other hand, the poor are not so necessitous. Semedo enumerates three causes which facilitate the collection of the taxes in China, and these also are connected with the fundamentally democratic character of the Constitution. They are, first, "that the officers, great and small, are not so absolute as ours;" secondly, that "the cultivators live in the fields, not in towns or villages," by which perhaps he means that they live on the plots they till; and, thirdly, that the "houses are grouped in tens under a decurion," a phrase which no doubt includes all the system of administration by local elders, which has been in force more or less since the first inception of the Rites of Chow.

The conjectural estimates of the whole revenue of the Empire given by different Fathers do not differ much from the statistics of the Ming, published under the present dynasty. According to them, the money revenues alone may have amounted to about £14,000,000, though this statement is not of much use without a more exact estimate than can be made of the amount and value of the contributions in kind, which were, if anything, more considerable than under the Mongols. But in population and revenue the Ming empire was certainly far inferior to that of the Mantchus, and its palmiest days were far from witnessing such a development of wealth and population as took place in the 18th century.

Martini, who lived in China down to 1651,[1] may be counted among the authorities for the Ming period, though he wrote the history of the Tatar conquest. He occupies a sort of middle position between the first generation of missionary pioneers and the school of writers who, as Chinese students, produced the *Mémoires concernant les Chinois*, and as Christian missionaries, the Chinese volumes of the *Lettres Édifiantes*. He has a way of his own of summing up his impressions, though they agree in substance with those of his predecessors. He often thought that if the Great Wall had extended round the whole of China, the effect would be like that of a single well-built and populous city, "à raison que si vous sortez d'un lieu cultivé et habité, vouz entrez tout aussitôt dans un autre qui ne l'est pas moins." The Government of this wide city strikes him as resembling or copying "la conduite d'un ordre religieux bien étably;" and considering

[1] *Description Géographique de la Chine.*

how strict a control the Order of Loyola aimed at exercising over its members, it would be hard for a Jesuit to find a stronger expression to describe the reality and vigour of the administrative machine.

Martini's scholarship did not allow him to depend upon the letter of the Classics unassisted by oral information, and he is only repeating or commenting upon the commonplaces of good society when he says of his native friends: "Ils disent des choses fort relevées touchant les vertus, rapportant le tout au gouvernement de la république." The doctrine of the sect of the philosophers "teaches the exercise of public and private virtues, which they say ought to be cultivated for their own sake, without reference to external rewards. Virtue being the finest thing in the world, is a sufficient end in itself." The antique severity of the doctrine calls up reminiscences of Greece and Rome, but the Father quaintly concludes, the ancients never said anything "de semblable ni de meilleur."

Except from the Spaniards and the Portuguese, we do not receive any real information from European sources about China in the 16th or first half of the 17th centuries. Neither the English nor the Dutch had any success in their attempts to open an overland route. English ships do not seem to have reached the coast of China till the close of the 16th century, when the expedition under Benjamin Wood was repulsed, at the instance of the Spaniards, who denounced the English as "robbers." They were refused access on the ground of their being enemies of Spain, Spain not being an enemy of China—an objection raised again in the 18th century against Sir George Anson.

A Dutch embassy, projected before the Tatar conquest, succeeded in reaching the Court of Peking in 1656, and found that the change of dynasty had made little difference even in the *personnel* of the administration. Most of the civil officers with whom they came in contact were Chinese, and the final defeat of the mission was a triumph of courteous Chinese diplomacy. Adam Schall, the Jesuit astronomer, whom they found in high favour at court, was also suspected of using his influence and some Portuguese money to defeat their object. After performing the kotow and receiving the Emperor's presents, which were not of very great value, the Dutch were asked if they could come every three years to do homage. They offered to come every five years if they were allowed meanwhile to send four vessels regularly to trade with Canton; but at this the Chinese officials, in professed concern for their long and dangerous voyage, suggest that once in nine years will be often enough for them to come, this kind of homage not carrying with it leave to trade *ad interim*.

Finally they were told that it was contrary to Chinese custom to allow foreigners to trade, and the fact that such liberty was not expressly asked for in the Ambassador's credentials was acutely seized on. The party was compelled to start on the homeward journey within two hours after receiving the Emperor's official letter of reply. In it, with much politeness, and out of consideration for the risks and sufferings to which they and their vessels would be exposed upon such long and dangerous voyages,

the emperor declined their request, and they were invited instead, if they still desired to send to his country, to do so only once in nine years, and with a party of not more than twenty men, who should be allowed to come to his court, while the rest of the expedition and the merchandise should be securely lodged on shore at Canton. Thus the Dutch returned *re infecta*, after spending 30,000 taels and prostrating their burly forms at the feet of the indifferent Tatar.

The Government of China in the 17th or 18th century was no doubt sincerely unable to understand what there was offensive to European powers in its pretensions.

The princes, who acknowledged the authority of a strong king of one of the first Chinese dynasties, were originally local or tribal chieftains, who joined or adhered to a loose national federation for the sake of the protection the central power could give to outlying branches scattered among barbarous or hostile tribes. The accession of strength was reciprocal, and the reality of the tie between the suzerain and his feudatories is proved by the importance attached in the earliest classics to the regular visits of the princes to the royal court. The etiquette concerning the reception of tribute-bearers was thus fixed at a time when the tributary princes were for the most part of Chinese nationality, and the alien ambassadors only represented really barbarous tribes. The etiquette established for such receptions is as old as the Chow Li, and until European ambassadors understood in what character they were supposed to approach the Chinese Court, they could not explain clearly and convincingly in what particulars the supposition was erroneous. And, at the same time, till the Europeans had explained their own view of their own position, China could not be expected to understand in what respects the modern foreigners from the West differed from the tributaries and barbarians of antiquity, and from the dangerous barbarian neighbours of recent history.

As the proposed adherence to an unsuitable etiquette has been one great obstacle, in the way of intercourse between China and the kingdoms of the West, it becomes evident that the course of European trade in the present century has been materially influenced by the course of Chinese history 3,000 years before. A demonstration, on the one hand of the natural solidarity of mankind, and on the other an argument for including the ancient history of all the nations in the world in the curriculum of a diplomat's education. The orginal claims of the Court of China are reduced by the translation of the Chinese Classics, to the harmless proportions of an historical survival, archæologically interesting rather than politically offensive.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### *THE MANTCHU DYNASTY CALLED TSING.*

1644 - * * * *

THE date given for the accession of the first Mantchu emperor of China, known as Shun-chi, is 1644; but the Mantchus, not improperly from the Chinese point of view, count his father and grandfather respectively as the Tai-tsong and Tai-tsou of the dynasty. Of course the official history of the reigning house has not yet been published, but the emperor known as Kang-hi (Profound Peace) had some memoirs compiled, which reach down to 1708; and from 1702, De Mailla, who carries the history down to the accession of Yung-ching in 1723, was an eye-witness of the events he records. His editor compiled an account of the following reign, and there is no dearth of materials for the long period Kien-lung (Protection of Heaven), which brings us almost to the beginning of the present century.

As in the time of the Mongols, the South of China held out longest against the new rulers. The defeated officers, who remained faithful to the fallen dynasty, were put to death if they refused allegiance to the conquerors; but their scruples and the feelings of their descendants were so far respected that, after the execution, they were interred with honourable ceremonies. In 1651 the Emperor began to govern without a regency, and ordered the Six Boards to have their numbers doubled, so that there should be a Mantchu and a Chinese in every post. The next year literary examinations were held, and the granting of degrees for bribes was severely punished. In 1654 Adam Schall, who stood high in the Emperor's favour, "presented" a system of astronomy, which was ordered to supersede that of the Mahomedans.

In 1656 an embassy from Russia, desiring leave to trade, was refused audience because the members of it refused to perform the customary prostrations, or to accept the status of vassals. Two years later the Grand Lama was allowed to do homage at Peking, the Chinese emperor having acquired, through the accession of the Mantchu reigning house, a curious sort of protectorate over the established church of Tatary. In the same year the last recognised scions of the Ming Dynasty were put to death, and the Lamas, who had been expelled under the later Chinese emperors, applied for leave to return and resume possession of their foundations. The young emperor fell under the influence of these sectaries, but died at

an early age, it was said from grief at the loss of one of his wives, at whose tomb thirty officers, who had volunteered for the purpose, were sacrificed, in accordance with the barbaric Tatar custom, formally abolished in the next reign.

The new Emperor, better known to Europeans by the name of his period, Kang-hi, than by his own name, Shing-too, was a child of eight at the time of his accession, 1662. Four regents were at once appointed, who proceeded to banish eunuchs from the palace, and passed a law forbidding their elevation to offices and honours. Throughout the preceding reign a kind of informal alliance had existed between the adherents of the Ming Dynasty and the bands of pirates who harassed the Chinese coast. The most famous of these, Koshinga, who recovered Formosa from the Dutch, might at least receive the title of privateer, as his loyalty to the native rulers withstood tempting offers from the regency; while his successes enabled him to command a fleet much superior to anything possessed by the Government. Accordingly, in 1663, an heroic remedy was resorted to, and for 30 *li* inland the coast was laid waste, so that the raids of the pirates might be rendered unprofitable. At the same time all foreign traffic was prohibited, except through Macao, where the Portuguese were tolerated on condition of turning their still dreaded firearms against the rebels.

In the following year a petition was presented against the indulgence shown to Christians, and, especially, the exaltation of Schall to the Presidency of the Mathematical Board. A majority of the regency were in favour of his degradation. In 1666 the thirteen-year-old emperor was declared of age, and very shortly began to govern as well as to reign. In 1669 the new president of the mathematical board wished to restore the old system of calculation. The emperor proposed a test, and the Christians alone succeeded in pointing out where the shadow would fall at noon on the following day, and in calculating the exact date for past eclipses. Schall's successor was accordingly banished, and his own name rehabilitated.

It was further decreed that the Christian religion was not bad in itself, and might be professed freely by the Europeans, whose duty it was to continue in the faith of their ancestors; only—as the Chinese had exactly the same duty towards *their* ancestors—the Europeans were not to preach the foreign creed to them. Father Verbiest was appointed to succeed Adam Schall at the Mathematical Board, and the young emperor studied astronomy, geometry, trigonometry, and European music under his guidance. Unlike his father, Kang-hi had no leaning towards Buddhist or other superstitions, and his interest in the Europeans at his court, like his concern for Chinese literature, was perfectly rational and scientific.

In 1689 two of the missionaries were employed as interpreters during the negotiations, carried on in Latin, with an embassy sent by the Czar of Russia, to fix the boundaries of the two empires, and, if possible, to secure leave to trade. Father Gerbillon and his colleague succeeded in effecting an amicable settlement satisfactory to both Governments, as the Russians

obtained leave to trade, and the Chinese secured the demolition of a fortress menacingly near their frontier. A college was founded for the training of Chinese youth in Latin, to act as interpreters in future dealings with the Russians, but did not meet with much success. In 1692 Kang-hi was cured of an obstinate fever by the missionaries' quinine, and the high-water mark of Chinese toleration was reached in a decision, which received the Emperor's approval just seven years after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes: it was to the effect "that all places of religious worship in the empire should be allowed to remain, and any one who likes permitted to pray and burn perfumes in them without molestation."[1]

Kang-hi was fond of making the Fathers talk to him about Europe, and the half-ironical remarks, which they attribute to him, seem to show that he was better informed than they imagined as to the relations of Church and State in our Western wilds. But Christianity as a religion did not interest him: he probably agreed with his predecessors in regarding it as "a kind of Fo religion," which was no recommendation to a prince who had condescended to translate the diatribes of Han-wen-kung into Tatar, and there were no diplomatic reasons, such as made him anxious for the friendship of the Talai Lama, to weigh in its favour. The reports sent by the Jesuits to Europe were naturally not altogether exempt from the hopeful reticences common in most missionary correspondence; and they failed to convey to the ecclesiastical powers of the West any true idea of the extreme precariousness of their position, and the humiliating parallels used to justify the tolerance extended to them.

On the other hand, the Orders, who had not as yet established a Chinese mission, and notably the Dominicans, accused the Jesuits of showing too much indulgence to the native heresies of the Chinese; and we find, in 1700, the acclimatized Jesuits trying to defend themselves against the suspicions of their rivals, by appealing to the Emperor, to declare whether their interpretation of the Ancestor Worship of the Chinese, and the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth, is correct or not. They profess to have understood that the latter were not offered to the visible sky, but to the supreme [illegible], maker and preserver of heaven, earth, and all that they contain: [illegible] they interpreted the Rites concerning ancestors to indicate the [illegible] and [illegible] desire to preserve the memory of the [illegible] by their [illegible]. The Chinese were not given to theological hair-splitting, and [illegible] reading of Chinese doctrine as correct; but the [illegible] were not satisfied, and considered the expressions [illegible] which in fact they clearly condemn the Gentile [illegible] of Chinese ancestor worship.

The [illegible], however, promptly accepted by the Tribunal of Rites [illegible] 1702, when [illegible], who had forbidden the erection of a new [illegible] Nikan [illegible], he was referred to the edict as a proof [illegible]. But the [illegible] of controversy [illegible] Chinese [illegible] of propriety. It will be remembered [illegible]

bered that when their own men of letters grew violent and embittered over the controversy between the disciples of the Innovator and the school of Choo-hi, the Emperor was appealed to to restore order and peace by silencing both sides impartially. And the wrangling of foreign sectaries could not meet with greater toleration. Accordingly, a change took place: in 1706 an edict was published, banishing all the missionaries from China who had not special license to remain, which was granted only to those who undertook never to return to Europe, and to approve of the Chinese ceremonies which had been attacked.

There was some delay in enforcing this decree, for in 1717 a Canton official memorialized the Emperor on the danger arising from the presence of the Hong-mao, of different kingdoms, but all alike barbarous. The memoir was referred to the tribunals, and, on their report, it was again decided that only missionaries who had received express license to reside in China should be allowed to remain; the rest were to be banished, the churches destroyed, and the Chinese converts, who refused to repent and renounce their errors, punished as severely as those who sell rice for export in the South. This parallel is, of course, an intentional reminder that the real objection to the foreign creed lies in the double allegiance it involves; it is as bad to receive orders from without, to control the action of Chinese subjects, as it is to supply the foreigner with food, that may be required for the support of natives.

In 1720 a papal legate was sent for the second time to China, in order to explain to the Emperor what concessions the Pope was prepared to make in regard to the national rites of the Chinese. He was courteously received; but, at his fourth interview, the Emperor expressed surprise at the trivial nature of the foreigners' disputes. With the elaborate suggestiveness of Chinese diplomacy, he went on to intimate that, perhaps, if the Chinese understood the customs and literature of Europe, they might not think the European pictures of winged men (*i.e.* angels) as ridiculous as they did. But, if it were thus impossible for the Chinese to form a proper opinion about European angels, how could the Pope form one about Chinese rites?

Personally, Mezzabarba made a favourable impression on the Emperor,[1] who begged him to come back again with a good doctor and the best European books, especially on mathematics. But the endorsement added with the vermilion pencil to the papal message was uncompromisingly severe: "Ignorant and contemptible Europeans, naturally incapable of apprehending the great doctrines of China," were blamed for their sectarian violence, like that of the Ho-chang and Tao-sse, and forbidden to preach their doctrine, which can only be a source of strife and confusion.

The Jesuits did their best to dissociate themselves from the anti-Confucian zeal of their rivals; nevertheless, they too may have fallen in the

[1] John Bell, of Antermony, who had accompanied a Russian embassy to Pekin, saw [illegible] there, and was especially impressed by the activity and kindly manners of the [illegible] emperor.

emperor's opinion, as men possibly disloyal to the orthodoxy of their own people. Kang-hi was shrewd enough to guess that European Catholics, in their native lands, ought to agree with the Pope; and when that potentate disavowed the Jesuits, it became natural to look on them as a sort of Western Tao-sse; while in the absence of any proselytizing zeal on the part of the Chinese, they received little credit for merely being less dense than the legate in appreciating the truths of Confucianism.

In his personal dealings with the accredited missionaries, Kang-hi showed the most delicate consideration for their religious scruples, but this was rather as a matter of politeness or good breeding than religious toleration. He refused the request of the Great Lama to have his portrait taken by one of the Europeans, without consulting them, lest they should have scruples about painting an idolatrous priest. From a similar scruple he would not ask the musical Father to give an opinion about the performance of a female harp player. And he was careful to explain, when ordering the preparation of a Mantchu version of an anatomical treatise, that two experienced physicians should be associated with the Fathers, lest they should have religious difficulties in dealing with any part of the subject; though, as he hastened to assure them, the language was not wanting in terms of proper modesty, while the work would only be in the hands of professionals, and not be seen by young persons or the general public.[1] Under these circumstances the despatch of the Archbishop of Tournon, who reached Canton as Legate *a latere* in 1704, with a pontifical decree condemning the Chinese ceremonies, was resented—not as a heresy, but as a breach of good manners—suggesting that the emperor's own courtesy had been thrown away on irreclaimable barbarians. The decree in question was published in 1707, and the archbishop, who had been personally well received, was detained a prisoner at Macao till 1710, when he died, partly, at least, of hardships, which were not diminished by the news of his elevation to the Cardinalate the year before.

Of course, the above incidents would occupy but a small place in the native annals; but the long reign was, on the whole, fortunately free from great historical events. In 1673, a Chinese governor, who had early pronounced in favour of the Mantchus, headed a rebellion in Yunnan, and published a new calendar, which he sent into the neighbouring tributary kingdoms. In 1675, there were threats of a Mongol revolt and invasion; and a year or two later, the Eleuths, who in the previous reign had been permitted to pasture their flocks west of the Hoang-ho, showed similar signs of insubordination. The Emperor claimed a kind of protectorate over all these Tatar tribes, and the friendly relations kept up with their spiritual chief, the Taki Lama, were intended to enable him the better to keep the peace between them. In 1681, the loyal Mongols were exhorted by the emperor to organize a sort of militia to defend their flocks and territories. They [illegible] from the Treasury a large sum to discharge [illegible] by soldiers at Peking, and [illegible] the landing

[illegible]

of money to them in future; while, to ensure obedience to the enactment, such loans were declared to be non-recoverable.[1] He was always afraid of the military virtue of the Mantchus degenerating in South China, and was careful not to leave his officers long on duty there. Diplomatic and military campaigns, frequently conducted by the emperor in person, continued for a number of years,—in fact, till after the death of the Eleutian chief, Kaldan, in 1697.

During all this time the range of Chinese influence was being steadily extended; and the chief's jealousy of Chinese encroachments showed itself by the inquiry why the emperor had sent his young men to the Tanguts, to learn their language. The ambassadors replied that it was for love of knowledge, the acquisition of which gives pleasure, like that of a man retiring joyously from a great feast. But it is none the less true, that Chinese delight in this particular branch of learning is apt only to show itself under the strong dynasties, which count the greater part of Asia among their tributaries. Even the aggressions of their rivals redounded to their gain, as in 1714, when the chief Eleuth king, a representative of the old Mongol Dynasty, invaded Tibet, contesting the authority of the lamas, who at once proceeded to invite—and to obtain—Chinese protection.

Kang-hi wrote notes of his travels for his son, and in 1696, particularly, he was much struck with the civilization of the Ortos, among whom the true old Mongol customs had been preserved. Thieves, he observes, were unknown, though horses and camels graze without keepers; and if one strays, the finder restores it to the owner, without asking or expecting a reward. In 1707 he visited the Southern provinces, but resolved not to do so again, because they were impoverished by the cost of his magnificent reception. Private persons were forbidden to hang their houses with silk on such occasions, and the expenditure of the localities was limited, while the Emperor himself spent money freely on the embankments and canals; but it was difficult to get the royal preference for economy believed in or acted upon. On his return, as a cheaper and not less effective way of acquainting himself with his domains, he ordered a map of the empire to be prepared, upon which the licensed missionaries were employed, and which for long continued to be the only authority for Chinese geography.

It was a matter of course that in so long a reign periods of temporary or local dearth should occur. In 1684 the regulations for an official system of grain transport were published, and, having been re-edited in 1818, are presumably still in force. The *Lettres Édifiantes* speak, in 1699, of distributions of rice by the Emperor extending as far as Corea; and in 1704 there was a scarcity during which he employed the missionaries, to some extent, as almoners, and required voluntary contributions or benevolences from his courtiers. That the Kang-hi period was on the whole one of social as well as political prosperity is, however, proved by the rapid increase in the population, which was itself one of the causes adding to the ruler's anxiety

[1] In Amyot's time the credit of the Mantchus was good, so they did not profit by the edict to repudiate their obligations.

in relation to the food supply. In 1717 the export of rice, in Chinese vessels trading with the South, was forbidden, under penalties, as already mentioned, similar to those inflicted on foreign perverters of the ancestral national faith.

The Ming Shi, or official history of the preceding dynasty, was begun by order of Kang-hi in 1696, completed in 1725, and solemnly conveyed to the "Palace of Imperial History." The Imperial dictionary, constantly referred to by Chinese scholars, was compiled by the Han-lin College, under this emperor's orders; and he himself published, at the age of sixteen, sixteen maxims on the Art of Government, each consisting of seven characters only, which, with the amplifications and comments added by his son and successor, Yung-ching, form the well-known Ching-yu or Sacred Edict.[1] The Jesuits were required to translate for him anything of interest in the latest memoirs of the Académie des Sciences, at Paris; and by his desire Father Parennin translated an anatomical treatise into Mantchu. One of Parennin's letters contains an interesting account[2] of the discussions they held concerning the comparative merits of European languages and characters, and Chinese and Mantchu. The emperor's remarks are those of an intelligent and well-educated linguist, and he was able to justify some partiality for his native tongue by pointing out its richness in special terms, *e.g.* a dog of a particular age, colour, and breed is described by a separate single term; and so with a number of objects which would have to be designated in other languages by the use of several words.

The porcelain manufactures had suffered somewhat during the Tatar invasions in the middle of the 17th century. Under Kang-hi, the director of the imperial manufactory introduced an oleaginous clay, of which vases of different colours were made—green, yellow, uniform and sprinkled; and azure, pale yellow, green and violet enamels were also used; and red and blue *soufflé*. In the next reign, an inspector of sluices, or waterworks, named Nien, was put in charge of the imperial ceramics. The work done under him was delicate and highly finished; some with flowers, painted or engraved, and some of a silvery white. In 1728 a manufacturer, famous for his skill in imitating the ancients, came to King-te-ching, and was associated with Nien. In 1730 he was put for eight years by Kien-lung in charge of the bridge-tolls of the Hwai, and then over the customs of Kiangsi. He went in for science, as we should say: was cunning in the qualities of different earths and materials, and invented various enamels. He also published, by order of the emperor, twenty-two plates, illustrative of the different processes used in making and decorating china, with the necessary explanations, the text of which, with the plates, is given in M. Stanislas Julien's work.[3]

[1] [illegible] 1877 [illegible]

[2] [illegible] 1781.

[3] [illegible] p. 225 [illegible]

Kang-hi died in 1722, and received the posthumous title of "Gracious," or "Benevolent." He had shown one personal weakness in declining to appoint a successor; and even refused to appear on his birthday in the preceding year, because he had been annoyed by requests that he would do so. His eldest son had been put to death for plotting, and parties had been formed in favour of a ninth and fourteenth son, both of whom were now exiled and imprisoned.

Yung-ching, the fourth son, was forty on his accession; he had previously shown some leaning towards the Tao-sse; but as Emperor, he professed rigid orthodoxy. The misfortunes of his brothers were of purely dynastic origin; but some of the Jesuits seem to have been implicated in party intrigues in favour of other princes during the late reign, and some of the exiles were converts to Christianity. The two circumstances naturally went together and explain each other, for the Europeans would naturally wish the succession to fall to the prince who showed most favour to their doctrines; but they also explain the disfavour into which the Europeans and their law now fell.

Various edicts and memorials were published, in which the waste of money on churches, the discouragement of marriage,[1] the use of the confessional, especially by women, and the appearance of the latter at church, in mixed congregations, were denounced as gross moral scandals. The erection of new temples was forbidden to the members of other superstitious sects, the Ho-chang and Tao-sse; but, by a scruple seldom felt by religious persecutors or reformers, the Chinese held that the churches, having been erected by the people, should only be used for their benefit. The buildings ought to be secularized; but the materials could not be applied to the repair of official tribunals, but must be used for granaries, schools, halls for ancestral worship, or similar social objects.

The missionaries complained that over 300 churches were given over to the unbelievers, and turned into schools, colleges, town halls, and public granaries; while, by an amusing application of the doctrine of *cy-près*, one church, of St. Mary the Virgin, was converted into a hall in honour of a famous widow. Sometimes they succeeded in bribing the officials of the Record Office to produce Kang-hi's edict of 1692, when referred to, instead of that issued in 1706; but this expedient was seldom available, and the Europeans, who had not received permission to stay and make themselves useful at court, were repeatedly warned to leave the country.

An honorary title was given to Father Kegler in 1725, in order to enable him to appear decorously at court, as President of the Board of Mathematics; but it was not a sign of special favour, as several eunuchs received the same decoration. Yung-ching at this time received another embassy from the Pope; and in the reply, which was sent with presents, he observed, with admirable self-complacency, that he had been very kind to the Euro-

[1] Of the edicts against fill Iplacy, that of not leaving dessendants is the chief of 17[illegible] [illegible] No. 1, 343 [illegible], p. 353: it is said that a church cannot cost less than 2,000 or 3,000 taels, say £400.

peans settled in his country, had taken pains to instruct them and teach them the duty of submission to their superiors, of treating their equals with moderation and courtesy, and of curing the defects of their restless and turbulent temperament by cultivating a becoming tranquillity!

In the same spirit the Emperor condescended to instruct his officers as to the proper way of dealing with a Mantchu Christian. "Heaven" and "the Lord of Heaven" mean the same thing—every nation does honour to Heaven; but each have their own way of doing it. No one desired to interfere with the convert's worship; but a Mantchu ought to worship Heaven after the rites of his people. If he refuses to do so, he is wrong; he may even have the malignity to argue that he will be put to death for his disobedience, and thus cause the emperor to be blamed, as if he was condemned for disloyalty like his father's. Thus instructed, the nobles proceeded afresh to reason with the convert. "You say that the doctrine of the Europeans teaches you to rule your heart and spirit. Is not that just what the writings of our ancient sages teach? You say that the Lord of Heaven was born among men for their salvation 1,700 years ago, but long before that time, in the days of Yao and Shun, when the law of the Europeans did not exist, the worship of Heaven was known among us. Can you dare to deny it?"

Conclusive as this reasoning must have seemed, we gather that the inquisitors were creditably loth to hand over to the secular arm any Christians who were able to reason temperately in their own defence. Thus a Christian graduate of the preceding century was allowed to have the last word when he objected to the customary sacrifices, on the ground that to suppose the spirits would confer benefits, in return for offerings of meat and drink, is to have a worse opinion of them than of the most covetous official.[1]

The misfortune of the missionaries was that they felt obliged to begin their propaganda with the outlines of "Gospel history," which had neither interest nor charm for ethical atheists like the literati. If they had been able to drop their theological foundations, and go straight to the masterpieces of devotional psychology, like the "Imitation," or even the finer works of the Casuists, the candid Chinese mind would have been touched, and the literati, who did not share Kang-hi's taste for science, would have recognised the value of European contributions to what they regard as a higher line of thought.

The will published in Kang-hi's name by his successor is not supposed to be genuine; but whether it was composed by the father or the son, it is equally available as an illustration of the sentiments supposed to be becoming to a famous sovereign at the close of his career. He admits that by comparison with the rulers of the three first dynasties, he has not succeeded in [illegible] plenty to every family, and the necessaries of life

[illegible] forth in the *Li Ki*, [illegible]

to every individual. Still he had laboured to secure peace throughout the empire, and contentment among all his subjects; he had not uselessly squandered the blood of his people or the treasure of the empire, but had only taken what was necessary for the armies, and to give help in famine. He claimed also that his dynasty had obtained the empire more righteously than any of its predecessors. Yung-ching, who produced this document, professed to conduct his administration upon the same principles.

In 1724 he reduced the taxes paid by some over-burdened towns, and gave grain to districts suffering from drought in the South; while rebuking the officers who wished to set up monuments to his generosity, which might be the occasion of fresh exactions. In one province 196,000 bushels of rice were distributed; and as it was estimated that 120 lbs. of rice would feed 100 people for one day—or 200 if made into rice water—the donations represent something like three months' rations for 50,000 families. On the threat of drought in a province, the emperor shut himself up in the palace and fasted till rain began; and then published an edict on the connection between the sins of man and the judgments of heaven, drawing the antique moral, that when calamities befall, men should attend to their conduct, and mortify and correct themselves.

In the next year there were excessive rains in the North, which caused distress; and Yung-ching thereupon exhorts his officers to let him know what help is needed, and to be active in distributing it. He knows that there is often injustice in such distributions; but he will keep a look-out against corruption, and warns them to do the same. At this time 40,000 paupers made their way to Peking, and received official relief, the Emperor instructing his officers to wink at the breach of the standing police regulations against giving house-room to strangers.

At the end of four months, when it was time for agricultural work to begin, the refugees were drafted back to their native districts, and committed to the charge of the local officers, with orders to enable them to cultivate their own land if they had any; and if not, to employ them on useful public works, or to see them started at some trade. They were conveyed at the public expense, by land or water, according to their destination, and received an ample allowance to buy food during the journey, besides a final donative of a tael to every adult, and half that amount to children; but any person who claimed the gift wrongfully was to be punished. Those who had no land were expected to find employment on imperial works, or as porters, labourers, or in petty commerce; none were to be allowed to remain idle. Meanwhile public notice was given that the distribution of rice at Peking had ceased, and officers on the road were instructed to turn back any who were making their way to the capital in the hope of sharing in its bounties.[1]

After this the emperor arranged for the regular distribution of rice to 6,000 poor in Peking every winter, apart from special distress. The officers

[1] The history of Yung-ching's reign was compiled by De Mailla's editor, M. le Roux des Hautes-rayes, De Mailla's work ceasing with the death of Kang-hi.

employed gave away damaged grain; but the emperor had samples of it brought him secretly, and found some of it entirely rotten, not rice, but dust and earth; while of the greater portion not more than 30 to 40 per cent. was good. He then harangued against such a misrepresentation of his commands, and ordered 100,000 measures of the best rice to be taken from his stores and conveyed, with as much more as a special donative, at the expense of the peccant officers, to the needy districts. With characteristic allowance for practical exigencies, he adds that if all the rice cannot be excellent, at least not more than 30 or 40 per cent. of damaged must be allowed to pass.

Complaints were made of over-population and distress in Yunnan and Kwei-chow,[1] while there were many waste lands paying no tribute. To remedy this evil it was announced that any one reclaiming the said wastes should acquire a good title to them, and hold them tax-free for six or ten years, according to their quality. Honorific titles were promised to wealthy persons advancing to destitute cultivators the means of living and cultivating for the first year; but in these cases land tax was paid from the first. On the other hand, persons of means and literary rank were allowed to gain a step without examination, and to acquire a good title to land which they brought under cultivation at their own expense, though this land also paid tribute from the first. Apparently twelve ounces of silver was the capital required to reclaim fifteen mow (about three acres), which, from the way it is mentioned, seems to have been reckoned as an average holding.

The license accorded to the gentry is interesting as showing how entirely the old danger from agglomerators must have passed away. Landlords' profits were not dangerously large, and persons capable of cultivating more land than they possessed, by the help of hired labour, had to be tempted by rewards or honours to do so. Evidently, therefore, the average wages of the agricultural labourer must have been fixed by custom at very nearly the same level as the earnings of the smallest proprietor. If the difference between the two had represented an equivalent to the ordinary profits of middle-class trade or industry, the land would have been taken up by speculators; whereas, so far as appears, it required about the same degree of virtuous liberality to pay wages to a labourer for working on the land, and to lend capital enough to a petty freeholder for the same end. The expedient must have proved successful, as it was afterwards extended to other provinces.

In 1727 [illegible] system of grain storage was proposed by an official as a provision against bad years. The ancient custom had become obsolete, and the [illegible] was left no means of making such reserves. It was proposed [illegible] years of a guarantee to advance money from the Imperial Treasury to buy grain—say, allotting £16,000 a year for five years, and [illegible] on repairing or erecting the necessary

[1] [illegible]

magazines in four principal centres. The capital advanced would suffice for the purchase of 120,000 measures at harvest-time, when rice is cheapest; in the spring, when it is dearer, the stores should be opened and grain sold, which will keep the price from rising too much, and yet leave funds to buy 10,000 more measures than the year before. Thus the rice does not remain in store long enough to spoil, and the quantity increases till it may be hoped to suffice to carry the people through a season of scarcity. The scheme was endorsed by the viceroy of Shensi as approved and to be acted upon, and it was of course entirely in accordance with ancient precedent.[1]

According to the missionaries, whose eye for the seamy side of Chinese civilization seems to have grown keener as their own favour declined, this system, of selling old rice to replenish the granaries with new, gave rise to fresh abuses. When leave is granted, the officials sell the rice for cash to the rich, instead of making advances in kind to the poor, and trade themselves with the money realized. If the storehouses are inspected, the same officers will show a few receptacles with double bottoms and a little rice at the top, and explain that the rest are empty because the harvest has been bad, so that the debtors can only repay what they have borrowed by degrees, and are too poor to be pressed. It was only at Peking and in the adjoining provinces that there was always provision of rice in hand for ten years, out of which the grain was sold whenever the price began to rise.

At the beginning of his reign Yung-ching had invited confidential memorials by undertaking not to disclose to the tribunals the substance or the authorship of any that were presented to him sealed; and his remarks concerning the supply of rice show that he did not count upon a very high standard of probity among his officers. The *Lettres Édifiantes*[2] contain a description of an ordinary number of the *Peking Gazette* of this period (1727). It is published daily, and contains about sixty or seventy pages, consisting of notices of twenty to thirty memorials on various subjects; the Emperor's answers to those previously presented, his instructions or orders on these or other subjects, the reports presented by the Boards for confirmation by the emperor, and memorials on matters of local interest from viceroys of provinces, generals, and other high officers. It is interesting to note that praise and promotion were accorded to an officer, *en route* for employment at Canton, who reported upon the failure of the embankments in a district through which he passed, though it was not in his department. The officer in whose department it was, was ordered to pay for the repairs of which he had failed to report the need.

How far the Emperor's liberalities were at his own and how far at the public expense is naturally difficult to determine. In 1730 his gifts to the sufferers from an earthquake were on so wide a scale as even to include 1,000 taels to the missionaries for the repair of their churches. When he was asked to allow some poor fishers to build themselves huts on the

[1] *I.E.*, xxii. p. 147. [2] Vol. xxi. p. 98.

river bank, which is imperial property, he thought the boon too small, and proposed to give them money to build with, and also to buy them boats, if they had not got them. But in this case, as in the relief of the sufferers from famine, the idea was not so much to bestow what we should call charitable relief, as to put a whole class of persons, who had been accidentally impoverished, once for all in a position to get their own living comfortably again.

It was thought—and, on the whole, truly—that the average man, if he had a fair start with average means and opportunities, would display average industry with average success, and would prefer this chance to the quest for "Poor man come here food." But the man who had been reduced to beggary was not expected to possess such exceptional economic virtue or capacity as to save, out of an average income, wherewithal to repay society for what it had advanced to start him on a self-supporting career. The ex-pauper was allowed to begin free of debt, and to receive from the first undiminished the whole fruit of his personal industry; and to this wise liberality on the part of the State it is probably owing that the taste and habit of industry is so strong among the Chinese people.

Yung-ching died in 1735. The missionaries, whose evidence is not quite impartial, say that he was unpopular and avaricious. He was certainly a less able and interesting person than either his father or his son: but he was conscientious, and, according to Chinese standards, humane. It was he who introduced the custom of not signing death-warrants until the case has been heard three times over. He was succeeded by his eldest, not legitimate, son—a young man of twenty-five, who gave to his period the name of Kien-lung. His tastes were literary, and he had had no previous experience of business. His imprisoned uncles were at once released, but the hopes of indulgence based on this circumstance by the Christians were disappointed.

Kien-lung's tastes were literary rather than scientific, and the only Europeans who had personal access to him were the artists, Father Castiglione, who was employed in decorating the imperial palace, and Father Attiret, who was offered official rank for painting the emperor's portrait. But when the former of these ventured upon any serious remonstrance or discussion, he was told to mind his pictures; and in 1754 we find Father Amyot complaining that while Kien-lung employed the missionaries more than either of his predecessors, he yet treated their religion worse. They were, however, employed in much less dignified ways than under Kang-hi—in making fountains, automatic toys, and such-like trifles—the [illegible] of which were naturally despised by the chief scholars and officers of the empire; or at least had weighty prejudices to overcome, before their personal qualities could win tolerance for their motives.

In 175[illegible] there was [illegible] war with Tatars, which the emperor justified [illegible] state of the treasury allowed it to be carried on without [illegible] the people. The first expedition met with reverses, but fresh armies and generals were sent till the Eleuths were fairly subdued. The

Chinese claimed to inherit the control which this people had exercised over the Mahomedans of Little Bokhara and the trading stations of Central Asia. The inhabitants of the towns of Yarkand, Cashgar, and others, were said to welcome the prospect of Chinese government.[1] The Mahomedans were pursued into the passes of Pamir, and defeated finally in the neighbourhood of Lake Issikol. The fugitives who took refuge in Badakshan were put to death by the native princes, anxious to conciliate the mighty power of China, whose protectorate over Central Asia thus became a reality again, to an extent unknown except under the Tangs and Mongols. China was thus rendered more secure than ever previously against aggressions from the West; and this security was not purchased, as under the Tang monarchs, by neglect of the interests of the empire proper.

The Emperor seems to have entered on the campaign under less severe pressure than was generally needed to put a Chinese army in motion, and its success redounded greatly to his credit. The general in charge of the expedition made a report on the quality of the land, the taxes to be imposed, the currency required by local trade (which he proposed to supply free of cost by melting down the old captured cannon), and other administrative details of a kind usually dealt with by civilians. He reports that the foreign merchants in Cashgar were taxed one-twentieth of their profits; while those trading in Russia and elsewhere gave one-tenth or thereabouts of their returns; and he describes the condition of the people as worse than it used to be, and begs the emperor's compassion for them on that account. He adds that, as the soil is not very good, returning only seven or eight fold in the best years, and two or three fold in the worst, he has given lands to the rebels, on condition of their paying half their profits to the emperor.

In 1770 a tribal movement of Tourguts brought some hundreds of thousands across the Russian border, desiring permission to settle within the Chinese empire. They had fled fifty years before from the Eleuths, into Russian territory, but became discontented at the taxes imposed on them, and were finally induced to make another move, when their chief's son was seized as a hostage to Russia. They were well received in China, where their submission was regarded as a great tribute to the emperor's good government.[2] Five years later the Miao-tsze, the mountain barbarians of the central South, were finally subdued, and their chiefs carried captive to Peking. The general who achieved this success was subsequently employed to "regulate the waters" of the Hoang-ho, the ravages of which were kept within bounds till its change of course, in 1820, at the close of the next reign.

Kien-lung had been scrupulous in discharging all the duties of filial piety

[1] An English writer describes "the outcome of Chinese domination," in Eastern Turkestan, as "plenty and content, peaceful hamlets and smiling inhabitants." (Bridges and Shaw, *Life of Yakub Khan*, p. 50.)

[2] Quite recently 50,000 Russian subjects desired to emigrate to China, to escape the combined pressure of taxation and scarcity.

towards his mother, and on her decease, in 1777, at an advanced age, he bestowed on her the retrospective title of Empress, and gave an amnesty in her honour, charging all the local officials, at the same time, to pay special attention to all charitable foundations. A Taoist insurrection in Sz'chuen, in favour of a Ming pretender, gave some trouble, and it was said that native Christians were implicated in it; but it is almost inevitable that local disturbances should be noted occasionally in an empire as extensive as the Middle Kingdom had now become. In 1792 the Tibetans appealed to China for aid against the Ghoorkhas, and after a creditable campaign, from which the Chinese troops returned victorious, Nepaul was enrolled among Chinese tributaries.[1]

Sir George Anson spent some time off the Chinese coast, towards the close of his voyage round the world (1740–44), and does not appear to have had any valid ground of complaint as to his treatment, after he had succeeded in overcoming the difficulties placed by the Portuguese in the way of direct communication with the higher and responsible Chinese officials. One of his ships leaked, and he applied for leave to repair her, and buy provisions. Two Chinese officers came, accompanied by native carpenters, to inspect the ship, and the leaks being found genuine, and the vessel really not seaworthy, permission was given, and the repairs done, by contract, by Chinese caulkers, of whom Anson says, "though they worked very well, they were far from being expeditious."

On leaving Macao, Anson gave a false account of his intended route and turned off to waylay the Spanish galleons from Manilla. He took two prizes, and put into Canton to victual. He refused, as a man-of-war, to pay harbour dues, and was aggrieved at not being received as in the port of a friendly power. Yet that the inhospitality of the Chinese proceeded only from natural distrust of strangers, concerning whom they knew no good, appears from their relenting, as soon as the Spanish prisoners told them that Spain and England were at war, and that the galleon had taken the aggressive; that it was not European custom to put prisoners of war to death, and that Anson had treated his captives with unusual kindness and courtesy. This and the great superiority in size and crew of the captured Spanish ships gave a favourable impression of British power and civility, [illegible] by the help given by Anson's crew in putting out a [illegible] allowed to re-victual, after he had given up the [illegible] to the Chinese, who, as allies of Spain, [illegible] to Macao.

[illegible] to China, under Lord Macartney, was [illegible] to dispense with the [illegible] to receive the Europeans with their own

[1] [illegible]

rites,[1] a precedent by which his less enlightened and far less virtuous successor declined to be guided in the reception of Lord Amherst's embassy, in 1816. The difficulties which led the English merchants at Canton to desire the establishment of diplomatic relations between the courts of St. James and Peking need not be dwelt upon here; and, in fact, it will probably conduce to a calm and accurate appreciation of Chinese ideas and institutions, if we conform for the nonce to Chinese historic usage, and leave it to a later generation to record the political incidents marking the intercourse between China and Great Britain during the 19th century.

In 1796 the Emperor abdicated—at the age of eighty-five—in order that his reign might not exceed in duration that of his venerated grandfather, Kang-hi. Unfortunately, the son whom he nominated as successor was a vicious and comparatively incapable prince; and the four reigns of Kia-king, Tau-kwang (1821), Hien-fung (1851), and Tung-chi (1862) would have been counted as beginning the decline of the Tsing Dynasty, but for the revival of energy and vitality observable since the suppression of the Taeping rebellion and the Mahomedan insurrection.

[1] The future Sir George Staunton, then a boy, knelt and kissed his father's hand, to show the Chinese in what fashion Englishmen did homage to their own sovereign.

## CHAPTER XXV.

### *CONTEMPORARY CHINA.*

We have now reached the most interesting, the most important, and the most overwhelmingly difficult part of our subject. If all Western Europe were one country, with three times its present population, it would compare, in mere bulk, as a topic of discussion with the empire of China; and it is of such a district as this that we have to describe in brief the economic life, and so much of its laws and social usages as affect the acquisition and enjoyment of property. The task would be impossible but for one circumstance. One of the points upon which all intelligent writers concerning China and the Chinese are agreed, is the essentially homogeneous character, both of the national empire as a whole, and of the life and thought of each of the units included in its vast population. The habitual thoughts of the people are in harmony with their conduct; their manners and customs reflect their ideas.

The writer's pains and the reader's patience would have been spared, had it been possible to pass straight from the traditions of Yao and Shun and the sayings of Chung and Mang, to the condition of modern China. But nineteenth-century scepticism, relying on the brief experience of Western Europe, would refuse to believe in a real connection between facts and theories separated by twice two millenniums, unless the phenomenon was vouched for by a succession of contemporary witnesses. If the history of China, as sketched above, appears tedious as well as lengthy, it will at least be allowed to be authentic; and its course has certainly been [illegible] of orthodox men of letters.

Ordinary travellers—merchants, missionaries, or public servants from the [illegible] of China by a study of the Classics; [illegible] look out for coincidences between the practices of [illegible] of the [illegible] and their evidence as to [illegible] of the modern Chinese is therefore free from bias. [illegible] of surprise [illegible] China in quest [illegible] wisdom, suitable as a [illegible].

[illegible] with little comment or criticism, the [illegible] and [illegible] impressions of Western [illegible] in the same way, a summary [illegible] by observers of our own

age, and much that appears to them strange or paradoxical will be fairly intelligible to us, when viewed in the light of the past history and literature of the country. It is even possible, as already suggested, that the key to the conservative wisdom of the Chaldæans and the Egyptians will be found, rusty with age, but not unrecognisable or useless, in the hands of the black-haired people with the almond eyes.

China, like ancient Egypt and ancient Babylonia, is a country with an advanced civilization, but its civilization is of a totally different complexion from that of modern Europe. It is a primary, an archaic, a primitive civilization; while the culture of Europe and her colonies is secondary, derivative, and composite: complicated with more numerous, and perhaps higher, elements, less perfectly fused and harmonised; consequently less stable and consistent, with a wider range of possibilities for both progress and destruction. But archaic and primitive as it is, Chinese civilization has a vitality, which we shall find it the less difficult to respect, when we realize its kinship with those of the most famous empires of the world's most ancient history. And from a study of contemporary China we shall also learn to regret something of social and economic wisdom, that was lost to the Western world with the fall of Thebes and Babylon, and has not yet been wholly rediscovered.

In the Laws of China, nearly every passage bearing upon what we should consider economic subjects is included in the "Part of the code for regulating households." The ownership of land, buying and selling, lending and borrowing, and the execution of contracts generally, might all be included under the heading, "Domestic relations and family law," because their regulation is left, almost entirely, in the hands of families and family tribunals. But it is the results rather than the antecedents of the economic system that we have to appreciate now, and for this purpose the descriptions of outsiders, who do not naturally start from the conception of the family, are the most valuable.

One of the earliest, and certainly not one of the most partial of these observers, Sir George Staunton, at the beginning of the present century, "ventured to assert" the existence of "some very real, considerable, and positive moral and political advantages," peculiar to the national constitution of the Chinese, which he attributed "to the system of early and universal marriage, to the sacred regard that is habitually paid to the ties of kindred, to the sobriety, industry, and even intelligence, of the lower classes; to the almost total absence of feudal rights and privileges; to the equitable distribution of landed property; to the natural incapacity of the Government and people to an indulgence in ambitious projects and foreign conquests; and lastly, to a system of penal laws, if not the most just and equitable, at least the most comprehensive, uniform, and suited to the genius of the people for whom it is designed, perhaps of any that ever existed."[1]

[1] *Ta Tsing Leu Lee*, translated from the Chinese by Sir G. T. Staunton, Bt., 1810, preface, p. 11.

In his voluminous work on the "Middle Kingdom," an American missionary concludes his summary of similar observations as follows: "A salubrious climate, semi-annual crops, unceasing industry, early marriages, and an equable taxation, involving reasonable security of life and property . . . all these causes and influences tend to increase population and equalize the consumption and use of property, more perhaps than in any other country."[1] It is true all over China, as the missionaries observed at the beginning of the 18th century, that "food is abundant and cheap,"[2] except when the local harvest fails. The agreement of all travellers on this point is so complete, that the verdict of one or two writers is as conclusive as that of a score. "Food and lodging," says Mr. Giles,[3] "are cheap in China, and it may be roundly stated that every man, woman, and child in the empire has something in the way of clothes, two full meals a day, and a shelter for his head at night." And in another passage, "The normal state of the people of China is one of considerable prosperity and great national happiness." "I doubt," says Fortune,[4] "if there is a happier race anywhere than the Chinese farmers and peasantry;" and again, "I fully believe that in no country in the world is there less real misery and want than in China."[5] "Riches," says Mr. Little, "are fairly distributed, and the contrasts of grinding poverty with arrogant wealth, which is the rule in Europe, is the exception here."[6] M. Simon, who has gone through the experience described by Baron v. Richthofen,[7] and is a pronounced *Sinomane*, ventures to generalize: "The most civilized country is that in which, upon a given territory, the largest possible number of persons have succeeded in procuring and in distributing as equally and cheaply as possible, the greatest amount of well-being, liberty, justice, and security."[8] And he does not hesitate to claim this distinction for China, since the food and furniture of ordinary villagers are as far superior to those of Western peasants, as is their air of ease and good breeding, and their command of civilized amusements. Industry is all but universal, and a comfortable share in the fruits of industry is all but universal also. Labour is too abundant to be dear, but as there are few or no highly paid officers in the industrial army, the real wages of the rank and file stand at [illegible] in proportion than in countries esteemed to be of much greater [illegible] as well as more advanced industrial organization.

[illegible] of the two characteristics—good living and good manners—noticed by M. Simon, is not accidental. Confucius taught that the

[1] *The Mi*[illegible] S. W. [illegible] 2 [illegible] p. 25[illegible]

[2] [illegible]

[3] *Hi*[illegible] 12[illegible]

[4] *Le Ho*[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

first thing to be done for the people was to enrich them, and the second to teach them. Instruction is more diffused and the wealth of the majority of households greater than it was 2,000 years ago; there is more of social as well as economic equality than in Europe, and, at the same time—a result which has been despaired of in Western democracies—the levelling process has been attended by a general *rise* in the average level. It does not appear from the Li Ki that the common people were seriously expected to observe the rules of propriety in the period of "Middle Antiquity;" they were to be moral and industrious, and as polite as they could; and since the days of the Warring States, there have been several periods during which the masses can scarcely have been in a position to exercise the grace of courtesy. Under the present dynasty it may fairly be said that all classes are familiar with the rules of propriety.

The early missionaries contrasted the polite bows and good-tempered proffers of help exchanged by Chinese peasants whose wagons came into collision on an awkward road, with the oaths and objurgations in which European rustics would indulge under similar provocation. Coolies who are not acquainted address each other as "Sir," while friends are all brothers. Mrs. Gray writes of Canton—the population of which is considered one of the most turbulent in the empire: "In the streets I have been much struck by the quiet, gentle deportment of the Chinese;"[1] and in the pottery districts, huge projecting trays of valuable and fragile ware are carried safely through crowded streets because every one makes way for the bearer.

In the country districts hospitality and kindness are the rule. Mr. T. T. Cooper, "an Englishman who has lived among them as one of themselves," ventures "to tell his countrymen that to know the Chinese middle classes and peasantry is to like them.[2] . . . The people look well-to-do, well and warmly clad in winter;" they are "kindly, courteous, yet impulsive, as easily moved to friendship as we now think to barbarous outrage. . . Indeed, I must own that, for true politeness, the Chinese of all ranks can compete with any nation and bear away the palm."[3] A French missionary in Northern China in the 18th century speaks exactly the same language as the English tradesman whose experience lies in Southern China in the 19th century. Amyot describes the peasants as "polite, good neighbours, good relations," while as to ordinary hospitality, "even a labourer has the ideas of a French grand seigneur."[4] And so to-day, even in the poorest village, a fowl will be killed for a stranger, and payment refused. Archdeacon Gray, in summing up the mixed characteristics of the people, gives the front place to the same trait, and judges them on the whole to be "courteous, orderly, industrious, peace-loving, sober and patriotic."

The same writer's wife had the advantage over the majority of travellers

[1] [illegible] 188[illegible], p. 16.
[2] [illegible] 1871, p. 3.
[3] [illegible] p. 432. [4] [illegible] *Chinois*, vol. [illegible], p. 318.

in China in being able to penetrate into the interior of Chinese households, and so to judge how far the charm of Chinese manners is independent of sex as well as rank: she describes her Chinese hostess as possessing "an indescribable grace and courtesy in all she did." Cooper speaks of the charm of manner of a Chinese gentleman, and on this subject there is the same agreement among diplomatists, and those whose circumstances have restricted them to intercourse with the literary and official class, as between the traders and missionaries who have cultivated the acquaintance of the lower orders. In the words of Davis, "The ease and good breeding of the better sort of Chinese, when they are on friendly terms, is very striking, and by no means what might be expected from the rigid nature of their ceremonial observances. These, however, sit upon them much easier than might be imagined."[1] The preceding quotations show that this good breeding is not restricted to the "better sort," but is a truly national characteristic, promoted no doubt by the "republican" or "democratic" spirit, which again strikes most intelligent tourists. The unfortunate Margary described the Chinese as "a reasonable people, who can be talked into good humour very easily,"[2] adding that, while a Chinese mob is rather dangerous, "singly or in small groups, they are the pink of civility;" and again, "China is the true home of democracy, and the place where fraternity and equality have taken root with advantage to the lower orders, but at the expense of a good deal to the more respectable class."[3] Mrs. Gray comments on this feature in the tea-saloons, where "rich and poor occupy the same room, a man in silk at one table, a man in cotton clothes at another,"[4] and what in England would be still more remarkable, the same tariff of prices for both. In another place[5] she describes how the blind musician hired for an evening, asks for tobacco and calmly takes a pipe before beginning his performance, to prove that "with all their formalities, deference to rank, etc., the Chinese are a most republican people."

It cannot be said that there are no social distinctions in China, but the extent to which they are hereditary is so limited that every one has ancestors, relatives and friends in every degree, and as these relationships are not allowed to drop with altered circumstances, no degree of wealth or rank can be depended on to save its owner from having to reverence a social inferior as an elder brother. It is so common in China for poor men to grow rich, or what passes there for rich, that law and custom provide against the temptations which attend upon such changes. The usual liberty of divorce is restricted in these cases, and the lawful wife who has shared a man's poverty, is not allowed to be deprived of her position when he has become able to contract a more brilliant alliance. The traditional commentary upon an ancient formula for swearing friendship, illustrates the same view:—

> "By Heaven and Earth,
> Before the moon and the sun,
> By their father and mother,
> A and B have sworn unalterable friendship.

Henceforward, if A in a chariot meet B wearing a coarse straw hat, A will descend from his chariot to meet B. And if B on a fine horse meets A bearing a porter's load, B will dismount from his horse as A from his chariot."[1] Nor is this a fancy picture; relatives from every class meet together at stated intervals in the ancestral home, and the senior who performs the rites of ancestral worship may be the poorest in the family. And it is still, as in Amyot's time, a common occurrence for a labourer in village dress to call upon an official relative and be received in the place of honour, without awkwardness or embarrassment on either side.

It is now a commonplace that any family may produce a graduate or a doctor, and it is matter of observation that in two or three generations the descendants of officers generally return to the ranks of the people. Hence, in the course of centuries, it would follow almost automatically that every family should have acquired the tradition of behaviour suitable to the grandparents or grandchildren of officers. Father Amyot explains that a graduate sprung from a poor family was expected to assist his relatives in their station of life, not to take them out of it. Those who neglected the obligation were looked upon, according to him, like the holders of rich benefices who give away nothing in charity, while those who discharge it do so without any sense of humiliation or incongruity. The knowledge of letters carries with it, of course, that of the rules of propriety, and this knowledge gives a distinction like that accorded sometimes to noble birth in the West, over-riding all disparity of wealth.

Thus, in the well-known Chinese romance "Two literary young ladies,"[2] the second heroine is a peasant's daughter; a bachelor uncle tried to frighten her when she was to enter the household of the minister, whose daughter is the first heroine. She quotes a disciple of Confucius to jus-

[1] [illegible] By [illegible] Tch[illegible]-ki-[illegible] p. 13.
[2] [illegible] M. [illegible]

tify her composure, and is rebuked for presumption, but rejoins, "Shun was but a man; I too belong to the race of men; whoever knows how to act can resemble Shun." Accordingly, when she is introduced to the minister as his daughter's purchased maid-servant, she stands on her dignity, and inquires on what footing she is to be received, that she may know what will be the proper salutations for her to give him; and while that question remains in suspense, she gives none. Of course, after this she is received on terms befitting her accomplishments. Meanwhile, we learn from the intercourse of the corresponding pair of literary young gentlemen that "silk breeches" is a term of contempt applied to rich pretenders by poor scholars, among whom a certain presumption against the learning of a *fils de famille* might not unreasonably be entertained, so that the destined bridegroom of the second heroine begins by scorning his wealthy comrade in love and letters.

The case of the learned peasant girl in the novel exactly illustrates the saying of the Rites that when the poor know propriety, their minds do not become cowardly; and there is a closer connection than we might at first suppose between the diffusion of good manners and the equal distribution of wealth. The man who treats others with courtesy and consideration stands on too high a level to submit to be treated with insolence by his inferiors in breeding. The learned lady's maid of Chinese fiction is a contrast not merely to the Pamelas and Olivias of 18th century romance, but to the beautiful and accomplished governess of contemporary novelists, who is snubbed and ill-treated by illiterate employers. And if even a woman "who knows how to act" can command respect in the most humble of positions, *a fortiori* the Chinese father and husband will have a sense of his own dignity, which is wanting to the wage-earning masses of Europe, and might have saved them from acquiescing in the pitiably low standard of comfort prevalent in the first half of the present century.

The Chinese workman has too much self-respect to give his services to the community except upon terms which will allow him, for example, to fulfil the obligations of filial and fraternal piety, and to enjoy the pleasures and advantages of paternity. He works hard and continuously, but at his own pace, in his own way, and for his own advantage. The industry of the Chinese is proverbial, but Englishmen and Americans notice that they are slow or at least leisurely in their methods of work.[1]

Men devote to every job the length of time that is required to perform it comfortably. If their work is hot, they have boys to fan them while they do it; if it is [illegible], they engage a substitute at their own expense [illegible]; if it is dirty, they take a bath before going home;[2] if it is dangerous, the moral sense of the Empire requires that they should let it alone. As a consequence, perhaps, of all these restrictions, labour is not regarded as an evil; it is necessary, with but few exceptions, [illegible] and it should be fair, easy, and pleasant; but in China, where language

[1] [illegible]
[2] [illegible]
[3] [illegible]
[4] [illegible]

never fails for the clear enunciation of popular ideals, a life without work is *not* regarded as ideal.

The ideal occupations are still learning and agriculture, and the fourfold classification of the citizens, into the literati, the cultivators, manufacturers, and traders, is still quoted by native writers as applicable to modern China. Agriculture is the root; industry and commerce are the branches; and this is so far from being a mere rhetorical phrase that even within the same household, agriculture branches out into industry and trade. The cultivators display the technical skill of mechanics, and participate in the profits elsewhere reserved to manufacturers and merchants. The same resourcefulness and versatility, for which citizens of the United States are notable, characterize the Chinese in their own country, and the cause in both cases may be the same; viz., that it is still possible in the oldest country, as it has been hitherto in the newest, for every enterprising worker to obtain possession of a portion of the raw materials of industry. The resemblance ceases here, for China is emphatically a land of petty industry and petty commerce, as well as of small landed proprietors. And indeed it is self evident that this must be the case whenever wealth is equally distributed, since no country is so rich as to be able to make all its citizens wealthy.

The standard of comfort for the labouring masses is no doubt fixed by that of the smaller cultivators, who form one of the largest sections of the population; and it so happens that fuller accounts have been published of the condition of this class than of the life led by artisans or other wage-earners.

# CHAPTER XXVI.

## *LIFE IN CHINESE VILLAGES.*

STATISTICS relating to the total production of a whole country require a very full commentary before they can be relied on for instruction, and naturally China has not yet begun to throw the information possessed by her Board of Finance into a form suitable for comparison with European documents. But the authentic budget of a single peasant is quite as valuable as—and perhaps more interesting than—a statistical summary of the production of so many millions. M. Simon had the good fortune to make friends with such a household, when visiting Wang-mo-ki, a romantic valley in Fo-kien, with pagodas to which the Chinese amateurs of rural scenery are wont to repair to escape the summer heats of Fu-chow.

He was sitting under a tree eating an orange, when a peasant, whose clothes and teapot were lying close by, offered him tea, and sent his son to the adjoining house for some of the new season's buds. The tea made from these is a choice luxury, denounced as an extravagance by the severest moralists, and selling at 8*s.* a lb. straight from the grower; but the family retain a small quantity for their own hospitable use. It was the eldest son who acted as host on this occasion, and his report of the well-behaved foreigner staying at the fashionable pagoda, induced his father to make inquiries as to M. Simon's status and reputation.

On receiving a satisfactory reply, the peasants sent to inquire when they might have the honour of calling on the European, an inquiry followed forthwith by the despatch of a large visiting card bearing the name of W[illegible] and the arrival of father and son in robes of ceremony. On the [illegible] day the visit was returned and the whole family presented to [illegible], who was constrained to remain and partake of an [illegible] two hours and consisting of fish in broth, ducks [illegible] vegetables of different sorts, a variety of [illegible] with of course the usual bowl of rice, and [illegible] for dessert. Not less than two [illegible] given up to the exchange of visits, and the [illegible] consisted only of the usual holiday fare [illegible]

[illegible] themselves, would an English [illegible] to start visiting cards, they [illegible] allows himself the [illegible],

owns and occupies 29 *mow*, or a little over 4½ acres! Nearly half of this is planted with tea, but the remainder produces rice, corn, maize, beans, rape, sugar-cane, yams, cotton, clover, turnips, cabbages, and small quantities of other fruits and vegetables not specified; pigs are fatted and poultry reared in addition, and the total money value of the gross produce of the 4½ acres is estimated by M. Simon at a little over £285; but as the purchasing power of money is not the same in China as in Europe, for the more security he subjoins a list of the different crops by weight.[1] The outgoings or working expenses—including seeds, manures, hired labour, maintenance of live stock, wear and tear and taxes—come to about £65, and the food of the family, including that of one female and two male servants, to £64. By what seems a rather liberal estimate, M. Simon allows £20 a year for keeping up the family wardrobe, the total value of which is put at £88, besides about £18 worth of jewelry and ornaments. They spend about £2 a year on religious ceremonies, mostly of the Buddhist type, in the efficacy of which they half believe, and 24*s.* in voluntary subscriptions for the repair of roads, bridges, canals, and public buildings; £8 a year is spent on theatrical performances and pleasure parties. The family therefore spends at the rate of £160 a year, in round numbers, and has £125 to save or to spend in marrying daughters and starting sons in business, or enlarging the holding so that employment may be found for them on the land as they grow up.

The capital which brings in this return is estimated at a little under £800, the land being worth £440, and the house, furniture, tools, and personal effects about £350; the cultivator's profit is thus as nearly as possible 36 per cent., 3 per cent. per mensem—a fact which at once explains how in modern China as in ancient Egypt, it was possible for the legal rate of interest to be fixed at 30 per cent. The ample margin available for saving also explains the universality of thrift in China. It is not in human nature to save for the problematical wants of the future at the expense of present needs; but it is easy and natural, when all the customary wants of the moment have been supplied, to economize the surplus earnings, which will secure an equal portion of well-being for the years to come. Extreme poverty in China consists, not in having to go without food, but in having to eat plain rice. Our peasants eat four meals a day of varied and savoury food, or five in summer-time, when the day's work begins at dawn, and they have an appetite for two breakfasts before the noonday meal. The hired servants have the same food as the family, and though economy is universal there is no pinching or grinding; there may be intervals of hardship, but there is no abject want and no terror of destitution.

[illegible]

The vicissitudes to which such families are exposed and the relations between other classes and the peasantry are clearly shown in the history of M. Simon's friends. The house of Wang-ming-tse is one of many branch families descended from a certain Wang who settled in their valley 800 years ago under the Sung Dynasty. The valley contains only 3.000 acres, and supports a population of 10.000 souls, that is, on the average, a family of ten to every three acres, so that the holding above described is quite representative. The houses are nearly all detached, "like the villas between Bellevue and Chaville" outside Paris. Schools are numerous, about one to every fifteen families; so are libraries, some of which are in the keeping of the Buddhist pagodas, and others, also open to the public, preserved in the ancestral halls of private families.

The commune is divided into ten quarters, each of which has a public building,—market-hall, club, council chamber, caravanserai, theatre and concert-hall, and, one might add, church, since it is used also for public funerals and official solemnities, in fact for all occasions of public interest. The central and largest of these halls is roofed with green enamel tiles, and decorated with plaques of porcelain. Every family has genealogical records and annals preserving the memory of its more distinguished ancestors, and Wang-ming-tse could boast, among his, of at least two high officials who had built bridges and dug canals for the benefit of their [illegible], and received in return the honour of a public funeral; one of them endowed a school and bequeathed his library to the public.

The father of our Mr. Wang was the fourth of fourteen children; his father was not rich; he cultivated fifteen mow ($2\frac{1}{4}$ acres), of which only seven or eight were his own property, and agriculture was then less profit[illegible] than now: the canals had not all been made, the valley was less populous, and people had to work harder with less result. It was therefore [illegible] that the younger sons should learn trades in the town. [illegible]

[illegible]

economy by means of which they were enabled to live in comfort on the fifteen acres to which the family holding had been raised. At this time the literary uncle was so well off that he was able to leave a part of his share in the patrimonial estate to the community; two of the sisters were married, and there still remained at home five sisters and six brothers, four of whom were married and had nine children between them. The family thus consisted of twenty-four persons, employing besides three field labourers.

The pinch came when the aunts were all married, and the merchant uncle required his share of the inheritance to trade with, while the official found his family increase faster than his salary. It was then decided to dissolve the community. The inheritance was divided into eight equal parts, each of the six younger brothers taking one and the eldest, who also has the paternal house, two. The agricultural community, now reduced to five brothers, agreed to buy the shares of the merchant and the official, at a price to be paid off in three years. They also rented some neighbouring fields under an agreement to buy and pay for them within a specified time. The inherited and acquired land was then divided between the five brothers, each of whom thus obtained a share of nearly four acres. The brothers jointly built houses on each of the new properties, each taking possession of his own as soon as it was completed; during this interval the community still existed, and by dint of the economies effected by its means, all the land was paid for by the end of three years.[1] After that the interests of the brothers were divided; they lived apart and each retained the profits of his holding, but they continued to perform most of the labours of the field in concert.

At this time the five families consisted of seven able-bodied labourers, Wang-ming-tse, a lad of fifteen of whom it was proposed to make a scholar, so that he did no farm work, and thirty-two women and children. Seven men are not enough to cultivate twenty acres as the Chinese understand cultivation, the brothers therefore bought a second buffalo and engaged two more hired labourers. Times were, however, rather hard, especially with the father of our friend Wang, who had a large young family and had moreover to pay a larger proportion of the labourers' wages than the brothers, whose sons could give more help. The payment for the land had exhausted the family savings, and though there was always plenty of food—that came from the land—money for any other expense was hardly to be got, and the mother groaned over every cash that had to be laid out. The brothers were all good friends, and would have helped one another in a pinch; but the struggling household could not bear to "lose face" by failing to take its [illegible] proportion of all burdens, and the period of comparative hardship was the more bearable as it came while parents and children were young and ceased as the latter came of age to join the ranks of labourers.

[illegible]

Wang-ming-tse himself was not very successful as a student. He failed twice in the examinations, and then accepted a small post in the civil service which his uncle's interest procured. He married, of course, and had four children by the time he was thirty; he obtained some work as a copyist, but had not leisure enough to pursue his studies successfully, and besides it was then too late to begin a successful official career. Accordingly, on his father's death he decided to return to the village and take his share of the inheritance. He was then forty, with an eldest son of fifteen and three daughters whose marriages had been delayed for want of funds. His brothers helped him to meet this expense, and for a while the community was revived, the brothers living apart, but working in common and sharing the produce of their industry. This arrangement, in spite of some trifling inconveniences, would have remained unaltered but for the fact that Wang-ming-tse's second son had a wife of captious and suspicious temper, who induced her husband to believe that he did not get his fair share of the profits. Under these circumstances there was nothing for it but to set the young malcontents up in a house of their own, to learn by experience the advantages of union, and occasion was taken of this change to separate the interest of the still friendly brothers also. All this occurred six months before M. Simon's visit, at which time the family consisted of the old mother aged ninety-two, Wang-ming-tse and his wife, their eldest son Po-y and his wife, and their six children, beginning with A-Pe, a son of eighteen, and a daughter just about to be married.

This is the family whose budget we have just scrutinized, and it is worth noting that the prosperous householder at its head belongs to the one section of the community which is said to supply a counterpart to the "déclassés," the discontented failures of Western society,—the scholars, namely, who have failed in the examinations. Apparently Wang-ming-tse's elder brother must have died young, though the fact is not mentioned, as we find him installed as head of the family on the abdication of the old mother [illegible] of ninety, up to which time she retained, at least in name, the direction of affairs: and her authority was still supreme upon such grave [illegible] whether it was possible to indulge the desire of [illegible] Frenchman to see the inner chambers of the house and the [illegible]

[illegible] history shows how accumulation and distress are [illegible] Middle Kingdom. Each generation has [illegible] for [illegible] for the benefit [illegible] M. Simon's acquaintance with Wang-ming-tse begins during the former period, and the uncle in business employs the [illegible] remain in his hands for [illegible] the furniture having no doubt [illegible] Po-y's son, A-Pe, [illegible] third family living [illegible] to be provided for his [illegible] must be bought or rented [illegible]

the experience of the grandfather, with whom the story began, will repeat itself, and so on *sine die* through fresh centuries.

Some may be inclined to inquire, as M. Simon did, what would happen supposing there were no spare fields to be sold or let in the neighbourhood just when the united household has grown too big for its boundaries, or if the sons who had begun by seeking their fortunes abroad, chose to come home and reclaim the fraction of the paternal acres their brothers had bought? In the latter case, according to Mr. Wang, their original share or its equivalent would be ceded to them at the price they received for it, and they would be allowed time to pay; the inconvenience to the brothers who had bought the land would not be a valid reason for refusing to give it up; the obligations of kinship are taken seriously in China, and Wang evidently regards such sacrifices as a matter of course; the family is bound to come to the assistance of its unsuccessful members, and the exercise of this virtue comes all the easier, because prolonged experience teaches that all in turn may need such help, and that many of those who have received it in their need will make return with usury in their prosperity.

As to the other question, the difficulty of obtaining land may certainly arise; when it does, the family agree as to which of its members shall migrate to the nearest village where land is to be had; relations by marriage are applied to, and as all China is not as densely populated as Wang-mo-ki, somewhere or other the cultivator will find a settlement. If the family is too poor to buy a plot of land at once, the younger son may work as a labourer with a friend or kinsman, till he has saved the two or three pounds which would enable him to rent and cultivate a tiny field, and it would go hard with him if he failed from its proceeds to rent, and then to buy, enough for the support of a family.

The family community generally remains undivided till the children of the younger sons are beginning to grow up, after which, as already described, the formation of branch families begins.[1] The new householders continue to take part in the ancestral worship of the old home, and the new family only begins to perform similar rites after the decease of the father and mother who were its founders. Relatives at a distance, like Wang's uncles, the merchant and the official, receive an extract from the family registers, showing their descent back for four generations, and this document would entitle their descendants at any future time to apply to the family for help or protection.

M. Simon ends his description of the happy family of Wang-mo-ki, that if he had lighted suddenly in France upon a household living in the same style of ease and comfort as Wang-ming-tse, he would assume them to be the owners of 100 acres of good sunny land, or *rentiers* of £200 or £300 a year. But the valley of Wang-mo-ki may perhaps be regarded as exceptionally favoured, and its popularity as a summer resort may improve the market of the farmers. There are also many cultivators who occupy less than 4½ acres, holdings of 1 or 1½ acres being by no means uncommon. A

[1] Appendix K.

man whose holding was only one-fifth that of Wang would of course have no wages to pay, and would require less varied plant, so that his outgoings would probably not exceed or reach £10. His household would be somewhat less numerous and the food plainer, costing perhaps half as much as Wang's, say £32 a year, and as one-fifth of the earnings of the larger farm is £57, there would still be a margin of £15 for clothes, ceremonies, amusements, and saving; so that even the poorest little labourer, "having a field," is well above the line of misery. In less fertile parts of the country M. Simon found a farmer owning less than nine acres, who was saving at the rate of £75 a year, and another with 2[illegible] acres who put by £32.[1]

Other travellers, while less enthusiastic than M. Simon, give substantially similar information. The author of "The Middle Kingdom" observes: "The great plantation or farm with its landlord, and the needy labourer, each class trying to get as much as possible out of the other, are unknown in China. . . . There are very few plantations under the care of rich landlords, but each little farmer raises tea, as he does cotton, silk, or rice upon his own premises."[2] In the North "the soil is possessed in general by small proprietors, who cultivate from five to twenty acres. They pay a land rent to the Government of 20*d.* to 22½*d.* per acre for good ground."[3]

Speaking of Southern China, Fortune observes in similar terms: "Silk is produced not by large farmers or extensive manufacturers, but by millions of cottagers, each of whom own and cultivate a few roods or acres of land only and bring in their small parcels to the merchants, who sort and arrange it in bales for home trade or export. . . . Our favourite beverage, tea, is produced in just the same way:"[4] and he goes on to describe the family parties turning out to gather their own crop, with a goat to carry the pickings of the smallest children.

Captain Gill speaks of the cotton harvest in another district, gathered by families owning little plots about thirty yards square: "It would be impossible that it could pay to grow cotton in such small quantities, but the Chinaman likes doing everything for himself; he will, if he can, grow his own [illegible] on his own premises. If possible, [illegible] his own little bit of cotton and weave the cloth. . . . [illegible] by his wife and family."[5] Another traveller [illegible] the wheel arrows [illegible] in some districts. "Each man owns his own [illegible] so that the system of personal [illegible] interest seems to [illegible] It should, however, be [illegible]

marked, in passing, that the versatility of the cultivator does not exclude a considerable resort to the division of labour in matters where such division appears to the workers themselves as conducive to either economy or convenience, the latter being as much considered as the former.

Captain Gill, after describing the cheerful effect of the petty trade and manufactures carried on by the peasant households, adds the observation: "We in Europe have found out that this is not an economical way of doing things;" and most European economists will, no doubt, consider it certain *a priori* that whatever may be the wealth of China now, such wealth would be increased if European methods for developing the resources of the country were adopted. A detailed statistical inquiry does not, however, bear out this view, whether we take the empire as a whole, which supports without any importation of food a denser population per square mile than Great Britain, or examine, with M. Simon, the produce of an individual holding of typical minuteness. The Chinese do not *farm*, they *garden*: and when the soil of a whole empire is subjected to the intense methods of cultivation restricted with us to market gardens, the gross production admits of almost indefinite increase.

Captain Gill observed that while one acre of wheat in Europe will support two men, one acre in China will probably support twenty.[1] M. Simon estimates the proportionate value of the whole agricultural produce of the country as treble that of France, or 1½ times as much per head of the population,—and his estimate of the population is far in excess of that of other sober and competent judges. Wells Williams calculated that over a quarter of the country produces two crops a year;[2] there is hardly any fallow land, and there are large districts in which three, four, five, and even six crops are got off the ground in succession.

This is accomplished partly by scientific economy and still more by the unstinted use of labour. Sometimes one crop is sown as soon as the other is above ground, and the first reaped before the latter is full grown. Still more commonly seedlings are raised in small plots, and planted out as soon as the ground is clear for them, so that each crop occupies the full space for the shortest possible period. Where this method is followed a crop is rarely lost, because if the first sowing fails from bad weather, the plants can be replaced, and the harvest is only delayed, not lost. Even if it is too late to follow the ordinary course, something else will be tried for which the season may be more favourable, so that the land never fails to produce something.

There is, too, another side to the versatile thriftiness of the Chinese agriculturist. No labour is wasted in trying to make land, which is fit for one purpose, serve another for which it is not fit. As a traveller observed last century, "They do not improve the field for the seed, but choose the seed for the field. Rice grows under water. . . . Nym-

[1] [illegible] p. 277. [illegible] M. Simon's [illegible] W[illegible] [illegible]

[2] [illegible] i. p. 27[illegible].

Lien and Sagittaria grow in water. . . . . Sugar cane and potatoes want a less moist soil. If it is still more dry, it will do for yams. Indigo and cotton grow on the highest mountains. If a mountain should happen to be too dry, it serves for a burying place. But if a soil be ever so wet, the Chinese have a plant that grows in it and serves for food for men." Thus, though the population seems larger than the country could maintain, the fact is not so, and it might be said rather that the country could never be too full of such inhabitants, since it is the number of industrious men that makes a country rich, "for every industrious labourer, especially a husbandman, always produces more from the grateful soil than he wants himself." [1]

This productiveness is not merely owing to a more favourable climate and soil, for English market gardeners get several crops in the year off the same ground; and it is probable that if the whole of England were cultivated like a market garden, the soil would provide food, at least vegetable food, for the whole population without the need of imports. But to obtain this result, it would be necessary to employ labour on the scale customary, not in farms but in market gardens, or in other words, to employ in agricultural pursuits something like the same proportion of the population as in China.

The reason that this is not done is that under our present industrial system such a course does not commend itself as profitable to the principal owners and occupiers of land. As things are at present, they derive most profit from the land with least labour by methods which do not extract from it the largest possible amount of food-stuffs. Our system, if it were introduced in China, would probably result in a decline of the population, and in the production and consumption of food; though it might possibly also add to the wealth of the class directing such production as survived. The Chinese system, if introduced in England (with a few trifling modifications to suit the change of continent), would have exactly the opposite tendency. It is for the philosophic student to judge which of the two is morally and materially preferable.

As [illegible] the Chinese peasantry have [illegible] farming on a large scale which is considered most [illegible] [illegible]

animals upon the farm, and so the nutritive value left in it by imperfect methods of extraction is not wasted.

But even apart from this consideration, there can be little doubt that the Chinese cultivator, who makes his own oil, sugar, etc., obtains more, from the salesman or consumer, for the manufactured article, than he would from a rival manufacturer for the raw material. Such a manufacturer must sink a considerable capital in plant and buildings, spend large sums in wages, and since his profits depend on a single article, his prices must cover not merely interest upon all the above outlay, but also sums sufficient to serve as insurance against bad seasons and bad trade. If the Chinese cultivator did not manufacture, he would not be able to employ upon his little plot all the brothers, sons, and nephews whose labours enable him to keep every square yard incessantly employed in bearing something. If he does manufacture, he and they divide the manufacturer's profit, and it is practically certain that under these circumstances, the cost of production is reduced quite in proportion to the slight inferiority in its results.

The homestead costs no more for being used as a factory or workshop; the machinery—if such a word can be used for the simple oil and grain mills, the cotton spinning and weaving gear and the tea furnace of the little farmer—is worth less than £15, or less than £25 if we include all the implements, plough, water-wheel, rakes, etc., of the farm itself. The interest upon such trivial sums would be an imperceptible charge; and in fact the Chinese do not trouble themselves with a distinction which in this case would be purely metaphysical, between wages, interest, and profits. But the capital advantage of the combination of a variety of crops and a variety of industries is that the family is insured against loss from the failure or low price of any single crop, or from periods of enforced idleness, during which the workers produce nothing and yet have to be fed. The cultivators are well aware that some crops are more profitable than others, but they also know that if every one gave up all his ground to their cultivation, their value would fall, and the customary equilibrium of production, which experience has shown to be generally advantageous, be upset.

The general outlines of Chinese village life have frequently been described, and M. Simon's account of the Wang family only adds, as it were, flesh and blood to the dry bones of abstract analysis. The village and the clan, or in other words the local and the genealogical bond, may coincide, but it is not necessary or universal for them to do so. The authority exercised by the clan chiefs has been described at length by Doolittle: he observes that in country districts properties are often not divided, so that "there are very numerous instances in which whole villages are composed of relatives, all bearing the same ancestral name. In many cases for long periods of time, no division of inherited property is made, the descendants of a common ancestor living and working together, enjoying and sharing the profits of their labours under the direction of the head of the clan and the heads of the family branches. . . . There may be only one head of the clan. Under him there are several heads of families dwelling

[illegible] and independently. . . . . "The head of the clan has the control of all the heads of families in case of quarrels or criminal acts. If the latter, who may be styled patriarchs, are not able to settle the quarrels or knotty questions which arise among those directly subject to them, they are entitled to call upon the archpatriarch, as the chief of the clan may be styled, for his advice and decision, and the exercise of his influence is very [illegible]

It adds that one motive which sometimes leads the head of a family to execute a division of the property during his own lifetime, is to avoid disputes between the children, or between them and their paternal uncles, who by law and custom are entitled to act as executors or administrators, and might make the position of the eldest son of the deceased embarrassing. Practically, as we see in the Wang family, the community is only kept together so long as it works harmoniously. Chinese custom, like Chinese law, recognises "incompatibility of temper" as fatal to the union which should prevail in families, and a childless person who regards his natural heir with aversion and dislike is allowed to choose in his place some one else of the same generation and degree of relationship. On the same principle, if a daughter's husband has been received into the family, and lives with the parents as a son, he is allowed to take a son's share [illegible]

The rights of the head of a family or clan are in the same way subject to [illegible] in the general interest. If the eldest son of such a personage was an unsatisfactory character, dissipated in morals or of feeble understanding, instead of committing the direction of the family to such unworthy hands, a family council would be called, and some other son or relative appointed in his stead, just as the emperor is required to designate the worthiest of his sons to succeed to the throne. The disinherited son would have the right of appeal to the tribunals, but such appeals from the [illegible] family are very rare.

[illegible]

suicide. Life seems so little worth living to a man outlawed from family and home that even capital sentences are executed by consent.

Boundary stones inscribed with the name of the proprietary family generally mark the division between the land of different owners, but even in the absence of such stones, there is rarely any attempt at encroachment; if disputes upon this or kindred subjects arise, they are almost always settled by the people of the place, or by a sort of congress, held on market day, in which friends, relatives and any one else with special local knowledge are invited to share, joining in the discussion and drinking tea.[1] Public opinion is so just in its verdicts and so generally respected that an appeal from the informal local parliament is almost unheard of.

The mayor of the commune or village headman is in a certain sense a Government official. He has a salary (at the rate of £60 a year, with a population of 8,000), and is responsible for forwarding the taxes to the district governor, and for apportioning any work on roads, tanks, or canals ordered by the central Government. As already explained, he has to decide disputes between neighbours and punish delinquents, besides enforcing regulations about festivals and markets.[2] If the village consists of a single clan, the head of the clan may also fill the office of mayor or headman: but in practice the authority of voluntary local or family groups shades imperceptibly into that of the minor local officers recognised by the State. The gradation does not possess the numerical regularity contemplated in the Chow Li, but it is probably identical in character with the institutions which that ritual professes to describe.

One singular result of the exaltation of agriculture and rural life in China is that civilization, so to speak, has its head quarters in the country rather than the town. People, according to M. Simon, live in cities, as it were, accidentally to trade. But everything that concerns men most, such as schools, libraries and museums, are to be found outside the towns, in the open country. The retired official or merchant bequeaths his library to the village where he begins and ends his days, rather than to the city where his working life is spent and his savings earned.[3] Of course there are born townsmen enough to endow libraries and museums for the city, but the stream of countrymen seeking work in town is fully balanced by a return stream of townsmen seeking rest and pleasure in the country.

[1] Gill, *Ra[illegible]*, p. 2. [2] *M[illegible] Kin[illegible]*, i. p. 483.
[3] [illegible] *G. Eug[illegible] Si[illegible]*, p. 67.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

### *THE WAGES AND ORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY.*

THE distinction between the cultivator and the artisan, the peasant and the mechanic, is less strong in China than Europe; the difference between the standard of comfort in the two classes is probably also slighter, while the difference, if any, may be in favour of the peasant. Chinese wages are low when stated in European currency, but taken in connection with the purchasing power of coin in China, they do not compare unfavourably with the earnings usual in most European countries. Of course wages, as well as rents, vary in different parts of the country; but the following statements correspond fairly with the generalization of a Chinese writer, who puts the average earnings of a workman at a franc a day, half of which is enough to feed a family of five.

Carpenters and masons earn 20 to 30 cents a day, or about 1*s.*, boarding themselves. The usual wages of farm servants are about £3 10*s.* per annum with food,[1] and as prices in general are about one-fifth or one-sixth of those in Europe, this can scarcely be put as less than equivalent to £1 a week. Servants boarding themselves receive 4 to 6 dollars a month,[2] or at the same estimate of the value of money, £50 to £80 a year. But a man appears well off with £8 6*s.* (25 taels) a year. Clerks and accountants receive 10 to 30 dollars a month, or as much in actual money as many of their trade in Europe, while food, clothing, and house rent are indefinitely cheaper.

There has been little or no change in the rate of wages in the last two centuries, for the penal code specifies 7*d.* a day as the amount which officials must pay to carriers or workmen, whom they have wrongfully pressed into their service for work required by them in their private capacity only.[3]

A theatrical company, including perhaps thirty performers, is paid £[illegible] to [illegible] per hours; the theatre, as already mentioned in the description of [illegible], is provided by the locality, but the dresses are often very costly, and the employers have a right to call for which piece [illegible] repertory. There are few villages so poor a

[illegible]

to deny themselves once a year the amusement afforded by one of the numerous itinerant companies of players, who set before the rustics exactly the same interminable historic dramas as are played before a critical town audience.

Tuition fees in China vary, with the teacher's reputation and the age of the pupil, from 2 to 20 dollars a year. Private tutors generally live in their employer's house; they are treated with great respect and allowed to have pupils from outside. "One who teaches thirty or forty boys at an average fee of 4 dollars is doing tolerably well in China, for with the same amount he can buy five or six times as much of provisions or clothing as can be bought in America."[1] This estimate would make the tutor's salary amount to a nominal £32, in addition to his board, or the equivalent of £180 or thereabouts in the West; and this sum, which is not inconsiderable in itself, represents a much better comparative position there than the same income in a land of large fortunes and estates. Looking at the subject from the opposite side, M. Biot estimated the cost to the parents of a year's schooling at 15 frs. in a town, and at 6 frs., or its equivalent in rice, in the country. In many cases the relation between tutor and pupil is maintained through life, as indicated in the will of Yang-chi.[2] Girls learn with their brothers up to the age of eleven or twelve, but the sacredness of the teacher's relation is maintained by the rule which forbids marriages between tutor and pupil.

The sword, as well as the pen, receives comparatively favourable treatment in China, a soldier's wages coming to about £12, which, at the rate agreed on by native and foreign authorities, represents between £60 and £70 a year. Both officers and privates receive half their pay in grain, and six months of this is advanced in time of war, when they receive *two* pays, one for themselves and one for their families—an institution which the British soldier, even when married "with leave," may well regard with envy. Funeral expenses and pensions are given to the families of those who die on a campaign; but, as a missionary observed at the beginning of the last century, there is so little real fighting that a berth in the army was coveted, like a place under Government elsewhere, as a kind of sinecure. As we imagine to have been the case in ancient Egypt, the soldiers receive a kind of retaining fee in time of peace, but the army is only really effective when its services are kept in constant request.

Chinese workshops as a rule only employ a small number of operatives, six or eight at most, and little is known of the working of the few factories on a larger scale. Whenever it is feasible, the Chinese workman prefers piece or contract work to day wages, because competition is so far controlled by custom that the system is not used as an indirect means for reducing wages. The quality, the pace, and the price of the work are all fixed by custom, and the gain to the piece worker is allowed to include the whole price of the superintendence saved by the contract. The

[1] *When I [illegible] a Boy in China*, by Yan Phou Lee, p. 52.
[2] *Ante*, p. 202.

"driving" of a foreman or the "chasing"[1] of a fellow-workman are grievances which do not need to be resisted by the trade organizations of China, because the industrial community contains no persons capable of outraging custom in such a direction. If, for the sake of argument, one imagines it possible for a wealthy manufacturer or landowner to aim at introducing new forms or conditions of labour, unacceptable to the operatives, and the dispute were referred to the tribunals, there can be no question that the officials would condemn the innovation, and uphold the demands of the trade union, in accordance with the old English legal maxim, *Cuique in sua arte credendum est.*

It does not seem to have occurred to Chinese employers to regard as an evil the natural solidarity of feeling which subsists among those who follow the same occupation, and as a consequence their small essays in the way of profit-sharing are not received with suspicion. M. Simon mentions a foundry in Sz'chuen, at which a red flag is hoisted every day that the output exceeds 36 tons; if it exceeds 40 tons, the workmen receive a small ration of meat in addition to their regular wages; if it exceeds 45 tons, this ration is doubled; and if the output reaches 54 tons, two glasses of rice wine are added to the meat.[2]

We are indebted to Mr. Little's good fortune for a glimpse of the working of another Chinese factory on the larger scale. Like M. Simon, he was invited to tea by a gentleman through whose land he was passing, and then, without further introduction, pressed to stay the night. The host in this case was a well-to-do gentleman farmer, of old Catholic family, with an income in grain equivalent to about £300 a year: this family possessed also a silk-weaving establishment with twenty looms, besides spinning gear, and a shop in Ching-king for the disposal of their wares. But they lived themselves on the produce of their garden and farm, spending in actual money only some £30 a year. About 100 men were employed in the factory of this family, earning 5*d.* a day and their food.

Coal-miners in the same district, working in two shifts of twelve hours, receive about 7*d.* a day and food estimated at half as much more. Their wages are paid every ten days, pay-day being a holiday, so that ten days' pay is given for nine days' work. As already intimated, they take a warm bath on coming off their shift; and the galleries are not allowed to be less than 8 feet high, for the sake of ventilation, nor to go so far underground [illegible] danger of accidents to life or limb. The average wages [illegible] coal-field in Shantung is 9*d.* a day, while coal

[illegible]

at the pit's mouth fetches 5*s.* a ton.[1] Pumpelly mentions a coal-field in Chih-li where the miner's wages amount to one-third of the value of the coal got by him, or about 20*d.* per ton, the output varying from 6 cwt. to half a ton per diem, so that the earnings range from 6*d.* to 10*d.* a day.[2] The same writer roughly estimates the value of money at Peking as twenty times as much as in New York and London; and, though this must be an exaggeration, it represents fairly the impression of extreme cheapness produced by comparing the cost of travellers' luxuries there with the prices charged to English and American tourists in English and American capitals.

Hired tea-pickers are paid 5*d.* a day, but experts can earn 6*d.* to 9*d.* a day piece-work: wages of labourers in the tea districts range from 2*d.* to 3*d.* a day with their food, which is almost always furnished by the farmers, and which may cost about 3*d.* or 4*d.* more, making the whole day's labour amount to 6*d.* to 7*d.*[3] Women and children earn about 3*d.* a day for picking the dead leaves from tea. Boatmen, like the cultivators in summer, eat five meals a day, and receive 5*d.* a day in addition.[4] The boatmen of a salvage corps, or sort of Humane Society, on the Yang-tse-kiang, are paid 6*d.* a day, besides 8*s.* for every living body they rescue, and 6*s.* or 7*s.* for every corpse. Junkmen in Sz'chuen get 8*d.* a day and five cupfuls of cooked rice;[5] and, though this class is reckoned among the lowest of the population, Mr. Little found them paying 5*d*, to hire a flower boat to give them a concert. The pay of a horse and man is given at 9*d.* a day. In another district the men employed in an Imperial gun-foundry earn 6*d.* a day and their food; but at the salt works, where, however, some perquisites in kind are probably enjoyed, only 2*d.* a day and food.[6]

The Consular reports from Chinese treaty ports do not give the kind of information respecting wages and the conditions of industry which have been furnished of late years from other countries. Such details as they give incidentally, however, confirm the statements of the mass of travellers. The weekly wages of the operatives in a single cotton mill recently opened in Shanghai range from 3*s.* to 4*s.* 6*d.* for women, and from 4*s.* 6*d.* to 12*s.* for men. "All the operatives are Chinese, who have been trained to the work within the brief period since the mill began, and they do their work quite as efficiently as foreign hands, though in some departments double the number is still required."[7] The leisurely character of Chinese industry is also noted by an engineer, who observes that the "cost of a given quantity of work is the same here as in Italy, for the Chinese

[1] Williamson, p. 117.
[2] *Scientific Contribution*, vol. xxx., no. 4, p. 29. In a [illegible] consists [illegible] eight hours. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[3] [illegible], *Pioneer*, pp. 42, 158.
[4] [illegible], *Mission*, [illegible], 1892, p. 261.
[5] Cooper, *Pioneer*, p. 66.
[6] Williamson, *Journey*, p. 307.
[7] *Consular Reports*, No. 1141, Shanghai, 1892.

though they receive far lower wages, have not the strength of Italians, and cannot do the same amount of work."[1]

The absence of the middleman and the large capitalist in Chinese enterprise is also illustrated by the account[2] of the soap-stone mines, forty miles from Wenchow, the use of which has received a large development owing to the foreign demand for curios. The hills containing the steatite used are owned by twenty to thirty families, who either work the quarries themselves or employ miners. The stone is sold at the pit mouth, while still soft, to carvers at a uniform price of about ½*d.* the lb., and the carvings are hawked about by pedlars at the same (or even a lower) rate than that at which the carvers themselves offer them in the neighbourhood.

The people are most prosperous in the most fertile parts of the country, or where articles of commercial value, like tea and silk, are produced; "they have more comfortable houses, are better fed and better clothed than they are in other places." "I never," says Fortune, "saw the people as a whole better dressed than those of Hoo-chow. Every person I met above the common working coolie was dressed in silk or crape, and even the coolies have at least one dress for holiday wear." These observations are confirmed by another authority. Notwithstanding the dense population of Honan, where the value of the wheat and cotton crop is very great, wages, according to Baron v. Richthofen, are 1*d.* to 1½*d.* a day more than in Hoope and Hunan; this shows that all classes profit proportionately from the fertility of the soil—a result which, as Cobbett observed, was so far from being attained in England that the rights of Common of the poor subsisted longest in the counties which were by nature least attractive to the moneyed encloser, so that the poor were best off on the worst land.

A well-informed writer[illegible] has suggested, as a means of estimating the comparative rate of real wages in China and other countries, that the [illegible] of years [illegible] that it will take a young man, [illegible] his industrial life at eighteen, without capital, to earn and save enough to keep himself, marry, and buy land enough for himself and his [illegible] looking at the question [illegible] eliminates all uncertainty as to the purchasing power of money [illegible] [illegible] young men [illegible] [illegible] shoes, and free shaving. Clothes may cost [illegible] [illegible] the savings of ten years, [illegible] [illegible] and implements to work it. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] R.A.S. [illegible] 1867.

holding up to two-thirds of an acre, and to buy one-third of a buffalo. His marriage would cost another six years' labour, so that starting with nothing at eighteen, at forty-four the Chinese labourer may find himself independent and possessed of what, for him, is a competence. And of course few labourers of that age start really with nothing, as their labour up to that age is regarded as, at least, worth so much as to enable their parents to provide the wife, which propriety requires them not to wait for too long.

These results do not presuppose so high a standard of agricultural profits as M. Simon attributes to Mr. Wang. In the rice region of Wenchow, two-fifths of the land is cultivated by its owners and three-fifths let. The tenants pay half the rice crop, one acre yielding over 19 piculs, giving to each about $21; the owner pays the land tax, $1 80 cents, and the farmer every other expense, while the latter takes the intervening crops, worth $15. "The relations of landlord and tenant give rise to no ill-will; all are satisfied by arrangements developed in long bygone ages." But the landlord's net rent does not represent much over 5 per cent., while the landlord is quite frequently poorer than the tenant, as where one-sixth of an acre is owned by a widow or a coolie and let out to the cultivator of adjoining plots for half the yield of rice.

There is not a large class of women working for wages in China; a certain number are employed as domestic servants in the richer households, where their status is much the same as that of the poor relations who frequently fill a similar position. Girls and children are employed in many quasi-domestic trades in China, and work is given out from shops to be done by women at home. "For common embroidery not more than 3*d.* a day is paid. For the finer work they never receive more than 9*d.* a day, working from early dawn till dusk."[1] In other words, a skilled embroideress gets about what General Tcheng-ki-tong considers the normal wages of a male labourer,—which wages are five times as much as a man needs for the strict necessaries of life. There is in China, owing to the universality of marriage (and of industry among husbands), no class of women living on their own unsupplemented earnings, yet the price of skilled feminine work is such as might suffice for the maintenance of an humble family, and the lowest wages mentioned, apart from food, which is generally included, are well above starvation point. During the short silk season, a woman can earn 1*s.* a day by silk-winding.[2]

Food grows everywhere, and therefore, except in times of famine, the imperfect means of communication are not a serious evil; and, of course, a large proportion of the people find employment in the transport of the more valuable commodities, which fetch a price sufficient to cover freight. Where the above rates of wages rule, prices are on a corresponding scale. Plates of cherries are sold by the wayside in one district for half a farthing; grapes in another for 1*d.* or less, the catty; entertainment for an evening, with tea, tobacco, and melon seeds, costs about 1*d.* Seats at a

[1] *Child Life in China*, Mrs. Bryan, p. [illegible].
[2] E. H. Parker, *China Review*, [illegible], p. [illegible].

theatre, for a performance lasting forty-eight hours, cost from 2 centimes to 2*d.* A good meal of rice, ready cooked, costs $\frac{3}{4}$*d.*; coolies and bearers can eat and drink their fill for 3*d.* a day,[1] and the students at a military school only pay 4*d.* a day for their board, which is considered ample by the youths themselves.[2] A respectable gentleman is only charged 5*d.* at an inn for a night's lodging and food, and the very slight difference between the cost of food to the workman and to persons in easy circumstances is the most conclusive proof possible that the former do not suffer from want in this respect at least. There are no duties on food, and the extreme cheapness of small commodities and services has the effect, foretold by theorists, of making the workmen act to a great extent as each other's employers.

It is common to see a man sitting in the street to be shaved, while a cobbler mends his boot and a sempstress his jacket.[3] M. Simon notes that, as in the Middle Ages with us, there is little difference between the rate of pay in trades and professions. A mason, carpenter, or agricultural labourer earns almost as much as an artist or doctor. The fee of the latter may range from 2*d.* to 5*d.*, but never higher. An art workman or designer earns 5*d.* or 6*d.* a day without food, or in the country, with food, $2\frac{1}{2}$*d.* to 3*d.* These wages are rather lower than those previously quoted, but the following prices from the same source must be taken in connection with them. Beef, $1\frac{1}{2}$*d.* a lb.; pork, 3*d.*; mutton, 2*d.*; fish, 1*d.* to $1\frac{1}{2}$*d.*; a fowl, $3\frac{1}{2}$*d.* to 5*d.*; a duck, 4*d.*; tea, ten cups, 1*d.*; rice wine (a glass), 1*d.*; bed at an inn, $\frac{1}{2}$*d.*; pair of velvet shoes, 2*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.*; wadded winter dress, 6*s.* to 8*s.*; straw hat, $\frac{1}{2}$*d.* to a 1*d.*; summer dress, 1*s.* 8*d.* to 2*s.*; cloak lined with sheep skin, 6*s.* to 8*s.*; pair of string working shoes, $\frac{3}{4}$*d.* to $1\frac{1}{2}$*d.*[4] The cost of luxuries of persons of distinction is proportionately moderate. If a gentleman wishes to entertain his friends, he invites them to dine at a restaurant, where the usual price for a suitable entertainment is 3*s.* a head, eight being the normal number of guests; 10*s.* a head is the highest sum ever charged for banquets of great solemnity,[5] and it must be remembered that the restrictions on expenditure for show has driven Chinese luxury to concentrate itself more in proportion upon the pleasures of the table than is the case in Europe.

As agriculture runs into industry, industry merges itself in commerce. Every Chinaman, as M. Simon observes, has half a dozen trades at his fingers' ends, and can be at will cultivator, weaver, basket-maker, shoemaker, or even smith. In sheds worth a few francs, they will cast cannon, shells, or [illegible] sixty feet high. We can judge how little change there has been in the ordinary life of China by the illustration given in a letter to [illegible] of 1712 of the way in which families whose whole capital does not exceed a crown, yet live decently on the profits derived from its judi[illegible]. A [illegible] of twenty-three shillings spends them in buying [illegible]

[1] [illegible] p. 21[illegible].
[2] [illegible] 1[illegible].
[3] *Mid. Kingdom*, ii. p. 1[illegible].
[4] [illegible] p. 225.
[5] [illegible]

flour, and rice, and makes them into little breakfast cakes, which the labourers buy before dawn on their way to work. He clears perhaps 10*d.* on the job, and half that sum suffices to feed his family for the day.[1]

This man combines in his one person the functions of master and journeyman baker, and of itinerant vendor and stall-keeper, and he is entitled to interest on his capital as well as wages for his labour; but his demands in the former capacity are so modest that they do not raise his total earnings above those of a mechanic; hence his prices are so low that mechanics can employ him without extravagance, and actually experience the economy of that co-operative cooking so often recommended to English housewives. Fuel is really scarce in most parts of China, and therefore it is cheaper for the poor to buy cooked food to eat in the streets, as in ancient Egypt, than to employ the wife, as with us, in cooking at home. If, however, an occasion presents itself when the community can do its own cooking free of cost, it is seized with alacrity.

Wells Williams describes a method used for burning shells to lime, which serves this purpose; a wood fire is kindled under a heap of shells enclosed by a low wall, making a sort of furnace, and when, in a few hours the shells are calcined, the villagers assemble round the enclosure to cook their rice and vegetables over the burning pile. After all have profited by the temporary heat, which costs nothing, the lime is taken out next morning and sifted for the mason.[2] Oyster, cockle, and mussel shells are also burnt with coal dust for lime, which when mixed with oil makes excellent putty, and is used for cementing coffins; but any attempt to deal with the by-ways of Chinese industry would carry us too far afield.

Everything *in rerum natura* that can serve some useful purpose is put to it, and nothing that can serve two purposes is allowed to stop short at one. In England a few large fortunes are made by the utilization of so-called waste material. In the neighbourhood of Birmingham "button waste" is used for manure, but thrift in China does in small what is only attempted wholesale in England, so that every scrap left from the carcass of an individual ox or sheep helps to fertilize a private cabbage garden, and the millions share unconsciously amongst themselves the profits which, with us, enrich perhaps one scientific speculator out of ten.

Town sewage, which in England is employed at vast expense in poisoning rivers and estuaries, is dealt with in the same way by private enterprise: it is collected, without charge, by the cultivators in the suburbs; and indeed, according to one traveller, the Peking householders, instead of paying their scavengers, are by them supplied with vegetables in return for leave to perform the service. The whole of China, it is complained by some travellers, is rendered painfully unhealthy by this national devotion to the dung-hill: but by doing all their drainage on the surface, they at least escape one danger of imperfect civilization—in the generation of sewer gas. Tanks and water-courses are cleaned out frequently for the sake of the muddy sediment at the bottom, which is highly valued for manure.

[1] *Journ. R. As. Soc.* [illegible] p. 2[illegible]3. [2] *Middle Kingdom*, [illegible] p. 55.

All these fertilizers are not, as in Europe, scattered indiscriminately over the fields. "The Chinese manure the plant, not the ground," and consider all time and care well spent which adds ever so slightly to the harvest. In Chih-li, near the borders of Shansi, manure is made by strewing the roads with chopped straw, which the horses trample and reduce to a kind of litter. When nothing edible can be raised in the interval between harvest and seed-time, a green crop is often sown for manure, as clover is raised in Chusan on ridges of the rice-field in winter, to be pulled in spring to plough and harrow into the wet ground.

If the profits of agriculture and industry are kept up by this incessant and imaginative thriftiness, they are also kept down to the same sort of level as wages, because every Chinaman is as ready to sell as to make. In Canton, where there is a large population living entirely on the water, boats dealing with every kind of ware that can be required take the place of shops. There are shrimp-boats, pea-boats, fish, cake, rice, meat, pork, bean-curd, firewood, and flower-boats, over and above those which use the water highway for trade or fishing. One article of commerce is water from the river, taken up at the spawning grounds of fish. Such bucketfuls are freely bought to be emptied into the ponds and tanks of villagers, where fish are bred in sufficient quantities to make an appreciable addition to the food supply. According to the missionaries of last century, a profit of 100 per cent. was sometimes realized thus, and by the same means, a crop, as we may call it, is snatched out of the shallows left by winter floods, before they dry up and allow grain to follow fish.

Chinese society is not divided into employers and employed, but the principle of unionism is familiar to and accepted by all classes. Voluntary associations, partnerships, guilds, and corporations, like those of the Phœnicians and Berbers, are the rule everywhere. The "tendency to associate" is a characteristic of Chinese life. "In trade, capitalists associate to found great banks, to sell favourite medicines, or engross leading staples; little farmers club together to buy an ox, pedlars to get the custom of a street, porters to monopolize the loads in a ward, or chair-bearers to furnish all the sedans in a town. Beggars are allotted to one or two streets by their [illegible] beat off one another's beat if they encroach. Each guild of [illegible] masons, or even of physicians or teachers, works [illegible] interests, keeps its own members in order, and defend[illegible]. Villagers form themselves into organizations [illegible] clans; [illegible] The [illegible] of its members and the [illegible]

[illegible] European [illegible]

of commerce, while the other is a "trade union" in the modern sense.[1] The associations of commercial men regulate the conduct of their members in the same spirit and with the same minuteness as trade unions proper, and the latter differ from the corresponding English societies in generally including masters and workmen, united to uphold the interest of the trade against society at large, instead of upholding the interest of their several classes against each other. Wages and prices are fixed concurrently. A few years ago, in consequence of the depreciation of silver, the Wenchow blacksmiths' union found it necessary to revise its bye-laws, and, being a mixed society, in its own words, "agreed on a new tariff of wages for work and price for our manufactured works."[2] That prices should be left as they were and wages lowered, occurred to no one.

Disputes as to the rate of wages occur so seldom as not to give a *raison d'être* for separate workmen's associations. In large trades where these exist, they regulate the conduct of the journeymen among themselves, in the same manner as the masters' associations. The right of the workers to combine has never been questioned, but on the rare occasions when they combine against employers, it is for the decision of some particular dispute; they unite for a strike, and disband when, as is almost always the case, it has been successful. The local authorities have the habit of upholding the decisions of industrial and commercial organizations. When appealed to in civil cases, they often refer the litigants to the town guilds for arbitration, or themselves consult the guilds as to the lawful, *i.e.* the customary, usage. It is assumed that such bodies as these would not threaten public harmony by a strike, unless they had some substantial grievance; and if the magistrates interpose at all, it is to compel the masters to remove the provocation complained of.

The rules of the societies vary with the different trades. The Wenchow silk-weavers' and dyers' union lays down that "members of the association shall work carefully with their best skill, and pay for silk that has been damaged by bungling." A hand employed by one manufacturer and working surreptitiously (?overtime) for another, is fined the cost of a play and feast. One who steals silk from an employer is expelled the trade, and the purchaser fined as before. Wages are paid two or four months in advance, and members are forbidden to leave, or to set up for themselves, till all advances are worked off. Weaving is to be taught before dyeing, and no shop to have more than one apprentice at dyeing at the same time. Manufacturers shall have but one member of their family learning the art at one time. A shop of three looms may have two apprentices, not more. Apprentices serve five years as such, and two years as journeymen.

Many unions limit the number of apprentices. Some, as the gold-beaters at Wenchow, allow none but sons and nephews of workmen or masters to learn the trade. Silk-weavers are forbidden to teach or employ women,

[1] [illegible] *Trade Union*, by D. J. McGowan, M.D., [illegible], xxi. 3, 4 (March, 1887).
[2] [illegible] 172.

and needle-makers only allow the wives and daughters of members living at home to assist in drilling needle-eyes. In some cases membership is reserved to natives of a locality, and several of the provisions of this sort are traces rather of old than new caste feeling.

The millers' union fines those who sell flour for less than the price agreed on, and forbids its members to give credit to any one who is in debt to another member. No abatement of price is to be allowed to large consumers, such as pastry-makers, etc.; and the code ends with the injunction of world-wide appropriateness: "Let not observance of these rules be a mere spurt at the outset and dawdling afterwards!" The dyers' union, in view of the fluctuation in the prices of indigo, admits that charges for dyeing may change twice a year, but not oftener, and in the interval the price agreed on must be adhered to: accounts are to be settled, as we should say, quarterly, *i.e.* at the end of the three terms into which the year is divided.

Every half-century or so the societies generally find it necessary to revise their bye-laws and make a fresh start. The Wenchow barbers' union distinguished itself by abrogating a custom, without legal force, which forbade them to attend the literary examinations, though they had to appeal to the governor of the province before obtaining this satisfaction. The kittysols' union and the pewterers' association, finding their trade suffer from the bad quality of wares put on the market, passed regulations forbidding, under the same penalties as underselling, the adulteration of tin with lead and the manufacture of paper umbrellas of inferior quality. Fishing boats are grouped in tens for mutual guarantee: ten tens elect a chief, and if a member of the group wishes to sell his boat or turn her into a merchantman, he must notify his colleagues and obtain their sanction. The Ningpo fishermen's union prescribes the use of standard weights, and fines fishermen who increase the weight of their hampers of fish by putting sand at the bottom.

Unions in which piecework prevails limit the number of hours to be worked by members; weaving, for instance, must not go on after nine at night. The hours of day workers are fixed by custom. Carpenters are said by Dr. MacGowan, from whom most of the above particulars are derived, to work eleven hours in summer and nine in winter, and masons [illegible] longer; the latter, perhaps, because there are fewer days [illegible] work, and in all cases it must be remembered that work and meals are taken at a leisurely rate.

[illegible] China with most of [illegible] West [illegible] that we have [illegible] is heard in theory [illegible]

versal cheapness, and a corresponding extension of the purchasing power of all classes. In a country without foreign trade, all increase of production means increased power of consumption, unless production is diverted from the supply of things necessary and useful to that of unprofitable luxuries or curiosities. But for universal cheapness to be an equal boon to all classes, it is of course necessary that all classes should retain for themselves substantially the whole real value of their labour.

We have seen that this is, to an unusual extent, the case in China. The rules of most of the trade societies provide for the contingency of the journeyman setting up in business for himself, and when this occurs frequently, it follows of course that the change of status implies very little increase of wealth. The master workman pays so much in direct wages to his own journeymen, and so much indirectly, in the price of goods, for the wages of other employers' journeymen, that he realizes little more than a decent and easy wage for himself. The employer in Europe and America is more highly paid, and the natural course of exchange is disturbed by the concentration in a few hands of gains in excess of the natural spending power of their owner. The normal course is for producers to exchange, one with another, the surplus produce of their several industries.

Putting 3,650 lbs. of rice as representing the necessaries of life for a year, and supposing the cultivator to grow, single-handed, 5,000 lbs., or one quarter of the grain crop of Wang-ming-tse, he has 1,350 lbs. left to spend on other utilities and luxuries. Supposing the labour of artisans in general to average the same degree of productiveness, the surplus represents the value of 135 days' labour. We will suppose the labourer to employ a blacksmith and a carpenter for his farm implements; a shoemaker, tailor, weaver, hatter, kittysol maker, and embroideress for his wardrobe; a butcher, baker, fisherman, poulterer, and teaman for his dinner-table, besides doctor, schoolmaster, actors, and other miscellaneous workers, to the number, say, of twenty in all; he can pay each of them the wages of seven days' work, more or less; about two thirds of the work of each of these employees of the labourer will serve in like manner to buy rice, and the surplus, *mutatis mutandis*, will buy the fruit of 120 days' work of various other kinds. Increased production in any trade will cheapen any article for which the demand is fixed, and therefore leave a larger surplus for the satisfaction of other wants; or if the demand is expansive, make the available surplus of consumers go farther in gratifying their desires. The wrong thing might conceivably be produced at a given time and place; but over-production in general, if threatened, would cure itself by a general extension of leisure, if the use of machinery or other discoveries made it possible for any million of men together to make more things than they cared to use. But this contingency would not need serious consideration while the natural increase of population went on unchecked.

Unless it is maintained, that the division of labour and the use of machinery have had such a stupefying and brutalizing effect upon European operatives, as to make their individual additions to the national wealth less

than that of each leisurely Chinaman with his primitive tools, there is nothing but custom—which is not unalterable in Europe—to prevent our operatives from reclaiming for themselves a proportion of the wealth they contribute to produce, equivalent to the proportion retained by mechanics in the land of Wang-ming-tse; and when this is done, over-production will have as little terrors for the civilized West as for the indefatigable Middle Kingdom.

# CHAPTER XXVIII.

## *COMMERCE AND TRADE.*

### § 1. Chinese Moralists on Interest and Profits.

Artisans who retail their own manufactures and cultivators who sell the products of the soil are not counted among traders. Merchants, or those exclusively engaged in selling what they do not make or grow, are divided into four classes—those engaged in foreign trade, in internal commerce or transport; those with wholesale warehouses, and those with retail shops. The richest men in the empire belong to the three first classes, and they are the only ones among whom any show of luxury is to be met with. Even this is indulged in at their peril, for the owners of wealth are looked upon by Government as the dangerous class. Both law and custom are unfavourable to accumulation, so that large fortunes do not remain long in the same family. Heiresses are unknown, and thus, by a diametrically opposite method, the same result is reached as among the Basques, for fortunes are not increased by marriage. The Chinese millionaire is as likely as not to leave thirty grandsons, equally entitled to share in his inheritance, and the next generation can at most succeed to a modest competence.

The trading class as a whole is considered to stand lowest of the four generally recognised, and before quoting Western accounts of Chinese commercial morality and usage it will be well to ascertain what the atmosphere of authoritative native opinion has been, while existing practices and tendencies were acquiring their actual character. The general opinion of Chinese authors is that commerce should be as far as possible restricted to the satisfaction of the real wants of the community; and the profits of trade are viewed askance as soon as they seem to exceed the fair wages of a carrier, apparently because of a confused feeling that a man who lives by profits only is a kind of usurer. The question of the morality and expediency of lending money at interest has been copiously discussed by Chinese authors, but it is usually considered in connection with the wider problem, how to prevent commerce from ministering to luxury and promoting inequality of wealth.

Valuable citations are given on this subject by Amyot in the Essay previously quoted, but, unfortunately, in most cases without any mention of the date of the authors referred to.[1] One of them observes: "There is

[1] *Intérêt de l'argent en Chine.* *Mém. conc. les Chinois*, vol. iv. p. 200 ff.

the trade between families in the same place, the trade from village to village, from town to town, from province to province, which are easy and natural on account of their proximity, and lastly there is the commercial intercourse between different provinces, and between all the provinces and the capital." (The "carrying of cloth to exchange it for silk" is as old as the Odes.) These are necessary and legitimate, but great wealth obtained and costly luxuries introduced by trade are evils and the source of evil.

Kwan-tse wrote, 2,000 years ago, "The money which comes in by trade only enriches a country so far as it goes out again in trade. The exchange of necessary and useful articles is the only commerce that can be advantageous in the long run. The trade in objects of curiosity, ostentation and refinement, whether carried on by barter or purchase, presupposes luxury; and luxury, which consists in the abounding superfluities of some citizens, supposes the absence of necessaries among many others. The more horses the rich have in their chariots, the more persons there are who go on foot. The more vast and magnificent the palaces of the rich, the smaller and more miserable the huts of the poor;[1] for every table with a variety of dishes, there are others reduced to eat plain rice." Foreign commerce is only useful in so far as it brings serviceable commodities into the empire. Thus, in the 18th century the northern trade in furs was considered beneficial, and that with the Japanese and Europeans not so; while the exportation of tea and silk were regretted as lessening the quantity, and raising the price of that left for home consumption.

These writers contend that the luxury, introduced by commerce under the Hans, would have ruined the empire if it had not been put a stop to with the foreign trade that gave it birth. The tendency in this direction cannot be eradicated, but it can be kept in check. Wise administration, Liaou-tchi observes, consists in keeping the consumption of every class in the customary proportion, and only allowing increased consumption when production has been so increased that it is not indulged in at the expense of any other class, and so does not appear odious to the multitude. The Government, he holds, should visit with penalties and disgrace everything that tends to diminish the production of useful commodities, *e.g.* letting pleasure gardens occupy good ground, planting curious and un-[illegible] gathering the buds of the tea-tree, and any employment of labour which withdraws the peasants from the cultivation of the ground and [illegible] industries useful to the public.

[illegible] denounce of luxury, [illegible] Kwan-tse's argument: "If [illegible] the poor will not [illegible] to eat mutton." The [illegible] should be encouraged to spend itself upon [illegible] considerations than their intrinsic [illegible] [illegible] by the skill ex-

[illegible]

pended in their manufacture, or the singularity of the material—and which do not cause any injurious consumption. Common things have a well-known market rate, but those which owe their value to fashion or convention can fetch a fancy price. People in the provinces will give any money for hair-pins or earrings from Peking, and it is the same with old vases and pictures, curios and delicacies for the table. The merchant's 30 per cent. is covered out of the profits he gets from retailing such luxuries as these, and the interest, which obliges him to raise his prices, is thus really a veiled tax on luxury.

This author's reasoning is scarcely sound, as the dealers in necessaries may have to borrow, as well as purveyors of luxuries. But human societies are moved by feeling rather than argument, and current fallacies are quite as sure an index to the tone of national feeling as the soundest reasoning; so that Wan-yang's defence of interest may take its place by the side of any equally sincere and equally inconclusive 19th century *plaidoyer* for the principle of *laissez faire*.

Tsien-tchi, forestalling, in one sentence, the observation of Malthus and the doctrine of free trade, points out that commerce is more necessary to the empire, now that it is more populous and less productive in proportion than in the ancient days, because, in order to economize its actual resources to the utmost, everything must be produced where it can be produced most cheaply. Tsien-tchi rather leans to the Innovator's view, that trade should be organized by the State, and he uses this possibility to show that it is a prejudice to look down on traders. It is a breach of the antique equality in the distribution of property that the receipts of some should exceed their expenses, so that they have money to lay by which they are not obliged to use; but if this cannot be prevented, for them to withdraw this surplus from circulation would impoverish the State, or at least interfere with the normal rate of exchange.

The rate of interest, which brings and keeps these sums in circulation, is therefore a gain to trade. Besides, it is not only the rich who benefit by the rate of interest; the smallest sums can be utilized, and so the labourer and the artisan do not lose their chance of profit, while the savings, which they need to draw upon after the least misfortune, can be recalled at the shortest notice. Even if the traders did not need to borrow, they would be wise to do so, that all classes might be interested in the success of trade.

"Why is it that we find everywhere such pains taken to facilitate the safe and easy transport of goods by land and water; why are all the dealings that concern the purchase, sale, or despatch of goods completed with such promptitude and good faith? Why are the privileges of fairs and markets so scrupulously respected, and the police regulations affecting them so mild and effective? Is it not because almost every one has money invested in trade, or is interested in some one who has?"

The same view is urged by Man-chan, another free trader, who observes that the Government acts wisely in not taxing commerce, which would only

mean making the traders collect for it certain taxes in the form of increased prices from the community. The toleration of high interest serves, he thinks, as a substitute for State favour or encouragement. The fact that it is possible to trade without owning capital makes the profits of trade to be more widely distributed. If a rich man trades with his own money, he employs the services of others, to whom he pays little, while they earn much; and so, while living in idleness himself, he reaps the whole profit of their industry, while if he lends at a stated interest, the borrower, who does the real work, enjoys the whole of whatever profit may be made over and above. Here, again, the argument is unconsciously instructive. The approach to equality of wealth in China is due to the extent to which the poor man participates in the profits of capital, and to the fact that he can borrow at the same rate as the rich; though it is not due to the fact that his capital is, almost necessarily, borrowed.[1]

A certain minister called So-ling once lent 20,000 ozs. of silver from the treasury to twelve little merchants, and when asked why he did so, said: "In order that the public may not have to pay for the banquets, the entertainments, the varnishes, the concubines and slaves of him who has monopolized the trade in silks." The rivalry between a number of less wealthy dealers obliges them to compete with each other in industry and skill, and not ruin the public with high prices. He continues, more reasonably than Wan-yang, that the demand for objects of necessity is so sure and constant that the capital is turned over frequently, so that the trader can live in modest comfort, after paying 30 per cent. without raising his prices; it is only upon articles of luxury, for which the demand is uncertain, that the price might have to be raised enough to diminish the demand, and this is by no means an evil, for, as Tchin-tse avers, the taste for luxury is a leaven of death and decay in the body politic, so that the masterpiece of political wisdom is to cause it to discharge by a few particular wounds, instead of corrupting all the blood.

This plea for large fortunes may rank with Dr. Johnson's defence of primogeniture, that it was well to make sure of having only one fool in the family. But, as the Chinese say, "Old scholars are always scolding," praising antiquity, which they know well, at the expense of their own age, of which they know very little, for one reason, because its history is not yet included in the annals. "Wretches," cries Lin-wen-hi, "burn your annals, and let them end before you appear in them!" He, writing under the Mings, says that the poor alone are still kind and generous, and he thinks the legal toleration of interest as bad as allowing fathers to sell their children, or winking at the existence of idol temples and disorderly houses. In [illegible] times, men lent [illegible] and kindred, and disguised their

gifts under that name (just as we are assured they do now), and if it is true that they did so less readily under the Ming than before or since, the fact would be fairly reckoned to the discredit of the period, which did in some ways tend to reproduce the social evils of the Han Dynasty.

The Chinese distinction between loans for necessity, for convenience, for trade, and for prodigality has been alluded to in a former volume. Loans for need only were familiar in antiquity, and usurers then raised the rate of interest to cover risks from bad security, and demanded "interest upon interest," so that the loan might double in a single year. In theory, all borrowing is bad; but the character of the lender and the borrower, and the object of the loan, really make more difference as to the good or evil result than the amount of the interest. "Free loans have ruined more poor people than interest at 30 per cent." [1]

To borrow may save a small cultivator or tradesman from selling at a loss, or reducing the capital for his future operations; but if the interest is high, debtors of this character are as eager to pay as the creditor would be to get paid; while in the case of loans for prodigality, there is an opposite advantage: "Nowadays it only takes a year or two to ruin the heir of a mandarin or a great merchant, who might formerly have spent several years in corrupting a whole town by his feasts and debaucheries." If a man is too rich to need to work, and not learned enough to take office, the only two alternatives open to him in private life are to squander his money rapidly, so that he and his children must return to the paths of industry, or to found a family, that will live modestly upon an income that diminishes by subdivision in each generation, till the same result is reached. And though the latter course is more praiseworthy in the individual, it almost looks as if Chinese opinion considered the former to be better for society at large.

The *rentier* is not a favourite character with Chinese politicians: "The worst governed State is that in which there is the largest number of isolated and egoistic citizens who are only bound to society by the boons they receive from it . . . the moneyed citizen is the only idler; through the money he lends, he reaps without sowing, he enjoys the labours of others without needing to do anything himself, like the moss or mistletoe which feed upon the sap of the tree they cling to, and are never greener or more flourishing than during its decay; they fatten on the toils of others, and a season of calamity is their good fortune."

The payment of interest on loans is said to date from the founder of the T'sin Dynasty, the burner of the books; it has any way been tolerated for the last 1,500 years. The legal maximum is 3 per cent. per mensem, and the usual rate, as already mentioned, 30 per cent. per annum. The capital and interest remain the same in spite of the lapse of time; any breach of this law is punished by forty blows, or one hundred if any artifice is used for adding the interest to the capital. Failure to pay the promised lawful interest may also be punished with blows, but the judges are expected to consider the circumstances and equity of the case.

[1] [illegible], p. 184.

Leang-tsien says the ancients only tolerated low interest: 30 per cent. is usurious, and its official sanction is therefore not primitive; in general it is denounced by the literati,—who objected also to the Innovator's loans at 4 per cent.—and defended by practical politicians. But the hostility of the scholars is not proof positive against the antiquity of the usage. Tradesmen may have lent and borrowed at 30 per cent. in the days of Confucius or in those of Yao and Shun, and the Classics have taken as little notice of the fact as the Egyptian monuments do, though one of the Odes speaks expressly of the high and apparently dishonourable profits of trade.

Tchao-ing defends the legal rate by curious reasons; he assumes that money naturally brings in more profit than lands, and the license to lend was, he concludes, aimed at and has actually secured "the chief good, that the cultivators, the most numerous, useful, virtuous, and industrious class, should possess lands enough of their own to live in comfort without being rich, instead of continuing the miserable slaves of moneyed citizens who fatten in useless idleness on the fruits of their labours." If money is allowed to bring in no more than agriculture, every one would prefer the security of land; if, however, it is allowed to bring in all that persons engaged in more lucrative pursuits can afford to pay for loans, there will be less competition for land, and the poor cultivator will more easily keep and acquire it, and this is the aim of the Government, because land produces most when cultivated by its owners: the rich, who own more than they can cultivate themselves, either neglect the land, in which case the State loses its produce, or else they sublet it and lose the difference between the rent and the full produce, which again is calculated to deter them from acquiring land.

Tien-tchi considered that the legal interest gives only 4 or 5 per cent. more than the cultivation of good ground, and he justifies the interest [illegible] for money as corresponding to the rent charged for the use of [illegible] buildings. Money, like a [illegible], is worth what it will fetch. A [illegible] in the great street close to the chief entrance to the palace, in the [illegible] rented four times as highly as one in an ordinary quarter. It [illegible] to me, he says, and I might profit by the advantages of the position; if I don't, it pays the merchant to pay me for letting him enjoy [illegible] with the money lent to traders. But the application of this doctrine is only tolerated in practice, provided the rent and the interest [illegible] money do not exceed what the [illegible]

[illegible] development of trade, [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] worth expounding at length. M. [illegible] The Chinese [illegible] give rise to a permanent [illegible] impossible in China.

Terminable annuities would be less objectionable; but after paying 3 per cent. for $33\frac{1}{3}$ years, no more interest would accrue. "We do not recognise a loan at perpetual interest," says a scholar: "private persons lend, without interest to friends, and at 30 per cent. to strangers, but for three years only; at the end of that time the capital is repaid in whole or in part—if not, the borrower has no more credit—and that is the only penalty. The Government could not borrow on such terms, and would have nothing to gain by doing so; besides, who could lend to it? There are no idlers, and every one invests his own money more advantageously than the State could do for him. If," he added, "large loans are usual in Europe, it is evident that lands and savings are concentrated in the hands of a small number of persons not in a position to utilize them themselves,—a reflection which must suggest to a Chinese thinker the most serious forebodings as to the future of such countries, and lead him reluctantly to conclude that justice is not the rule in the West."

In China, as M. Simon observes, the taxes are collected and spent—there is no more finance than that—so when Kien-lung wished to indulge in the amusement of a Tatar campaign, he waited till he had got the money in hand to pay for it. The European fundholder is the child of an unholy alliance between idle capital and a ruler who wishes to do more fighting than he can afford to pay for,—and the multitudes toil that this bantling may be fed. The Chinese not only profess, but act upon the doctrine of our economists, that high taxation is injurious, and that it is better to allow the money "to fructify in the pockets of the people." They pay something like half a crown a head in taxes or one-tenth of the amount raised in France, and allowing for any difference in the purchasing power of money, still, less than either the Swedes or the Swiss, the most lightly taxed of European nations.

Their objection to the concentration of great wealth in a few hands is analogous to our objection to high taxation. The same percentage of profit which gives decent comfort on a small capital gives on a large one riches that can only be spent by luxury, and, if not so spent, clamour for reinvestment apart from their owner's labour. If this is undesirable, then the State must—as in China—do all it can to prevent the accumulation of wealth, by "squeezes" and more direct means. And it is supported by scholars and public opinion in doing so, because, however admirable the benevolence and liberality of a great capitalist, like How-qua, may be, it is no less true of his coffers that of those belonging to the State, that the money filling them would be better "left to fructify in the pockets of the people."

It may perhaps be true of economical systems, as of modes of government,

Which e'er is best administered is best;

in any case China has prospered in spite, or because, of her fidelity to these theories, even as English commerce has thriven under a regime of individualism and free trade, and the United States under one of indi-

vidualism and protective tariffs. The object aimed at by So-ling has been in the main secured, and while in China comparatively few persons live in idleness on the income of their investments, an extraordinary number live on the profits of small capital which they administer themselves. If we compare the above statements of what the Chinese themselves consider desirable, with a dispassionate observer's description of the result actually attained, we shall be forced to admit that the Chinese realize their own ideals more nearly than any other people do.

"The great body of the people are obliged to engage in manual labour in order to subsist, yet only a trifling proportion of them can be called beggars, while still fewer possess such a degree of wealth that they can live on its income. Property is safe enough to afford assurance to honest toil that it shall generally reap the reward of its labours, but if that toil prosper beyond the usual limits, the avarice of officials and the envy of neighbours easily find a multitude of contrivances to harass and impoverish the fortunate man, and the laws are not administered with such strictness as to deter them."[1] It is frequently argued in the West, that thrift and industry would cease if the rewards now earned by the pursuit of commerce and manufactures on a large scale were materially reduced. But the experience of China seems to show the apprehension to be unfounded, since there is no lack of aspirants for fortune, willing to take their chance of being "squeezed," while among the masses, who are not exposed to that danger, thrift and industry are more developed than in any other country, to all appearance because in no other country is so small a proportion of the rewards of those virtues concentrated in the hands of a minority.

The high rate of interest has not prevented a most democratic extension of credit. The cumbrousness of the currency, as already explained, led to an early development of banking. Private banks are allowed to issue notes at discretion, and in Southern China, and more especially in Fu-chow, these were at one time used almost to the exclusion of coin, their value ranging from 1*s.* 6*d.* to £200. More recently, their use has been superseded by bank-bills from Hong-kong. But even in non-commercial Peking, Mr. Pumpelly was surprised to meet "an institution which he had supposed was peculiar to the United States, namely, an endless number of [illegible] banks, issuing paper currency."

Besides this application of private enterprise to make good the deficiency of the currency, the primary forms of legitimate banking business, taking deposits and discounting bills—drawn at first hand for goods received—have [illegible] extension. Australia is the only country who [illegible] the extent to which banks are used by the [illegible] the facilities accorded to such clients, China certainly stands alone. Every tradesman, farmer, and thriving artisan has a [illegible] deposits his savings as they accumulate; [illegible] deposits, and at the same rate for all sums,

[illegible]

however small.[1] Deposits can be withdrawn without notice, and the interest is calculated up to the day of repayment, and the depositor is always allowed to give a reference to his banker in doing business with strangers. But this is not all. It is customary to allow every client to borrow, upon his note of hand, twice the amount of his deposit. A young man, who has been earning wages for six or seven years, probably living at home the while, can easily save from £12 to £15, and with double that amount a great deal of business can be done in China. The owner of land can borrow on its security, endorsing the title-deeds with the amount of the loan.

The pawnshops also serve as bankers to the poor, or those who do not wish their temporary embarrassments to be known. There are three, or rather four classes of these establishments, the most respectable of which pay a substantial fee to the treasury for their license, and are used, even by the wealthy, as warehouses, owing to the dryness and security of their store rooms, as they are required to restore all pledges in as good condition as when they were received. Furs are frequently sent to these establishments for safe keeping during the summer. The rate of interest charged is 3 per cent. per month, except during the winter quarter, when it is 2 per cent., a reduction which may partly be owing to ideas of humanity, and partly to the desire for brisk business, fostered by reduced prices. A pawnshop was once compelled by the members of a so-called "robber society" to give back their cotton clothing to the poor who had pledged it in winter. This society professed, like Robin Hood, "to plunder the rich for the relief of the poor;" but pawnshops serve the latter purpose to some extent without compulsion.

They are much resorted to about the New Year by householders who have a difficulty in balancing their accounts for the year, and persons who have no valuable effects to spare themselves do not hesitate to borrow from their neighbours some article to pledge. It is considered churlish to refuse such a request; but the borrower is held bound in honour to redeem the pledge in due time, and, if by any unforeseen calamity he is disabled from doing so, he is bound to let the lender know, so that he may redeem it himself.

Government officials are allowed, if they have money in their hands not immediately required for use, to lend it to the pawnbrokers, or even to private merchants, at 12 per cent., the interest being expended upon public works. Of course there is always a chance of corruption in connection with such loans, and it is said that officials pledge cast-off garments, which they do not mean to redeem, for sums two or three times their real value, the demand for the bribe being well understood by the proprietor of the pawnshop.

Pawnshops of the second class receive a license in return for a small expenditure for the defence of the district. These charge 30 per cent. interest

[1] Interest is calculated only from the following day in the case of deposits made after 4 [illegible] is paid on bills cashed early in the morning.

upon valuable deposits, and 20 per cent. upon those below a certain sum (about £2), a curious and characteristic reversal of the usual European custom of driving the hardest bargain with the poorest customers. Goods, if not redeemed, are sold at the end of twelve months by Dutch auction. In the third class of pawnshops, they are sold after six months, and the interest charged is very high, and payable every ten days. Cripples and blind persons are allowed to keep pawnshops without a license, and in these private establishments loans for short periods can be obtained for 8 or 10 per cent. Respectable families raise money for such exceptional expenses as marriages or funerals, or to meet the emergencies of trade, by pawning their valuables. But there is yet a third way of raising capital for trade, much resorted to by those who have no money to open a banking account and no valuables to send to the pawnbrokers.

This is an institution not unlike the "money clubs," much in favour with the poorer class of workers, especially women, in England. Its invention is said to date from the Han Dynasty, and by its means any one who requires to raise capital for a specified purpose, if he has a single friend to answer for his probity, can hope to do so by the formation of a temporary limited liability company *ad hoc*. This friend enlists a second, he a third, and so on, till ten are collected; the party are then invited to tea by the projector, who explains his scheme, and if it is approved, the necessary funds are subscribed by the associates. If all are friends, the arrangements may be as simple as in British workshops; each partner undertakes to subscribe 100 taels in ten instalments, the projector of the company, for whose benefit it is started, receiving the whole amount in the first year, and paying off ten taels a year for the remainder of the time, the other associates drawing lots for the repayment in turn of the lump sum.[1]

This method takes no account of interest, and is therefore not sufficiently exact to serve in the case of large sums required for the purposes of trade, and [illegible] combinations are adopted to let each partner receive back [illegible] of his contribution, the only essential point being that the [illegible] receives at once all the subscriptions of the first year. In the [illegible] there is the description of a club of this kind with seven [illegible] subscribe respectively 15, 13, 11, 9, 7, and 5 pistoles [illegible] receives this sum [illegible] pays 15 pistoles a year for the next six years. The [illegible] receives the [illegible] pistoles the next year, and repays 13 [illegible] 5; then the third partner [illegible] and repays [illegible] so that at last each has paid [illegible] [illegible] 5 pistoles yearly, has [illegible]

[illegible]

for instance, lent 30 pistoles without interest, and receives 60 at the end of the time in compensation. On the other hand, the man who was penniless to begin with, pays a corresponding 30 out of pocket in the last two years, after repaying the original loan by instalments of 25 per cent.; but the actual interest is only at the rate of 5 per cent. for the six years, and considering how rapidly the capital of a small trader is turned over, the borrower in the ordinary course of things would have no difficulty in meeting his obligations. M. Simon gives in his appendix a variety of other combinations; but the principle is the same in all cases.

It is exceedingly rare for one of the associates to fail to keep up his subscriptions. A breach of faith would be punished by disgrace and exclusion from all such societies in the future; but if any of the associates are in temporary difficulties, they can usually arrange to change turns with one of the others, or hand over their place in the group to some one else, who takes their liabilities and repays the sum already advanced. These clubs are used for all sorts of purposes as well as trade,—to buy a daughter's trousseau, to pay for the education of a promising scholar, or to stock a new farm; and in no case do the shareholders, as they may be called, take any part in the adventure to which they have contributed funds.

General Tcheng-ki-tong speaks of these money clubs[1] as a kind of private lottery, in which there are no losers, and says they are resorted to mainly by persons of what we should call the middle class. The rich, of course, do not need them, and the very poor are assisted on such occasions as marriages and funerals by collections made with less formality among friends, relatives, and fellow-workers. According to him, forty or fifty persons join, and no interest is paid, and he gives as a reason why people are ready to take part in such lotteries, that in China "on ne place pas l'argent à interêts;" so that those who stand out of their money longest lose nothing, while all find it convenient to let their savings accumulate till they reach a serviceable sum. The clubs are looked upon as friendly and meritorious institutions, and accordingly, if there is a difficulty in making up the necessary number of partners, it is not unusual for Government officers to be applied to, to make up the deficiency, which they readily consent to do.

To sum up, the popular credit system of China secures these enviable results. In the West it is only the man who already has more capital than is good for him who can confidently count upon having the savings of the public committed to his keeping. Unlike So-ling, the British public gives its tens of thousands of silver and gold that it *may* have to pay for the "banquets, the varnishes, the concubines, and the slaves of him who has monopolized the trade" in beer, gin, diamonds, or whatever else may be the "boom" of the moment. In China, on the contrary, thrift is stimulated because its fruits are practically secure, and its reward is enjoyed in full from the first. Capital is, so to speak, decentralized, and the multiplicity of small sound investments, conducted by near friends and relatives,

[1] *La Vie ordinaire en Chine*, p. 277.

leaves no reserve of savings to be engulfed by hazardous speculations. The fraudulent promoter is unknown, and all the savings, that are lost by his wiles to the small capitalists of the West, find in China safe employment in sustaining the enterprise of petty dealers and producers.

### § 2. Chinese Merchants of the Present Day.

The occupation of a merchant is looked down upon by landed proprietors, by the literati, and by those who have risen to official rank through their own talents. Yet no merchant can be guilty, without fatal loss of reputation, of the roguery common among officials.[1] Every official has been more or less of a scholar, and the scholar as such is respected; he only forfeits the esteem earned by his degree if he is guilty of gross corruption or tyranny; to retain it he need give no proof of distinguished virtue, it is enough if he refrains from crime.

With the trader the case is very different; the 300 per cent. profit of commerce, of which the Ode speaks, is not highly esteemed: the rulers and teachers of the people were prompt to see that it is not, as a rule, the most virtuous persons who are likely to grow rich, and the possession of wealth therefore raises a presumption against—as the possession of learning raises a presumption in favour of—its owner's virtue. Now the orthodox scholars of China, if they have not succeeded in training a select class of disinterested public officials, *have* succeeded in diffusing throughout the population a profound and intelligent appreciation of public and private virtue. All classes have participated in this boon, and the average merchant, like the average cultivator, considers wealth to be a less valid title to consideration than learning or virtue.

The official is admired for his learning whether he be virtuous or not, and, as most men are content with one title to admiration, after attaining the degree which wins both office and admiration, they dispense themselves from further effort. The merchant is *not* admired for his wealth; and wealth without consideration, in a land where luxury is unfashionable and display only invites spoliation, has so little charm that it is comparatively easy to dispense it liberally. A rich man, who parts courteously with his [illegible] every fitting opportunity, is counted benevolent, and earns by that virtue the consideration denied to his wealth. And the high character [illegible] Chinese men of business is probably the product of [illegible].

[illegible] "Business is business," [illegible] ideas or friendly inclinations interfere with the execution of contracts. A [illegible] landowner who aims at [illegible] England for [illegible]

[1] [illegible]

An American merchant having got into difficulties after many years transactions with this gentleman, was set free to return home unembarrassed by the Chinese Rothschild's tearing up promissory notes to the value of $72,000, with courteous assurances of regard for an honest man who had been unlucky. English bankers and merchants will philosophically "write off" a bad debt of £14,000 or more, but it is not among their customs to cancel such an obligation voluntarily, for the sake of saving a respected correspondent from poverty or dishonour; yet even from the commercial point of view, there is something to be said for the Chinese usage. Solvent and honest dealers probably lose as much in this country by bad debts—not to say much more—than the Chinese surrender by free gift; but while the Chinese give to respected friends who will make the best use of their liberality, Englishmen lose most by their most unscrupulous debtors, who are allowed by English opinion to live, between their bankruptcies, in a style beyond the reach of average honesty.

Another story of How-qua's large-mindedness is interesting, because it involves the waiving of a contract, not a debt. A friendly skipper arrived at Canton with a cargo of quicksilver, at a time when the price of that commodity happened to be much depressed, so that even if the whole cargo was sold, the price would not suffice to fill the ship with tea for the return journey. How-qua proposed to take the quicksilver at the current price and lend enough besides to complete the tea cargo, and this agreement was booked. While the ship was loading, a sudden rise in the price of quicksilver took place, upon which How-qua cancelled his former offer, and paid for the quicksilver at the ruling price, which was enough to cover the requisite quantity of tea. The difference to the skipper came to about £6,000.

In 1841, when the Hong merchants were called upon to contribute to the ransom paid by Canton, How-qua's share came to $1,000,000; he gave three notes endorsed to his order on an English firm at Macao; and at the same time sent a friendly hint to this firm to accept the notes before they became due, so as to clear a few hundreds by the discount.[1] The disinterested love of a bargain and the good-natured wish to let the ill wind of their national quarrel blow a good thing into his correspondent's hands is very characteristic, and in connection with the gentlemanly liberality already described completes the picture of a typical Chinese merchant.

Sir George Staunton tells a story of Chinese gratitude showing itself for a slight service on an equally liberal scale. An English officer had succeeded in recovering a debt due from an American to a Chinese merchant, who in return helped him to dispose advantageously of his private ventures in several successive voyages. Not content with this, the merchant after some years asked why his friend had not yet obtained command of a ship, and on learning that this could only be done by purchase at the expense of some thousand pounds, at once gave him a draft for the amount, to be repaid at his convenience. If foreign barbarians are dealt with thus

[1] *Fan-kwae at Canton*, pp. 42–5.

generously, it may be taken for granted that, among themselves, the Chinese will show even more consideration and delicacy.

Merchants in China, Captain Gill observed, rely implicitly on one another, and they are prepared to show similar confidence in foreigners.[1] Even in small towns, a traveller has no difficulty in cashing a letter of credit, without more formality than giving a receipt, and may count on politeness and hospitality as well as business facilities. After taking tea and being invited to dinner by his banker, under such circumstances, Cooper writes: "I could not help contrasting the reception my host had given me, a total stranger and a foreigner, with that which he would probably have received at my hands, had he visited me in Shanghai, where, as is usual with us Englishmen, he would very likely have had to come into my office without the least polite encouragement from me, and have transacted his business standing, after which I should probably have dismissed him with a gesture of impatience."[2]

An old resident in Canton describes his reminiscences of the China trade before Treaty days in equally favourable terms. "From the facility of all dealings with the Chinese who were assigned to transact business with us, together with their proverbial honesty, combined with a perfect sense of security to person and property, scarcely any 'old Canton' but finally left them with regret."[3] The old Hamitic plan of doing business through a go-between, which would otherwise seem strange to European traders, was rendered necessary by the want of a common tongue, and the old resident speaks as highly of the "linguists," employed by order of the Government, to keep the barbarians from getting into trouble with officers or natives, as of the compradores.

The compradore or go-between of those days was a sort of head steward or agent responsible for all underlings and himself giving a Hong merchant as security. In the course of twenty years the writer heard of only one robbery by a compradore. The institution of the so-called Co-Hong, the thirteen merchants through whom all the China trade with England was transacted, exemplified the time-honoured principle of mutual responsibility. The Hong merchants were responsible to the Government for the customs, and goods bought from other Chinese merchants could only be shipped through them. One of the thirteen was sponsor for each foreign resident, and the purchases of the East India Company were [illegible] by fixed agreement, based on their respective means, How [illegible] fourteen shares. As much as £55,000 was paid at [illegible] tion, though they were exposed to large "squeezes" for repairs to the [illegible] etc.

[illegible] Hong merchants was inquired into, "lest they ex[illegible] to foreigners which they could not

[illegible]

repay;" and, in fact, if one of them was unable to discharge his obligations, the Co-Hong would have held the creditor harmless. The Chinese Government has a singular idea that, as it were, *la civilisation oblige*, and they do not think it right to let any barbarians suffer through their subjects. There is a penalty for making firearms for sale to the wild hill tribes; and the Chinese are not allowed to lend them money or, in selling goods to them, to "demand an unreasonable price;" and the same "vigilant care" for the welfare of the strangers was at the bottom of some of the restrictions which appeared most irksome to British independence and self-will.[1] The "old resident" proceeds: "As a body of merchants, we found them honourable and reliable in all their dealings, faithful in their contracts, and large minded." Wells Williams speaks in similar terms: "Chinese merchants are acute, methodical, sagacious and enterprising,—in large dealings exhibiting that regard for character in the fulfilment of their obligations which extensive commercial engagements normally produce."[2] Another writer, who was struck with the thrift and enterprise of the labourers, who set up as traders or contractors with what they have saved from very moderate wages, adds, "they combine the shrewdness of the Jew with the versatility of the Yankee."[3] Cooper, who writes from personal experience, rather than as a mere tourist, says that a slight acquaintance with Chinese merchants is enough "to convince the impartial observer that they are not only keen and successful speculators, but just and liberal minded in their dealings with those who, by a similar line of conduct, gain their confidence and respect."[4]

There are some few Chinese firms with a really large capital, contributed by several partners, but as a rule large associations with few and irresponsible governors are distrusted, and it is preferred to keep the business within such limits as not to preclude personal control by the parties interested. Large joint-stock companies are therefore as rare as small

[1] [illegible] Government is [illegible] appears from the fact that it re- [illegible] the money irregularly borrowed in its name by [illegible] Paris. This gentleman, the [illegible] French works on China, combining Gallic wit and Chinese [illegible] Chinese morals from the contaminating seductions of the West. He [illegible] Parisian society, [illegible] own use. When the Chinese Government repays in full money which it has never asked for or received, the [illegible] ing. The same number of the *Times* which reported this scrupulosity also quoted a [illegible] Governor of Chinese Turkestan [illegible] Kaoh's [illegible] "the [illegible] Mussulmans [illegible] [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

[3] [illegible] 253 5.

[4] [illegible] 12[illegible].

working partnerships are common. Iron foundries require more capital than most industries, and the one already mentioned[1] possessed a capital of over £2,000, with a staff of more than 300 workmen; and paid about £25 a year royalty to the treasury, not as rent, but for permission to extract the metal, which is imperial property. £2,000 to £4,000 is a large capital for China, and is usually owned by three or four associates, who are either working partners or relatives, and thus scarcely richer than the peasant Wang, though they may have a larger income by turning over their capital more frequently.

Retail shops are a necessity for a dense and busy population, and the severest moralists raise no objection to their existence; though adulteration, if carried beyond a certain point, is still punished, as in the days of Chow, and mercers who sell bad silk are bracketed, in the Buddhist scheme of crimes and virtues, with physicians who administer inferior medicines, householders who refuse to allow slaves to buy their freedom, and those who remove landmarks or wantonly waste rice.[2] Shops of the same kind occupy the same quarter in the city, and their owners form a sort of amicable and unaggressive "trust," which discourages underselling and establishes a "fair price." "Only one price" is a common inscription on signboards, and as the general public in China consists of persons actively engaged in commerce and industry, knowledge as to what prices are really to be called fair is more generally diffused than elsewhere. The precept, "You should not beat down articles below the proper price,"[3] is one of "twelve sentences of good words" in popular repute. The regularity of the demand for certain goods, based on unchanging custom, also helps to keep prices firm. De Mailla describes how, at the season when winter or summer clothing is left off, a man will bring 6,000 caps of a suitable sort and sell them all in three or four days; and when the demand is thus fixed and calculable, the dealer does not need to force a sale by low prices or recoup himself by high ones for the risk of an unsuccessful speculation.

Some of the provisions of shopkeepers' guilds have been mentioned in connection with the subject of trade unionism. The guilds consisting of dealers only are of two kinds—the so-called "compatriot guilds" uniting the natives of a distant locality settled in any town for trade, and those [illegible] of the same trade in their native place. The former [illegible] compatriots of different callings, but most generally the [illegible] exercises the trade for which its native place is famous, and so has [illegible] Shanghai tea and silk dealers formerly had a [illegible] but since the Taeping rebellion, the silk men formed a [illegible] The compatriot guilds were first formed under the

[illegible] Gray's [illegible] 151 [illegible]

among the Berbers.

Tang or earlier, to protect the common interest of strangers; but the functions of all are much the same.

The guilds conduct prosecutions on behalf of members, and defray a portion of the legal costs, provided the members are unanimous as to the justice of the claim; but a formal petition from the guild generally secures redress without litigation. The permanent secretary of all these societies is a gentleman of literary rank, entitled by his degree to visit and negotiate with Government officers in the name of his clients. Their revenues are raised, like those of the Phœnician merchants and shipowners, by regular voluntary taxation, generally about one-tenth per cent. of the income of each firm; and, to assess the tax, in some cases the books of all the members are regularly inspected by clerks taken in rotation from the different firms. In others the members swear to the accuracy of their contributions; but if any one is suspected of having sworn falsely, a ballot is taken as to his being called on to produce his books in verification, and if he refuses, he is expelled the guild. The Shanghai tea guild requires its members to send to the guild an account of their sales during the past month, with a subscription in proportion; and, if understatements are discovered, the penalty is a fine of fifteen times the amount due originally. Members are required to submit their disputes to arbitration instead of going to law, and to boycott any firm that has been expelled the guild.

Various guilds regulate the length of credit to be given, the rates of discount, the warehousing of goods, weights and measures, and the like; and some interdict to their members the (illegal) practice of fictitious buying and selling, or time bargains. The Shanghai tea guild requires that tea which has been paid for in advance shall be insured against fire. Foreign firms are to be boycotted while engaged in litigation with members. All the rules dealing with the weight and quality of consignments have the object of securing good faith; and in 1883 a quarrel between the tea guilds and the foreign merchants on this subject ended in the well-deserved victory of the former.

They proposed to rectify the complaints made of variable and false weights used by Europeans, by themselves appointing a trustworthy foreigner at a liberal salary, to act as umpire in all disputes concerning tea-weighing. The foreigners objected to outside inspection of any kind; the Chinese guild refused to trade on any other terms; and after a temporary suspension of business, by which the former were of course the losers, they surrendered at discretion. As merchants the Chinese have no prejudices, and discriminate readily between honourable and unscrupulous aliens, and a foreigner who entrusts his quarrel with a guild member to its committee of arbitration is safe in their hands. The mere threat of such an appeal on the part of a merchant brought a Chinese broker, who had done a piece of legal but dishonourable cheating, at once to terms.

The Shanghai bankers' guild suppressed a custom of lending for ten days at 30 per cent. ($10 for ten days' loan of $1,000, or $1 per

diem = 365 per 1,000 per annum), and decreed that the rate of interest should be published monthly after discussion at a guild meeting. Gambling in ingots and dollars is forbidden, and at Ning-po, where it had reached a great pitch, the bankers' guild put a stop to fictitious dollar-selling. They were vehemently opposed by a class of brokers not belonging to the guild, who had no other occupation, and it is characteristic that the latter were pacified by temporary aid from Government while seeking for other employment. The preamble of this guild dates the profession of money dealing from the constitution of the Treasury under the Chow Dynasty; the importance of providing that "those who have should be able to exchange with those who want, and that small coppers should be exchanged for large ones," makes this occupation the pivot of commerce.

Mainly owing to the growth of foreign trade, the use of paper money, and so of free banking, was discontinued after the Taeping rebellion, by the resolution, of the bankers themselves, to restrict all transactions to ingots and dollars. They conclude to conform to Shanghai monetary usages, and "to be equitable and diligent in the right mode of acquiring wealth." All sets of rules begin with a moral preamble to the effect that the ways of trade should be truthful, equitable, and sincere, "because well-conducted commerce yields threefold profits." The prosperity of the corporations shows itself in the fact that guild halls are among the most ornamental of Chinese buildings.

Shopkeepers are allowed to paint their names and wares on the city walls by way of advertisement, as well as on their signboards, which are as florid in style as the nomenclature of the streets. Archdeacon Gray instances in Canton the "Street of Golden Profits," of "Benevolence and Love," of "Longevity," of "1,000 Grandsons," of "1,000 Beatitudes," of "10,000 Happinesses," of "Ninefold Brightness," of "Accumulated Goodness," etc., etc.[1]

Bankruptcy is considered disgraceful and even criminal, but there is little law on the subject and arrangements with creditors are generally made privately.[2] Government does take cognisance of private debts, [illegible]

[illegible]

would come to his assistance—a fact which explains the severe view taken of those who are actually allowed to become bankrupt.

Amyot observes: "Our missionaries have been repeatedly amazed to see how readily people here waive the repayment of a debt." Public opinion obliges the local Shylocks to relax their claims on honest men who have been unfortunate, or the family of the debtor comes to an arrangement with his creditors. The tribunals give no encouragement to the hard creditor, and always allow time for repayment unless the creditor himself is in want. Money lent by friends is generally paid off in three instalments, without interest. But if a debt has been forgiven, and the creditor's grandson is poor and the debtor's well off, the former may apply for repayment, and it would be thought dishonourable to refuse; so that the inequalities of successive generations tend to compensate each other instead of perpetuating themselves.

The officers of the State are dealt with liberally; salaries are advanced, gratuities given on occasion of special family demands, and temporary loans, taken from the public funds in their hands, are sanctioned, at a low rate of interest, which is generally excused on one plea or another. Loans in cash or corn are made to the soldiery in bad times, and the repayment of these is also often excused or stopped gradually out of their pay. Such debts are never passed on to the children, and both capital and interest are excused on all sorts of pleas. Part of their pay is held back to the end of the year to enable them to meet the expenses of the season.

Ordinary commercial credits do not extend beyond the current year. In preparation for the festivities of the New Year, every tradesman exerts himself to call in his debts and to clear off his goods; it is the moment of genuine "clearance sales,"[1] universal stocktaking and drawing up of balance sheets. Debts for household expenses may be dunned for at the New Year, and even the very poor try to avoid this disgrace; and General Tcheng-ki-tong mentions among the sources of cheerfulness enjoyed at this holiday season, that the people have all paid their debts. Closing the shop door before New Year's Day has the same significance as for a banker to "put up his shutters," and "taking the door off its hinges" is a way of forcing a tradesman to pay his debts. This annual settlement prevents the unlucky from falling, and the thriftless from sliding into the headlong road to ruin: the former are given for a moment a foothold by which they can recover themselves, and the latter are stopped by a barrier which few persist in overstepping.

The postal service of the country is managed entirely by private enterprise, the Government couriers not being allowed to carry any but official despatches. Letters are now conveyed for a moderate charge to all parts, not very rapidly, but with complete security.[2] "During the whole time I was in China," wrote Captain Gill, "I received every letter and newspaper sent me, except one letter, and that had been forwarded viâ Russia."[3]

[1] Morgan, p. 43. [2] Cooper, *Pioneer*, p. 432.
[3] *Rivers of Golden Sand*, pp. 231, 261, 270. Innovations are being tried in this matter.

The charges of the Wenchow postal companies union, quoted by Dr. MacGowan, are as follows: from Wenchow to Ningpo, 70 cash; to Shanghai and Canton, 100; to Peking and Hangchow, 200; where much of the route is by land, the charge is increased. The companies make good all losses. Couriers with letters do forty miles a day, and the charge for that distance is about *6d.*, according to Mr. Little,[1] *i.e.* just the equivalent of the man's labour. M. Simon "never heard any serious complaint concerning the honesty and punctuality of the service," and all European travellers give substantially the same testimony.

A missionary, writing in 1730, describes how he handed over his possessions to an innkeeper, who made a list and addressed them to his correspondent in the town to be reached. On arriving there, he found everything already safely delivered; "the porters are very trustworthy, and if they were not, the correspondent would be responsible for the goods consigned to him." And Davis says of the porters engaged for Lord Amherst's abortive mission: "Not a single article was known to be lost by the embassies in all the distance between the northern and southern extremities of the empire."

Gill's account of his carriers is equally satisfactory; the goods were "very fairly taken care of; boxes and portmanteaux were never thrown about in the wanton manner of European porters, and during my whole stay in China I was never robbed of the smallest thing;" the carriers were left to themselves, and no count made of the packages in their hands, but everything turned up correctly.

The facilities for travelling which struck Marco Polo as phenomenal in the 13th century are, of course, no more than are now enjoyed in any civilized country, but their continued existence comes as a sort of surprise upon tourists who have not been accustomed to think of China as civilized. Mr. Oxenham observes of his tour from Peking to Hankow, covering 680 miles of land and 520 of water travelling: "In a journey at home I could not have suffered less hindrance or annoyance. . . . In a so-called decrepit and declining empire, the wonderful organization and arrangement visible everywhere was especially remarkable."[2] Besides brick towers every five li,[3] "at every three li is erected a small house built of brick and about eight feet square: the face fronting the road is generally whitewashed, and on this is written, in the picturesque Chinese character, the distance from the nearest *hien*, both to the north and to the south, the name of the township this particular building belongs to, and the number, name, and residence of the thief-takers, watchmen, and police;" at every twenty li pails of water are provided for the travellers' mules.

Milestones and guideposts are placed at intervals along the high roads, and nearly every form of bridge known to European engineers finds a rude prototype in some part or other of China. A suspension bridge on the Yoorum road is said to have been built in the year 35 A.D. Bridges and roads, like canals, are sometimes provided by private munificence.

[1] P. 237. [2] P. 424. [3] *Ibid.* p. 307.

Williamson describes the "widow's hills, so called after a widow who made the road across them at a cost of £3,000 to £4,000."[1]

Hotel regulations, as already observed, are entirely modern. The key of the room must be given to the landlord, or he is not responsible for the visitor's property. If a stranger dies, the magistrate must be informed, and an inventory of his goods taken; twelve months are then allowed for relatives to claim them, after which they revert to the Crown. These provisions are necessary and reasonable in a land where men take long journeys, and communications between distant parts are regular but slow. The names and addresses of visitors are kept and reported monthly to the authorities, but as far as appears, merely in the interest of their own and the public safety, not with any view to police supervision or espionage. Foreigners of any nationality who understand and take account of the customs of the country can live or travel in China with the same perfect freedom from restraint as her own well-behaved citizens.

[1] *Journeys in North China*, p. 281.

# CHAPTER XXIX.

## *THE LAW OF MARRIAGE AND INHERITANCE.*

The Chinese code now in force contains, according to its editors, a few ancient statutes derived from the Han Code, but is mainly founded upon the statutes of the Tang Dynasty. It consists of two parts—the *Lu* or general laws, which are never altered, and the *Li*, compared to the English statute law, which are modified and revised from time to time. In 1746 (early in the Kien-lung reign) it was resolved that the code should be revised every five years, and new editions are still issued from time to time. A critical account of the statutes of the different dynasties by a competent Chinese scholar would be extremely valuable, though it might, like the Tsing Code itself, be somewhat disappointing to the student of Chinese custom. This code, in fact, contains only that part of Chinese customary law which the Government is concerned to enforce, and that part which individuals appeal to the Government to enforce against persons breaking it to their detriment.

Custom is peremptory on a good many points as to which the law is silent, and it is probable that some usages, which have no sanction but tradition, may be as ancient as those recorded in the oldest Lu. There are no lawyers in China, and no legal experts, except the law secretaries who [illegible] precedents and draw up cases submitted to the Peking Court of Appeal, nor [illegible] any means provided for instructing magistrates in the law they have to administer. The Penal code is a part of the official literature of the country, and as such no doubt is studied by the official class; but the [illegible] Law of the land, including those parts which have had [illegible] by statute with their breach, is still [illegible] and the [illegible] written [illegible] that all Chinese [illegible] customary and the statute law, is owing to [illegible] usage, not to the [illegible] study the written law.

[illegible] by Sir George Staunton [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

the instance of the administrative power; but when they treat of private relations, with which normally the Government has nothing to do, they are plainly an abridged kind of case law, determining points which have been raised by litigants and decided by magistrates in accordance with equity or notorious, unwritten custom. If a case was raised again and again in different places, the number of decisions given on it would supply a reason for an addition to the Li, to prevent litigation; and this account of the matter would explain the absence from the code of provisions respecting points of usage too familiar and too firmly established for any one to challenge their obligatoriness.

The law of succession and inheritance occupies only three short chapters in the code, which will help to illustrate the above remarks. The first Lu is headed, "Appointing a Successor to the family," and begins: "Whoever appoints his son successor to the family contrary to law shall be punished with eighty blows." It is not stated, but we are able to infer, that the lawful course is to appoint the eldest son of the principal wife. If this wife is over fifty, the eldest son by a concubine must be appointed, and the wrongful nomination in any case is cancelled as well as punished. The second clause assigns the penalty of one hundred blows if a lawfully appointed son deserts his adoptive parent. The condition of lawful adoption is that the adoptive parents have no son, and the natural parents at least two.

The law explains that if the adoptive parents have a son later, and the natural parents lose their other sons, the adopted son may be restored to his natural parents, but it omits to say what is lawful if only one and not both of these changes occur.[1] The third clause fixes the penalty of sixty blows for "confounding families and kindred" by adopting a child of a different surname. The fourth clause makes an exception to this rule in favour of a foundling child under three; such a child may be brought up and receive the name of its adoptive parents, but must not claim the succession, even failing natural born children. It is also penal to "break through the order of seniors and juniors in the generations of the family" in appointing a successor; while, according to the sixth and last clause, "any one rearing up a free child as a slave, shall be punished with one hundred blows, and the child shall be restored to freedom." This clause has no apparent connection with the choice of a successor, and is probably ancient; it may have been aimed against usurpations by senior agnates interested in the disappearance of an infant heir.

The first of the *li* in this chapter explains the nature of the order which the fifth clause of the *lu* forbids men to break; and the *lu* being older than the *li*, the customary law of the [illegible] must have been generally understood in remoter times, though the extension of the empire or other causes may have made it seem expedient to state the rule more explicitly. The

[illegible]

theory of it is quite plain. The use of a successor is to take the place of a son; the ideal successor is therefore a brother's son, who is almost the same as a man's own; uncles are quasi-fathers, every brother is an *alter ego*, and every nephew a quasi-son. A man's father cannot worship his tablet or perform the ancestral ceremonies, and the uncle or any other relative standing above him in the genealogical tree is in the same position.

It is equally impossible for a man to be represented in this matter by a grandson. A spare grandson may be adopted as successor to a childless son, but no one belonging to the generation of grandchildren can be put in the place of a child, which would place him in the relation of an uncle to his own brothers. The rule is so far artificial that when a successor came to be sought in a remote collateral branch, it might well happen that the person most suitable in age would turn out to be of the wrong generation for adoption. While the relationship continued near, popular opinion would be strong on the side of the lu; when it was remote, the feeling that prompted the law would be less spontaneously strong, and the motives for irregular nominations being present, quarrels and controversies might arise, and therefore the li formulated the strict law.

There is a popular maxim describing the rule of succession amongst brothers which probably represents the sort of material out of which both lu and li were formed. It runs: "If the eldest has no son, the eldest son of the second brother (succeeds): if a younger has no son, the second son of the elder" (does so). But, as already observed, the adoption of a son or the appointment of a successor is a matter to be decided by the whole family in council, and any grounds for diverging from the strict line of seniority which appeared sufficient to the council would *ipso facto* be good at law. The li on this chapter consist in great part of a statement of exceptions to, as well as expositions of, the rule. If a lawfully appointed successor cannot "harmonise with his adoptive parents," he may be superseded by "some worthy individual for whom they have an affection" belonging to the proper generation, and "the kindred cannot insist on their choosing the next in order." Aversion and dislike between the legal successor and the adopting parents, like the failure to harmonise after adoption, entitles the childless family to seek another heir, and it is expressly declared that "any attempt at compulsion or coercion, in order to [illegible] on the part of the kindred, resulting in law suits, will be [illegible] and the original choice confirmed."

[illegible] of a similar character, and under cover of it, it is [illegible] heir could be excluded. "As [illegible] loss of life, any one who [illegible] all its orders and directions shall be [illegible] rest with the elders of the family [illegible] It would be interesting to know the [illegible] as we hear nothing at the present [illegible]

period, possession was nine points of the law and was to be got by the taking.

The second clause in the li declares that a widow left without a son, and not remarrying, is entitled to her husband's share in the family property; if she marries again, the property reverts to the husband's family, the elders of which are entitled in any case to appoint the proper relative as successor to the deceased. There is nothing in the lu about the rights of wives and mothers, and the li do not mention the case of a mother with sons: these, therefore, are regulated by custom of such force and fixity as to be practically never called in question. As the most singular features of Egyptian marriage law continued in force under the dominion of the Romans, there is nothing improbable in the corresponding customs of the Chinese having remained substantially unchanged from the days of the first three dynasties.

But the best account of the Chinese customs is due to a writer quite unbiassed by reminiscences of the Egyptian *mater familias*, who finds "the prominent position of the mother" in Chinese law a paradox only to be accounted for by the custom of ancestral worship.[1] According to Mr. Jamieson, if the widow is also the mother of the family (*i.e.* if she was the principal wife), "she has the practical control of the whole inheritance," which cannot be divided among the sons without her consent. If she is the widow of a son dying before division, when it is effected, "she is entitled to the custody and management of her husband's share, in trust for her sons or the adopted successor. In this particular, custom is all powerful. On the death of a father, the legal estate, so to speak, vests in the sons; but equity, in the shape of custom, prevents their dealing with it without the sanction of the mother. So long as the family estate was undivided, the sons would be tenants in common, and would all be bound to join in a transfer of any portion; but, even then, to give validity to the transaction, the mother must also be a party."

That is to say, for all practical purposes, when the father of a family dies, the mother and eldest son take his place, under a general trust for the benefit of the community, which does not preclude a discretionary freedom of action. The difference between this state of things and that to which Egyptian deeds bear witness, is slight so far as the practical interests of the survivors are concerned. The authority of both parents counts for more than in Egypt, and that of the wife for far less, perhaps because, in modern China at any rate, the son is held to derive his right from the father, not the mother. But there are few or no modern codes so favourable to women as to make the wife sole heir to her husband's property and trustee for all his children, including adult and married sons.

There are two lu dealing with the division of family property, the penal clauses of which only come into operation on the initiative of the family elders. Sons and grandsons are not allowed to set up separate establish-

[1] *China Review*, viii. p. 222.

ments, and register them as such, nor to divide the family property, under a penalty of one hundred blows, but the parents or grandparents must be the complainants. Children dividing the property during the legal term of mourning for parents may be punished with eighty blows, on the complaint of the nearest senior relative, unless they are acting in accordance with the parents' last will. Juniors appropriating any part of the family property without leave, and seniors dividing it unfairly, are liable to punishment up to one hundred blows, in proportion to the pecuniary amount of the wrong.

The term rendered seniors in this clause is explained to mean "the father or grandfather class" and "the elder brother class." It is doubtful, Mr. Jamieson adds, "if this includes the 'mother class.' If it does, she might be said to have a joint legal estate with her sons, but at any rate public opinion is so strong on this point that a son who attempted to sell the patrimony against the will of his mother would be so scouted by Chinese society that most probably no purchaser would venture to take a transfer at his hands. I do not suppose that a case was ever heard of in which it was tried." [1]

The Chinese theory of inheritance and descent ignores altogether the claims of women except in the character of wife and mother. Women only inherit in the very last resort, failing all male relatives, so that heiresses are almost unknown, though so common at Rome, in spite of the same preference for agnates. But it may be doubted whether this fact is owing to any disregard for the proprietary interests or distrust of the proprietary capacities of women.

In modern China, when family properties are divided, they are divided equally among the sons, giving to each a small capital, which is supposed, with his own exertions, to be sufficient for the maintenance of a family.[2] If the father has not already married all his daughters, the mother or elder brother does so, and a reserve is made for this purpose by agreement at the time of division. The wife does not therefore enter her new family empty handed, and the plenishing or paraphernalia which she takes with her is said on the average to be worth about half as much as a son's share.[3] Marriages, though universal, are necessarily arranged so as not to impoverish the parents of the young couple; but for the same reason, it is impossible [illegible] for enriching the husband's family.

[illegible] takes precedence of the desire for wealth, and [illegible] for their sons would avoid [illegible] left to represent them; and, besides, [illegible] married than inherited, a rich father wa[illegible]

daughters to marry thinks it prudent to consider the personal qualities, rather than the expected inheritance, of candidates for their hands. Who knows, it is said, but what the youth who seems to be poor now may grow rich, but one of bad character is certain to become poor if he is not so already. For the same reason, very early betrothals are not recommended, as they must be prompted by family considerations rather than personal fitness, and the grandfather of a prime minister is quoted as saying that the marriages in his family were always happy[1] because it was the custom only to betroth the young people a few months before marriage, when full-grown, so that their suitability in character could be considered.

As marrying for money is practically unknown, women do not lose in power or consideration from their failure to inherit. They share the fortunes and the status of their husbands, instead of inheriting that of their fathers, and the difference is not a disadvantage. "Like the Roman wife . . . the Chinese wife shares the honours and rank, as well as the domicile of her husband,"[2] and her participation in his official acts seems anciently to have been as essential as it is now in the observance of domestic ceremonial rites. All wives are in subjection to their husbands, but this subjection is qualified by the importance attached to the marriage relation itself and to that of parentage. The young husband's authority over his wife is second to that of his own father and mother, whom he must consult, for instance, before he can divorce his wife; and the wife of the father or grandfather, at the head of the household, exercises an authority scarcely second to his over all the junior members of the family without distinction of sex. Chinese literature is full of anecdotes illustrating the authority of mothers and the wisdom with which it was exercised.

In the Odes, guests and relatives return the good wishes of their princely host by promising him 10,000 years of life, numerous descendants, and "a wife having the conduct of an officer."[3] Such wives are frequently credited with the conversion of their husbands by a discreet remonstrance to the energetic exercise of public virtue. Nor was maternal affection expected to be blind. A lady who is praised by Confucius,[4] mourned more bitterly for her son than for her husband, but she stopped in the midst of her grief to utter judgment: "Formerly when I had this son, I thought that he would be a man of worth. I never went with him to court," and therefore could not judge or correct his conduct there: "and now that he is dead of all his friends, the other ministers, there is no one that has shed tears for him, while the members of his harem all wail till they lose their voices. This son must have committed many lapses in his observance of the rules of propriety."

The historiographers have nothing but praise for another lady who took

[1] "[illegible]"
[2] [illegible]
[3] [illegible]
[4] [illegible]

a strong measure to correct her son's lapses from these rules. He had caused great discontent by arbitrary and excessive exercises of authority, and there was danger of a revolt breaking out against him. His mother was aware of this, and came in state one day to the Hall of Audience, made him give up his seat to her, and then herself enumerated the offences of which he had been guilty, and sentenced him to receive so many blows in punishment! The officer did not dare to dispute the judgment of his natural superior; but the admiring crowd interceded for his pardon, and we are left to believe that he conducted himself with propriety in future. Such an assertion of maternal power would hardly be possible in modern China: but even at the present day it may be taken as certain that no legal rights, powers, or immunities possessed by a Chinese gentleman of the highest rank would justify him in disregarding any reasonable command of his mother, or indeed enable him to do so legally.

In China, therefore, as in Egypt, the legal position of the mother is higher than in Western Europe; and for civil purposes the wife, who is viewed as a factor in the civic unit, the household, is exempt from all the disabilities imposed by the civil law of Europe. "La femme Chinoise peut remplacer le mari dans toutes les circonstances ou il fait acte de maitre, et la loi lui reconnait le pouvoir de vendre et d'acheter, d'aliéner les biens en communauté, de contracter des effets de commerce, de marier ses enfants et de leur accorder le dot qu'il lui plait de leur donner. En un mot, elle est libre."[1] This civil competence, together with the non-existence of the separate property of married women, practically proves that the primitive Chinese custom causes every lawful wife to become, on marriage, a partner in her husband's estate.

The wife's dowry is merged in the family property, though its money value is not inconsiderable,[2] so much so that in the event of a second marriage, the widow has no claim to recover it. But Chinese usage does not approve of systematically one-sided bargains, and the wife, as we have seen, obtains, in place of the exclusive control of her personal contribution to the joint estate, a life interest in the whole of her husband's property, inherited and acquired. This claim is so indefeasible that it is said the [illegible] sometimes bring pressure to bear upon the widow to induce her to [illegible] which she can only do respectably with their consent, as it is [illegible] the bride shall be "given away" by relatives, who also make the customary presents. Second marriages on any terms are contrary to [illegible] rules of propriety; but it is no doubt well for the cause [illegible] that it should be possible to the family council to free itself decorously from the presence of a widowed mother whose character unfitted her for the responsibilities of the head of a family, and to [illegible] marriage would probably not be unacceptable. [illegible] is [illegible] complete.

[illegible]

The first li on the division of property explains that sons who divide and separate wrongfully do not escape punishment by failing to register themselves as independent householders. The second defines, what had previously been treated as notorious, the fair and lawful system of division: "all family property, movable and immovable, must be divided equally between all male children, whether born of the principal wife or of a concubine or domestic slave." That is to say, all sons born in the household are equally legitimate, and have an equal share in the inheritance. Other sons may be recognised, but are not equally legitimate, and are only entitled to a half share, unless a legal successor has been appointed in default of other children, in which case they have an equal share, while if no such successor is appointed, they receive the whole patrimony.

Prior to division, all the family property, whether inherited or acquired by the father or acquired by the sons, is brought into a common fund. The children of a son dying before division do not inherit from their father, but receive subsequently the share which would have been his. The family community is not necessarily broken up when, as occurred in the Wang family, one or more of the sons are engaged in trade or have obtained office and are therefore separately established. In such cases the son retains command of his own earnings, and it is matter of arrangement whether his share of the family property is advanced to him at once or not; if not, he would share with the others on division. There is a traditional or popular maxim which says, "The younger brother should take the less share of the fruit;" but recent legal decisions seem adverse to its authority. There is a similar maxim: "The will of the father should be respected;"[1] but wills in the technical European sense can scarcely be said to exist in China; what are so called is a verbal—more rarely a written—expression of a father's wishes, which it is proper for sons to respect, but which might be set aside for valid reasons, injustice, or change of circumstances or the like.

Another "well-worn Chinese maxim" declares that "the son pays the father's debts:"[2] but there is nothing in the code concerning this obligation, any more than about the payment of other debts. It is thus a matter of custom or a point of honour,—as among the Rhodians,—and we shall not probably go far wrong if, in both cases, we connect the reluctance to repudiate with the existence of customs unfavourable to the accumulation of a great burden of indebtedness, as to which the moral seems less than the legal obligation. In other words, Chinese sons pay their father's debts because such debts, as a rule, represent value received, and are not out of proportion to the family means, while the family credit is a part of the inheritance worth paying for.

A few cases, showing the disputes that arise in practice, will perhaps help to explain the working of the laws, which are too simple to encourage much litigation. A father of four children, by two wives, left forty-seven

[1] *China Review*, v. p. 104. "The law of inheritance." C. Alabaster.
[2] E. H. Parker, *Ibid.*, p. 93.

[illegible] of land to the four in common. The first wife sells it secretly, for 150 taels, for the benefit of one of her own children, while *one* of the half-brothers was bribed to agree. Decision: fifty taels (more than enough!) are set aside for funeral expenses of the wife, and the residue is divided into four parts, one for each child, while the two conspiring half-brothers are punished.

A man with no sons and one married daughter marries a second wife, and at the same time (to make sure) adopts a nephew. He then dies, leaving the second wife and a posthumous son: the first wife encourages her son-in-law to enter on the property, and exclude the adopted and posthumous sons, producing a will (prior to the adoption and birth) in the son-in-law's favour. But as the land is barely sufficient to support the two sons, the will is set aside, and the heads of the family instructed to draw up a deed settling the property on the two sons; "and, if there be [illegible], we will see," says the [illegible], "what the penal law will do!" In another case, where brothers dispute about their respective shares under the father's will, both parties are advised "to remember that further litigation will only lead to the utter waste of the family property, and their reduction from wealth to poverty."

Another case involving the rights of sons-in-law is that of a man who, having no male heir, gave a daughter, by a concubine, to a husband *in* [illegible], and it was claimed that this wing of the house was given to his daughter as dower, though the couple did not reside there after the marriage. On the man's death, the son-in-law claims to inherit; but the court decides that he must await the birth of a posthumous child, who, if [illegible], will take all, and if daughter, will halve with his wife. In another case, a man dies and his father-in-law makes away with his son's inheritance; the father-in-law is flogged for "disregarding the dead and injuring the living," and his property is applied to recover as much of the infant's estate as is not wholly alienated. One brother has a right to prevent another, whose heir he is, from alienating property, which, if not alienated, would form part of the inheritance.

A less common type of dispute relates to the question whether an en- [illegible]

not entertain the same desire should be turned over to the tender mercies of the penal code.

The code is far more copious on the subject of marriage than on any other civil contract. The penalties for offences against women are severe, and that of death is not commuted unless the family of the victim consent. There are seven lawful causes of divorce,[1] besides infidelity, condonation of which is itself punishable. But there are three reasons which override the seven, and make the wife's position unassailable; namely, if she has shared the three years' mourning for her husband's parents; if the family has become rich after being poor before and at the time of marriage; and if the wife has no parents living to receive her back again. It is unlawful to pretend that a wife is a sister, and give her in marriage to another man; but while there is little impediment to divorce by mutual consent, the law does all it can to protect the wife against repudiation without cause, when the dissolution of the marriage would be plainly injurious to her.

It is not conceivable that a man should *wish* to divorce the mother of his sons (the example of Confucius notwithstanding), and for practical purposes the Chinese law of divorce only affects women who would not be considered wives at all by European law. Men are required to provide for the marriage of their female slaves; the families of slaves are never separated, and a master who was known to have taken liberties with the wife of a slave would be irretrievably ruined.[2] In fact, "marriage is regarded as something indispensable,"[3] and the aim and object of legislation is to produce a nation of married fathers. The effect of this principle upon the moral, physical, and economic well-being of a people is illustrated also in the experience of the Jews.

The numerous restrictions on marriage, over and above that against marrying into the same surname, are all directed either against the marriage of blood relations, or against that sort of confusion of relationships which arises when persons, normally dwelling together in a relation resembling that of affinity, are considered to be marriageable if there is no tie of blood. The Chinese, with all their extreme regard for natural relationships, yet do not assign any magical influence to the ties of blood, but consider that for practical purposes those who live together as father and

[1] Viz.: barrenness, lasciviousness, disregard of her husband's parents, talkativeness, thievish propensities, envious and suspicious temper, and inveterate infirmity. (Staunton, *Penal Laws of China*, p. 12[illegible].)

[2] *Lettres Édifiantes*, xix. p. 140.

[3] Mr. Parker adds a comment to this remark: "Possibly one explanation of the light-heartedness and cheerfulness observable amongst all ranks and classes of Chinese is the provision thus wisely made by the popular consensus for the early and honourable satisfaction of what Bentham calls one of the few 'imperious wants of mankind;'" and he suggests that the "cheer and serenity of mind," for which the Chinese are so much more distinguished than European nations, may be due to the same cause. "To marry men is to keep them quiet." (*China Review*, viii. pp. 73, 77.) The result noted by modern European observers was deliberately aimed at by ancient native legislators. The third of the twelve "general instructions" which the Director of the Multitudes is required to propagate throughout the Empire, [illegible] Mr. Parker's conclusion: "By the rites of the female principle (Yin), conjugal love is taught, [illegible]." (Biot, i. p. 190.)

son, or father and daughter, should reproduce all that is essential to the relationship, and accept the disqualifications it entails. It is clearly on this ground that a man may not marry the daughter of a wife's former husband, because she could only have been properly received into his household on the footing of a daughter. Such a marriage as that with the half-sister (on the mother's side) of a wife, are not only forbidden, but are regarded as incestuous; so is a marriage with any female relation, or the widow of any blood relation, within the fourth degree. Death is the penalty for marrying a grandfather's, father's, or brother's widow, or a father's sister.

The following marriages are also penal and invalid:—with a father or mother's sister-in-law (or aunt by marriage); with a father's or mother's aunt's daughter (or second cousin through a female); with the sister of either son or daughter-in-law (*i.e.* father and son must not marry two sisters, nor father and daughter sister and brother); and with a grandson's wife's sister. The law against marrying any one of the same family name of course excludes the corresponding relations, such as second cousins, on the paternal side: but while the rule about the surname might have grown into a superstition, adhered to without any regard for its rational origin, the fact that relationship through females, which in so many other aspects is ignored, should be still treated as a bar to marriage, for as many degrees as it is likely to be remembered, seems to show that the Chinese regard the "confounding of families" as an evil to be resisted at every point. But it is so unusual for exogamous superstition to be associated with rational prohibitions against the intermarriage of relations not affected by the rule, that we must either credit the Chinese with a very exceptional delicacy of feeling on the subject of domestic relations, or account for their strictness as a reminiscence from the time when relationship through women was the most important; and the latter hypothesis is confirmed by the copious vocabulary distinguishing relationships through women previously quoted.

The men of China are perfectly satisfied with the morality and propriety of family life as constituted in the Middle Kingdom. They say, and no doubt with truth, that virtuous and tender wives and mothers have all the influence that they desire within the household enclosure; and they contrast, to their own advantage, the material security and protection extended to women in China, with the precarious lot of those engaged in the struggle for existence on their own account in Western countries.[1] And as a State [illegible] which the men and the women are of an entirely different [illegible] it is probable that the majority of Chinese

[illegible]

women desire for themselves the best fortunes appropriate to their actual lot, rather than a lot of a totally different kind. The exceptions to the general rule of contentment are to be found among the younger women, who are the victims of Chinese society. If any members of the family group are sacrificed to the pleasure or caprice of others, it is the daughter-in-law or the inferior wife, or both.

The mother-in-law may bully her son's lawful wife, and the latter in her turn may oppress his other spouses. The national good temper may be a security against very serious abuses, still abuses do exist, and that in sufficient number to cause anti-matrimonial secret societies to be formed amongst girls, the members of which are sometimes pledged to prefer suicide to a bridegroom. And as it is not natural for women to be less contented than men with the married state, there must be something much amiss in the domestic habits that can provoke such a reaction. The education of the mass of Chinese women is neglected, and the powers assigned to the Chinese materfamilias are greater than can be safely entrusted to a person whose mind, like her feet, has been confined within artificially narrow limits.

That the abuses in question are not more general is owing, no doubt, to the educational effect of the powers and responsibilities above described; and it is probable that the girls' suicide clubs would come to an end, if every woman, whose sons are regarded as legitimate, were held to possess the same personal rights as the principal wife. Without any violent dislocation of Chinese custom, a reasonable extension of the rights of this class would gradually encourage the preference for monogamous unions, which are already general, and which we must be permitted to regard as belonging to a higher civilization.

It is the rule for marriages to be arranged by the parents, but the code permits a young man, employed at a distance from home, in trade or the Government service, to contract a marriage for himself, and if his contract is completed, it supersedes the one made by his family without his knowledge; but if not, not. A French novel of Chinese Life[1] turns on the dilemma of a young doctor, who has practically married a girl without his mother's consent, and is then entrapped by his mother into a formal marriage ceremony with somebody else. The offence of bigamy, contemplated by the code, consists in marrying two *first* wives; it is punished by blows and the second marriage declared invalid. If the young man, to whom a girl has been betrothed, dies before the marriage has been consummated, she may if she pleases regard herself as his widow. Among the charitable institutions of the country are asylums where poor widow ladies and their children, and girl widows of this kind may be received. One such "Hall of Rest for Pure Widows" is described as containing 150 women and 300 children.[2] Each inmate pays an entrance fee of a few pounds, and the current expenses are met by the subscriptions of wealthy families.

[1] [illegible] Teheng-ki-tong.
[2] [illegible] p. 425.

## CHAPTER XXX.

### *AGRARIAN LAWS AND CUSTOMS.*

NEXT in importance to the family comes the neighbourhood. The fifteenth precept in the Sacred Edict exhorts men to "Combine in Hundreds and Tithings in order to suppress robbery." The *chia*, or tithing, consists in theory of ten families, with a mutual responsibility like that of the ancient tsing. The *pao*, or hundred, also in theory includes ten chia, but both groups are elastic. It is supposed that the members of such groups, owing to their smallness, can exercise such an effective supervision over each other as to make crime impossible, and that if a theft is committed, this supervision must have been so culpably relaxed as to justify the injured person in appealing to his neighbours for compensation. Each chia and pao elects one of its members to act as headman; the literati are excused, and officials or police officers are disqualified from serving in this capacity. Besides the optional measures for the good government of the locality which the headman may take with the consent of his constituents, he is also required to apportion and collect the taxes for his district.

The third maxim of the Sacred Edict exhorts the people to "Cultivate peace and concord in your neighbourhoods, in order to prevent litigations;" and the exposition of this text by the Emperor Yung-ching, and a popular paraphrase of the same by a salt commissioner named Wang-yu-po, abundantly illustrate the Chinese ideal of neighbourliness. Among the things mentioned as likely to lead to angry contentions are such as these: "One might wish to borrow from another who would not lend, or to recover a debt the payment of which was refused; or he would buy a field or build a house without giving the neighbours notice and ascertaining that they had no objections. If people are foolish enough to begin to quarrel over such points as these, artful schemers will go on and stir them up to litigation." "In that case," says Mr. Wang, "you will have to kneel before the magistrate in the public courts, to throw away large sums of money, and to suffer much shameful treatment. If you lose your lawsuit, you will scarcely be able to show your face in society again; and even if you gain it, you will find that everybody looks coldly and askance upon you. Where is the advantage of all this?"[1]

[1] [illegible] Rev. James Legge. *China Review*, 1877, p. 15[illegible].

The difference between Chinese and European ideas of morality is curiously exemplified in these passages: to refuse payment of a lawful debt, and to refuse to lend to a neighbour who asks it, are bracketed as acts of similarly objectionable tendency. Even such simple exercises of individual rights as the purchase of what is for sale should not be indulged in without considering the wishes of persons who may be affected by them. It would, for instance, clearly be contrary to propriety to buy a field, which a neighbour was renting with intent to purchase, so as to enlarge his family property. But the moral advice which follows the picture of the evils of litigation is not addressed to the persons who commit aggressions on their neighbours. Ordinary persons are advised to guard against the beginnings of strife, and to cultivate habits of consideration and deference for others; but the counsel of perfection is to reach such an elevation of character as will enable them to disregard offences, and on no account bear malice against the offender, who, "if worthy to be accounted a human being," will, according to Mr. Wang, "blush almost to death" at the sight of such magnanimity.

This commentary and paraphrase on the edict of Kang-hi are publicly read once a fortnight, and give the sanction of Imperial authority to the popular distrust of the lawcourts; but from the reports of Chinese trials, given by European writers, we should have been inclined to believe that, apart from such accessories as bribery and the bamboo, the justice dealt by Chinese magistrates was painstaking and even-handed.

There is an article in the Code forbidding persons from taking up more land than they can cultivate, after a war or famine, these being the only occasions upon which uncultivated land is plentiful. Land which is not registered, or for which the registered owner omits to pay taxes, lapses in theory to the State, which grants it afresh to any one cultivating it and becoming responsible for the tax; but the Government does not press the right, and the former owner is reinstated on application. Land in Shantung would only sell for a tithe of its value after a recent famine, because, on a similar occasion once before, the purchasers had been compelled to restore their acquisitions to the original owners.[1]

Waste lands may be enclosed as private property by obtaining leave from the magistrate and actually reclaiming them within a reasonable time. Grants, nominally of vacant lands, were made by the early Mantchu Emperors to their followers, and these are the only lands exempt from taxation; but the holders render military services, and the largest grant did not exceed 720 mow—say 125 acres—and even these consisted mainly of barren or pasture land, so that the burden to the population was inconsiderable. Owners of 200 acres and upwards are not allowed to reclaim alluvial wastes, and this probably explains the absence of any marked distinction between the fortunes of landlord and tenant. The former is not necessarily either richer or less industrious than the latter, but having

[1] *China Review*, vol. viii. p. 263.

some other occupation to live by, which prevents his cultivating his freehold, he sells the very slight difference which there is between the customary earnings of a tenant farmer and a taxpaying owner.[1] The owner's motive for letting is that he can occupy himself more profitably than as a cultivator, and the tenant's protection against rack-renting is that he also could at any time employ himself more profitably than as a tenant, except upon the customary terms, which include the remission of rent in bad seasons.

Apparently the peculiar Malabar combination of lease and mortgage has been tried in China, though the absence of any feudal authority on the part of landlords has caused it to fall into disuse. It is stated that when an owner lets land, he is careful to exact "a pledge equivalent to or even exceeding the income of the property he leases."[2] The reason given (by a missionary complaining of persecution), that otherwise the tenant would refuse to pay the rent agreed on, is hardly adequate, because even in China a man could not make his fortune in one year, even out of a farm held rent-free. There can be little doubt that the advanced rent answers to the Malabar *Kanam*, and that if mortgage leases have become rare, it is because tenant-farming itself has declined, in the absence of any class distinction between owners and cultivators.

Land is sometimes let because it cannot be sold. Land belonging to family endowments or charitable uses of any kind is inalienable, and, if wrongfully sold, will be reclaimed and the purchase money returned. Land devoted to public purposes, mountains belonging to the State, roads, sea-walls, embankments, official temples, famous sites, and ancient buildings or monuments cannot be sold. In theory the holdings of private families —or at least a part of them—are also inalienable; relatives not only have a right of pre-emption and redemption, but are required to consent to the sale. An edict of the 18th year of Kien-lung provides that the words "absolute sale without power of redemption" must be used in every deed of sale intended to be absolute; and as it was added that land conveyed more than thirty years before the edict was to be irredeemable, it is evident that the right of relatives to redeem was asserted frequently and after unduly long intervals. In modern deeds of sale, the vendor professes to have offered the land first to his relations; and the next of kin, as far as cousins, have a right to insist on his doing so. It is a formula that the owner desires to sell "on account of poverty;" and that this is really the usual motive appears from the fact that advertisements of such sales are not posted on the walls, out of regard for the reduced owner's feelings.

It is unlawful to sell land to a creditor in discharge of a debt, though it may be sold to a disinterested party in order to obtain money to pay

[1] Any [illegible] country that "those who cultivate the lands belonging to [illegible] make their own other lands." *Mem. on the China*, iv. [illegible] 518.

[2] *Abbé [illegible] Mem. [illegible]* vi. p. 102.

various debts. And this very singular provision[1] is perhaps the strongest example of the unscrupulous consistency, with which Chinese legislation aims at protecting the cultivator, from the dangers to which his class in all ages and countries seems to have been especially exposed. Widows cannot sell land without their father-in-law's consent, if he is alive, nor alienate their sons' inheritance, though they have discretionary powers to buy and sell for the good of the family: in practice no doubt they would not propose to sell land without the consent of the family council.

All contracts are entered into subject to local usage, and Europeans who omit to acquaint themselves therewith are sometimes much disgusted at its unexpected divergences from British law. Thus the man who buys a piece of ground does not thereby become possessed of the buildings which a tenant has erected on them, and if he wishes to pull them down and build himself, he must buy them from their lawful owner by a separate transaction; and in fact, when Europeans buy land, as they think, outright, the native vendor himself compensates the owners of the houses on it.

Deeds going back for fifty years are desirable to give a secure title, and these should be compared with the counterparts kept in the Government Registration Office. As in ancient Egypt, a fee is charged for the registration of sales or transfers, but in return the public archives serve as title-deeds; and while England vainly envies Australia the advantages of the Torrens Act, China has long since adopted this simple means of controlling claims which frequently go back for several centuries. Go-betweens, who are employed in most important purchases, are essential in the case of land transfer. They must be, at least, two in number, and their function is partly that of official witnesses, as they are required to give evidence in court if any dispute arises about the transaction in which they were concerned.[2]

Hill sites for tombs were the subject of much litigation, and the antiquarian learning of the law courts has sometimes been tried by really ancient deeds, which prove, however, to belong to a later dynasty than the seals attached to them. It was therefore decided by Kien-lung that in such cases, whatever adverse ancient documents might be produced, the holder of the land-tax receipts, whose name appears on the register, is to be regarded as lawful owner. Otherwise any representative of an old decayed family, which had preserved its ancient records, might oust occupiers who had fulfilled all the duties of ownership for centuries.

The so-called patrimonial field, which every Chinaman is supposed to possess, and forbidden to alienate, is most probably a survival from, or reminiscence of, the "duty fields" by which, in less prosperous times than the present, the State endeavoured to make sure of all its citizens having wherewithal to pay their taxes. This institution tried to link itself on to the ancient tradition of communal tillage and the inalienable pro-

[1] Met with, it will be remembered, in the *Syro-Roman Lawbook*, *ante*, vol. i. p. 401.
[2] *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, vii. p. 658.

perty of the *tsing*; but the connection in both cases is probably rather imaginary than real, familiar terms being applied under such altered circumstances that they had acquired a virtually new meaning. Only comparatively wealthy families at the present day can afford to set apart as much as eight mow, which M. Simon gives as the limit of the inalienable patrimonial field, for the maintenance of the ancestral rites and for use as a family cemetery. On the other hand, the same area, when belonging jointly to a large branch family or clan, can have no agricultural value, and is only available as an ancestral hall and for other public purposes, including that of a burial-ground. Such buildings are used as country or summer houses by well-to-do townspeople, just as Buddhist temples on picturesque sites serve as popular tea gardens.

The first Emperors of the reigning dynasty were particularly eloquent on the duty of officers to protect the poorer cultivators. An edict describing the duties of a mandarin, as the guardian of the people, says that if a cultivator has not seed or oxen for the cultivation of his land, he should advance him the money or grain, and be content to receive repayment after harvest without interest. A good officer will even go about the country incognito; and when a labourer is obliged to set his children to draw the plough, because a rich usurer has sold his oxen for debt, he rectifies the injustice.[1]

The land tax, like the rent, is remitted if the year's crops are lost by drought, inundation, or similar calamities. In such cases the local government is allowed to make advances for seed, repayable in not less than ten years. Cultivators behind-hand with their taxes may also borrow from the local treasury on the security of their land, paying interest on the loan till the debt is paid off; but there are amnesties every ten years or oftener, so that the interest at least is generally excused. Besides the grain loans, which have the great advantage of preventing one bad harvest from causing another, and the grants made in aid of special calamities, there are permanent local funds for the assistance of the sick, the old, widows and orphans, sufficient in the hands of an honest official to meet all urgent needs.

No doubt, as Amyot observed on this subject in the age of Kien-lung, the actual does not come up to the ideal. "The laws command the best to come in the paradise." But it is true, in fact as well as theory, that any social tendency or abuse, in public or private circles, which threatens any section of the community with destruction, is pulled up short, on that ground alone, without any respect for the iron laws of political economy as formulated in the West. "Nos moeurs," as the naturalized Amyot conceived, "ne souffrent pas qu'on ruine un citoyen pour augmenter l'opulence d'un autre."

In the same way, the State intervenes to prevent individuals from growing [illegible] the calamities of the public. Farmers are forbidden by law to [illegible] their grain, and though the State might find as much difficulty

[1] [illegible] p. 132.

in China as elsewhere in enforcing such a law, the matter is not left to the feeble hands of the central authority. "In times of great scarcity and high prices, several contiguous neighbourhoods forbid rich farmers or speculators in rice to sell their grain away to a distance, and agree to seize any which they find being carried off in spite of the prohibition. In this case, the holders either have to wait till the restriction is removed or sell to their neighbours."[1]

Local Government is a reality in China, and the local feeling, which in England under the Corn Laws, showed itself in rick-burning, has here a constitutional and peaceful means of giving effect to its resolves. Trade is of course not free, but there can be no serious doubt that the villagers collectively pay just so much less for their rice as the profit, of which their tyranny has deprived the individual speculator. To the Chinese mind the wisdom and justice of such a course scarcely needs exposition. Benevolence is the duty of all men; near relatives and neighbours are its appointed objects. Can a benevolent person desire to acquire gain by selling rice at a distance, when his near neighbours suffer hunger for want of it? Assuredly not; but persons deficient in benevolence require to be restrained in the interest of their neighbours, and instructed for the good of their own souls. If the grain dealer who fails in benevolence is only restrained, without being chastised, his treatment is at once just and merciful, and the whole transaction is in accordance with the strictest rules of propriety.

It is the duty of the pao chang, or headman of the hundred, to see that every head of a household complies with the law requiring him to register the individual members of his family, and the class to which the family belongs. The latter requirement is embodied in the Lu,[2] which are unusually full on the subject of registration; and considering the searching nature of the demands made, the efficiency with which the law is carried out, with regard both to persons and lands, is certainly remarkable. The system is evidently so old and so firmly established as to work without difficulty, and compliance with the law is rendered expedient by divers incidental provisions. For instance, the number of the candidates who can be admitted to each degree, in any one province, is always strictly limited; but scholars are only allowed to compete in the district where they are registered, otherwise one province might seize more than its share of vacancies; so that it is essential to the chances of any candidate that his father should have registered his name correctly.

[1] *Social Life of the Chinese*, by the Rev. J. Doolittle, xi. p. 252. Private granaries exist in some places, founded by philanthropists who endowed them with funds sufficient to keep them replenished, as those of the State are supposed to be, so that they are always in a position to lend corn—like the Babylonian temples—either free of charge or at a moderate interest, the profits from which would go to the institution. (*Annales de la Pei*, vii. pp. 644, 645.)

[2] C. 76. "Every family, on being originally reported for registration, shall be registered as belonging to some definite class, whether it be the military or common civilian class, or that of Government couriers, artificers, physicians, soothsayers, labourers, strolling players, etc., etc." (*China Review*, viii. p. 269.)

It is the duty of the provincial officers, if the people have left their homes on account of war or famine, to draw up a list of those who have disappeared, and of the arable land left vacant in consequence, stating the amount of land tax payable thereon, and also what taxpayers still remain in the district. The list of fugitives is to be circulated throughout the country, and the officers where they have taken refuge are called on to issue orders for their return. Those who had prospered abroad might decline to do so, but the indigent would be compelled. Land is habitually described, and marked on boundary stones, as belonging to such and such a family, not to an individual; and any member, however poor, of a family that had owned the deserted lands would find his claim allowed without difficulty on giving proof of kinship, if he alone came forward to accept the responsibilities of ownership.

This is one more of the many ways in which the circulation of property is facilitated in China, instead of its being encouraged or forced to stagnate in the same hands, or that of an ever-diminishing body of heirs. Each family has a kind of customary code of its own;[1] and all its property is registered with reference to the objects to which it is devoted:—such a plot supplies pensions for the old, such another prizes for scholars, or daughters' trousseaux, etc.[2] This applies only to the wealthier families, but it is so common for land to be left for the maintenance of ancestral worship, which covers all these beneficial uses, that such endowments may be held by any respectable family which has once had a wealthy member.

The law on the subject of mortgages is curious;[3] the only transaction of the kind recognised is the very ancient one previously described[4] as common to Egypt, Babylonia, Malabar, and other centres of archaic civilization. The four unlawful acts contemplated in connection with such transfers of the usufruct of land against that of money are—omission to register the mortgage; failure on the part of the mortgagor to transfer the whole produce of the land, for which the mortgagee pays the Government taxes, the penalty being graduated according to the number of *mow* illegally mortgaged, and the land itself forfeited to the State; attempts to raise money by a second mortgage on property which has been pledged already; and refusal to give up the land pledged at the end of the term specified in the deed, if the proprietor then or afterwards tenders payment of the amount borrowed when the mortgage was executed.

The Ironclad section add some of the details given by Amyot,[5] explaining that clauses of redemption cannot be admitted in the case of deeds of sale, though the presumption is against an absolute surrender, unless expressly [illegible]; and providing that the owner's right to redeem may remain [illegible], unless he accepts some further consideration for making the [illegible] absolute. But it is laid down that, failing any reser-

[1] [illegible] family with [illegible].
[2] [illegible] 5. [3] [illegible] 164.
[4] [illegible] 73; 92 7; 139 7; 1 2; 5 14; 5 9 7. [5] [illegible] 1 5.

vation by deed of the right to redeem, possession for thirty years shall be a proof of ownership.

It will be noticed that the Code not only requires to have the change of ownership notified and registered, but insists upon the transfer being complete, so that the mortgagee shall be in no way less able than the owner to discharge his liabilities to the State; and the same distrust of divided ownership shows itself in another section, which forbids one person from paying the taxes due to the Government by another. On the face of it, this looks like a provision against farming the revenue, and the penalty is increased two degrees if the vicarious payment is made by an officer of the Government; but viewed in the light of history, which records the attempts of the agglomerators of the Tsin and subsequent dynasties to reconstitute feudal lordships for themselves, it seems more probable that it was first suggested as a precaution against encroachments by wealthy persons, who, under the plea of paying the cultivator's taxes for him, would induce him to incur far heavier liabilities than those of which they relieved him.

The only motive that can be imagined for a mortgagor to pledge his land, when he was in a position to dictate terms to the mortgagee, and induce him to surrender all or a part of the produce of the lands nominally ceded in full temporary use, would be the desire to evade the laws against agglomeration, and it is only in such circumstances that the State would be interested in preventing the bargain. When the landowner is really in want of money, the mortgagee is master of the situation, and would certainly not be disposed to surrender his claim to the produce of the land pledged. But when underletting is rare and rack-renting unknown, it would be more of an innovation to let land at an unheard-of rent, than to compel a poor man, who wanted land for cultivation, to advance money nominally on mortgage, but really as a consideration for leave to cultivate, while agreeing to take less than the whole produce of the land occupied on these terms. The law does not seem to touch any abuse now prevalent, and must therefore have been suggested by grievances which have become obsolete.

The li respecting Chinese trading with or settling among barbarians are interesting, historically, as well as in themselves, because they illustrate the principles upon which the Hundred Families have relied, from their first entry upon the corn-bearing plains of Northern China until now. The trade in iron is free, except on the borders of the Miao-tsze, the inland barbarous tribes, to whom it must not be sold, lest they should use it for weapons. The manufacture of saltpetre, again, is forbidden under severe penalties in Formosa. Barbarians, who are no longer dangerous, are not to be made unnecessarily troublesome, by being allowed to procure superior weapons from the ruling race. On the other hand, certain classes of persons are recognised as dangerous to the peace and well-being of barbarous lands, and all such are liable to be deported to their native places, even if they escape further punishment.

"Wandering tramps, who have no wife and home," constitute such a class, and so do "notorious fomentors of lawsuits, though they may have a wife and land;" likewise thieves, receivers, and the makers and sellers of gambling instruments, and dealers in opium, together with "unprincipled Chinese who enter the savage territory and *create disturbances by plotting to acquire land owned by savages*,[1] or who conspire with other lawless persons to induce emigrants to cross over illegally."[2] These provisions refer specially to Formosa, where also, "Chinese subjects, who cut off their queues and adopt the manners of savages, thus casting off their allegiance, shall be liable to the penalty of death." Besides which, persons who allow their hair to grow loose, change their habits, and marry savage women, shall be liable to banishment to the frontier for military service; while simple banishment for three years is awarded the offence for marrying a savage woman, without adopting savage modes of life.

For four thousand years the Chinese have been absorbing barbarous tribes, and annexing barbarous territories for cultivation after Chinese methods, and the process has been aided rather than impeded by the above laws against individual encroachments and aggressions on the one hand, and against any sort of fraternization with unreclaimed barbarians on the other. When the Chinese were few, and the barbarians many, the ancestors of the Chow kings, according to Mencius, tried to keep the peace by letting the barbarians buy (no doubt upon their own terms) furs and silks, dogs and horses, pearls and jade,[3] from their civilized neighbours. The barbarians would have Chinese precedent for regarding such trade as tribute, and when even these concessions failed to content them, it was a characteristic Chinese measure to move on out of the way of the troublesome Teih, rather than fight the matter out with them.

Experience proved that barbarians who were allowed to profit as much as they themselves pleased by the vicinity of Chinese civilization, while protected by the Chinese Government from any injury at the hand of its subjects, were certain, sooner or later, after the lapse of a sufficient number of [illegible], to contract a taste for Chinese civilization, and to wish to be absorbed in the empire. And the expansion of China has proceeded partly by the peaceable annexation of people and territory together after the former had adopted Chinese manners and customs, and partly by the [illegible] unoccupied territories, by colonies organized in the same manner as the village clans at home. The assimilation of the people in [illegible] of the territory, and, as a result, [illegible] in the Middle Kingdom [illegible] influenced by the creation of a lower class, drawn [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 15[illegible]

## CHAPTER XXXI.

### *FINANCIAL AND MERCANTILE OFFENCES.*

THE code is copious as to the duty of officials in regard to the receipt, transfer, and expenditure of the public revenue. A curiously primitive article provides that taxpayers delivering their contributions in kind may be allowed to measure their own grain, and the officer or collector shall be beaten who "refuses to receive fair measure from the contributing landholder, or insists on shaking the grain into as small compass as possible, or piles the grain into a heap,"[1] even though the overplus is duly appropriated to the service of the Government; while a double penalty is exacted if the excess is embezzled. This unique anxiety on the part of the State, lest it should derive too much profit from its subjects, inspires a clause in the chapter dealing with the receipt and issue of public stores.[2]

"If the superintending officer, purchasing or hiring goods for the public service, does not pay the stipulated sum immediately, or stipulates for more or less than the market price or rate of hire of the goods in each case, the amount of the excess above, or the deficiency below, what was fairly due, shall be estimated, and the offending party shall be proportionately liable to punishment according to the law applicable to the cases of pecuniary malversation in general;"[3] and he shall moreover replace to Government, or to the individual sufferer, whatever may have been improperly withheld. The same penalty applies to officers who "receive goods of an inferior quality, when they ought to have been of superior quality."

In England, when military stores prove scandalously unfit, the question, "Whom shall we hang?" is cheerfully debated in the newspapers, with an underlying conviction that at the top of the official scale, where we take the existence of probity for granted, responsibility will be so subdivided that no honourable gentleman need be saddled with more than a bearable fraction of blame; while at the bottom of the commercial scale, it is a case of *caveat emptor*, and the contractor has a right to cheat the Government if he can; so that nobody need be hung (or even bambooed) after all. We look down on the dishonesty of Chinese officials, and think it discreditable to the nation that there should be so many laws against that offence, yet no one hesitates to use as an argument, against the extension

[1] Staunton, p. 127. [2] *Ib.*, p. 139.

[3] The penalties under this section range from twenty blows to one hundred blows, and three years' banishment.

of Government intervention in any direction, that work done for the State is always more costly than the same work done for private persons—a fact which admits of only two explanations: either that the Government is a more liberal paymaster than private persons, or that it is habitually cheated.

The latter hypothesis must be preferred, however reluctantly, since it was, until recently, supposed to be the duty of Government officials to buy goods and labour, not at a fair and uniform market price, but at the lowest rate possible, which, in China, is as unlawful as passing paper boots or pewter bayonets would be. And our economists would regard as a truly barbarous idea the suggestion that the Surveyor of Ordnance, or a Director of military clothing, should make good out of his own pocket the difference between the earnings of operatives employed on Government contract work, and the minimum sanctioned by the corresponding trade union scale. The lowest tender may be too high for economy, or too low for equity; but our officials are not sufficiently well informed as to the market price of all kinds of commodities and labour to be able to judge what the State on each occasion ought to pay, under penalty of making good the excess or defect if they decide wrongly.

In China, on the other hand, it is comparatively easy, even for a scholar, to know what prices are customary; while as to the quality of goods, even Emperors themselves have not disdained to discriminate between good rice and bad. The price of labour does not vary from one season to another: the wages of labourers are not reduced because a bad harvest may have left some cultivators without other resource than their power of working, and so have glutted the labour market; efforts are made to find or make work, but it would be a crime, not a charity, to offer it at less than the normal rate; hence the rate of wages only varies slowly and slightly in the course of half-centuries, as that of the precious metals may do. The prices of commodities have the same stability, and as the customary prices are adjusted to the customary quality, any alteration in the latter has the effect of fraud, and is proscribed by law accordingly. It is this real uniformity of practice which enables the Government to regulate official expenditure, through a somewhat venal bureaucracy, more effectively than is done in England with a higher standard of honesty in [illegible].

The last brief division of the Code contains the laws relating to public [illegible] are forbidden to undertake any public works with- [illegible] reports concerning costs and requirements from their subordinates, and obtaining authority from their superiors to [illegible]. If they begin to employ labourers, etc. [illegible] be punished as for pecuniary malversation [illegible] the number of labourers [illegible] work, pricing [illegible] is made in the case [illegible]

urgent necessary reparations; but in the regular course of things, the officer must describe the works which he desires to execute, and estimate their cost; while if he "does not truly state the extent of the labour and quantity of the materials required, he shall be punished with fifty blows," and any loss arising from his miscalculation shall be laid to his charge, rendering him further liable to a penalty for pecuniary malversation up to the amount incurred. Expenditure upon "unnecessary or unserviceable work" is punishable under the same law, the maximum penalty in each case being one hundred blows or three years' banishment. Articles manufactured for the public service must not be contrary to the established rule or custom, under a penalty of forty blows; and if "the deviation is so considerable as to render the manufactured articles totally unserviceable, or to render it necessary to employ additional labour and expense in adapting them for use, the said labour and expense shall be estimated, and the responsible person punished in proportion to the amount, according to the law respecting pecuniary malversation in ordinary cases."

Excessive expenditure, even on harmless or praiseworthy public objects, is thought objectionable, and an author quoted by Amyot observes: "The splendour and wealth of the State is not shown by the magnificence of dykes and sluices, of bridges, canals and public buildings, but by the portliness of the citizens, and the number of children and old people." Large and showy transactions afford a margin for peculation, because the details are less easily controlled, and if China has no public debt, this may be partly owing to the fact that no enterprising war contractors or ambitious ædiles have been suffered to build fortunes out of the supply of her wants. All economical problems are more complicated in Europe than China, but we cannot claim complete superiority for the more complicated machinery, till it has been brought to the same comparative degree of perfection as the older and simpler system to which we prefer it.

The general law against adulteration is headed "Manufactures not equal or comformable to the standard," and is the last of five sections dealing with "Sales and markets." According to it, "If a private individual manufactures any article for sale, which is not as strong, durable, and genuine as it is professed to be, or if he prepares and sells any silks or other stuffs of a thinner or lighter texture and quality, narrower or shorter than the established or customary standard, he shall be punished with fifty blows."

A "piece of silk" is a known quantity; it has been used when coin was scarce as a medium of exchange, and it is treated as a fixed quantity in the sumptuary law or custom, which limits the number of pieces of silk given as a marriage present to ten on the one hand, and two on the other. There has been no reason, since the days of Chow, why respectable tradesmen should desire to have any alteration made in the dimensions of the web of silk turned out by all the looms of the Flowery Land,[1] and isolated

[1] The primitive dimensions of the web were forty feet by two feet two inches.

divergence from the general usage for the purpose of entrapping customers into paying a higher price for an article of unfamiliar size, seemed only slightly less objectionable to the lawgiver than the use of false weights, measures and scales prohibited in the preceding article.

Another section in the same book, concerning "Monopolizers and unfair traders," is worth quoting at length to illustrate the doctrines in restraint of trade, which have always been and still are upheld by the supreme authority in China. "When the parties to the purchase and sale of goods do not amicably agree respecting the terms, if one of them monopolizing, or otherwise using undue influence in the market, obliges the other to allow him an exorbitant profit; or if artful speculators in trade, by entering into a private understanding with the commercial agent, and by employing other unwarrantable contrivances, raise the price of their own goods, although of low value, and depress the prices of those of others, although of high value—in all such cases the offending parties shall be punished with eighty blows for their misconduct. When a trader, observing the nature of the commercial business carrying on by his neighbour, contrives to suit or manage the disposal or appreciation of his own goods in such a manner as to derange or excite distrust against the proceedings of the other, and thereby *draws unfairly a greater proportion of profit to himself than usual*, he shall be punished with forty blows. The exorbitant profit derived from any one of the foregoing unlawful practices, shall, as far as it exceeds a fair proportion, be esteemed a theft, and the offender punished accordingly, whenever the amount renders the punishment provided by law against theft more severe than that hereby established and provided. The offender, however, shall not be branded as in ordinary cases of theft."[1] It is in pursuance of this idea, that exceptional profits must be virtually stolen, that the State, which would be horrified at the proposal to treat the common people as *taillable et corvéable à merci*, has no scruple in treating its capitalists as squeezable at discretion.

The "commercial agent" referred to in the above law is not exactly a Government official, though he is licensed and appointed by Government. They are elected from among the wealthier inhabitants of the sea and river ports where ships and merchandize are liable to arrive, and it is their duty to keep a register of such ships and cargoes, and of the "marks, numbers, quality and quantity of the goods imported or introduced into the market." These registers are submitted monthly to the district officer, who takes what action thereon may be necessary: but the principal function of these agents, as laid down in the code, was "the valuation and appraisement of goods and merchandize, after due consideration upon fair and equitable terms," [illegible] to the assessment of the customs duty, but [illegible] from the regulations in force when private traders [illegible] their wares to, or through, agents of the Government. [illegible] against the Government agent were enforced if [illegible] the value of the goods imported, for their own advan-

[illegible]

tage, or took bribes for under-estimating the State dues; while any one threatening to extort fines or forfeitures unjustly, for the sake of obtaining blackmail, became liable to the punishment prescribed for officers of Government who commit wilful injustice in pronouncing judicial sentence.

The treaties with European powers which modify or abolish the functions of these officers, are of such comparatively recent date, that the provisions of the code are still more in keeping with the national habits and ideas than the modern system of fixed duties paid to the Imperial Treasury.[1] Of course the services of these agents were not rendered gratuitously, though they received no regular salary from the Government; but in each district there would be a well-known and authorized scale of fees or commission, which they were entitled to demand along with the Government dues, but which it was equally unlawful to exceed.

The old laws against hoarding copper are retained, in the modified form of a prohibition against the retention in private dwellings of any utensils wholly or chiefly of copper, except mirrors, arms, bells, and articles dedicated to religious purposes; but any copper possessed in excess may be sold to the Government at the rate of about $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ a lb., or such other price "as the state of the markets and circumstances may authorize." The fact that the estimate has not been raised, though copper now commonly fetches about twice the amount named, would by itself prove that the present dynasty does not attach much importance to the enactment which it allows to remain on the Statute Book.

The code throughout treats the duties of officials as matter of notoriety, and in providing against official misconduct, there is, if anything, more anxiety to protect the people than the Government against any evil consequence that might result from official misconduct. The legislature evidently looks upon corruption and tyranny, or a compound of the two, as the sin which does most easily beset the employees of the State, and all the obvious occasions and manifestations of such tyranny are expressly defined and provided against. Officials are not allowed to buy land, to marry wives, or to lend money within the area of their jurisdiction,[2] and the punishment attached to a simple breach of the rule is increased if force or terrorism has been employed to compel the other party to sell, borrow, or give a wife against his will.

The main provisions of the law against usury have already been described. Any one demanding or receiving interest in excess of the original amount of the principal is liable to punishment, according to the amount extorted, up to one hundred blows, and if the offender is a Government officer, sentence of banishment in perpetuity may be added to the blows. The debtor, on the other hand, who fails to repay principal and interest at the date agreed on, may be punished at the rate of ten blows for every month's delay, up to a

[1] The cause of the unpopularity of foreign trade with Chinese districts [illegible] is that, under the old system of restricted trade, the customs were received by the local authority, and contributed to the revenue of the district, whereas they [illegible] go to Peking.

[2] C. [illegible], vol. i. p. 401.

maximum of sixty blows. But should the creditor be dissatisfied with this mild, vindictive sentence, and attempt to right his own wrong by forcibly seizing the cattle, furniture, or other property of the debtor, he becomes liable to a penalty of eighty blows (redeemable, however, by fine), or if the distress exceeds the value of the debt, to such further punishment, proportioned to the amount of the excess, as the law regarding pecuniary malversation provides. Further, if the creditor accepts the wives or children of the debtor in pledge for payment, he receives one hundred blows; and if he carries off such members of the debtor's family by force, the penalty is two degrees more severe, and the debt is cancelled. The repayment of a loan is the only kind of pecuniary liability which the Government attempts to enforce; and when the reluctance of the Chinese to appear in a police court even in the character of plaintiff is borne in mind, it will be seen that, even in this case, creditors are not likely to benefit much in practice by the protection which the law accords them.

There is nothing in the Lu about the contemporary custom of collecting debts by the New Year: the absence of anything like a bankruptcy law and the predominance of small transactions must have contributed to make cash payments the rule; and where this is the case, and the systematic giving of credit is unknown, a custom would easily grow up of allowing accidental delays of payment to be overlooked if cash were forthcoming within the twelvemonth. The New Year is a holiday time, and the very poorest indulge in some kind of festivities. Nothing but the most abject poverty can prevent a Chinese family from having some provision for enjoyment made at this time of year; and as nothing but absolute inability can excuse the non-payment of debts to neighbours at that season, the Chinaman must either pay his debts or go without festivities under pain of passing for a swindler. Hence the most frantic efforts are made to borrow money, or goods which may be pawned for money, to pay whatever is left of the year's debts, though after the sun has risen on New Year's Day, there is no obligation to discharge them, and no allusion is permitted to be made to them by the creditor.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

### *MISCELLANEOUS LAWS: ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS.*

Most of the directions to judges, contained in the code, as to circumstances to be considered in mitigation of sentences, and the judicial principles expressed or implied in the prescribed modes of estimating responsibility, are such as would approve themselves to humane and enlightened lawyers. The meaning and purpose of the statutes is always clear, and the precision with which they are drafted is sufficient for the purpose they have to serve. The magistrates are required to give equitable judgments, and decisions in accordance with the spirit and letter of the code; and as there are no professional lawyers, authorized to sustain inequitable claims by a strict interpretation of the letter of isolated clauses, it is unnecessary to multiply explanatory provisos, which themselves multiply the possibilities of dispute.

By a counterpart to the English law of "Maintenance," it is illegal even for non-professional persons to assist or advise in the suits of others, and a penalty is imposed in the case of those who receive money or any other inducement for doing so. The only exception is that made in the case of a poor and ignorant person, who does not know how to state his case properly before the tribunals; any one who "advises and instructs such person rightly and truly how to act," or "draws up an information for him in the legal and customary manner" without misrepresenting the facts of the case, is exempt from blame or punishment.[1]

The code aims at obtaining a confession of the justice of the sentence in all serious cases before it is executed. If a prisoner sentenced to banishment or death refuses to admit his guilt, the protest "shall be made the ground of another and more particular investigation,"[2] and the magistrate who refuses to receive such a protest is punished. The innocent can thus secure a second hearing, while the guilty are not likely to risk an aggravation of their sentence by a vexatious appeal. In several cases the later statutes of the present dynasty mitigate the penalties laid down by the older law, while the blows imposed as punishment for all minor offences can be compounded for a small fine. Women are only allowed to be imprisoned upon capital charges, and remain otherwise in the custody of their relatives, and nearly all their offences are redeemable by fine.

[1] *Ta Tsing lü li*, sect. 341. [2] *Ib.*, sect. 416.

One or two entirely civilized and humane provisions are, by a curious arrangement of the code, hidden away, under the head of miscellaneous offences, in the division devoted to criminal laws. It is melancholy to think of what art and science have lost in Egypt, which might all have been saved if the monuments of that country had been under the protection of the enlightened Chinese code, by which "Any person who is guilty of defacing or destroying any of the public monuments and buildings, which have been erected in honour and commemoration of particular individuals and events; and any person who defaces or destroys the inscribed tablets upon, or within the same, shall be punished with 100 blows and perpetual banishment to the distance of 3,000 li; the offender in these cases shall be moreover compelled to repair the damage"[1]—a provision which the character of Chinese monuments renders less impossible than such atonement would be elsewhere. Even now, if one destructive tourist in Egypt were allowed to "eat stick" for his sins, the work of demolition might be arrested.

The next clause carries us back to the days of Chow,[2] and is only placed among offences because a penalty is attached to disregard of it. By this private soldiers attached to Government stations, and labourers employed in public works are entitled in illness and infirmity to receive medical assistance and treatment free from the local medical officer. It will be remembered that a system of Government dispensaries was introduced by the Mongols, and though it has unfortunately fallen into disuse, it is worthy of note that the Government feels itself responsible for the labourers temporarily employed in its service, as well as for the regular civil and military employees of the State. And as the liberality of the Government does not go beyond what is considered incumbent upon private employers, we may infer that it is usual for the latter also to give such assistance when necessary to their workpeople.

The section concerning public ways provides briefly for the maintenance and repair of roads, bridges, and embankments by the local authorities, and includes a law against encroachments, which shows how long China has been both a crowded country, and one with sound ideas of sanitation and decorum. "Any person who encroaches upon the spaces allotted to public streets, squares, highways, or passages of any kind,—that is to say, who appropriates a part of any such space to his own use, by cultivating it or building on it,—shall be punished with sixty blows, and obliged to level and restore the ground to its original state. Any person who opens a passage through the wall of his house to carry off filth or ordure into the streets or highways, shall be punished with forty blows; but in the case of a passage being [illegible] to carry off water only, no penalty or punishment shall be inflicted." [illegible] no drains, but the demand for refuse of all kinds for [illegible] the streets to be efficiently scavenged by private enterprise, and the immunity of the people from epidemics is no doubt [illegible] due to the [illegible] of open drains and of sewer gas.

Not the [illegible] characteristic feature in the code is the juxta-

[1] [illegible] 111. [2] [illegible] 221 [illegible]

position of passages like the above, which suggest quite modern problems, and others which carry us back to the Shoo-King itself and to the most primitive arrangements for the care of the royal cattle. In the fourth book of the Hia Dynasty, the composition of which is attributed to that of Shang, the "statutes of government" are referred to as ordaining that if the State astronomers "anticipate the time" or fall behind it, they are to be put to death without mercy. From that day to this, no doubt the laws of the Middle Kingdom have always contained an article upon "Neglect to observe and note the celestial appearances,"[1] such as eclipses, meteors, comets, and the like, and the astronomical board is still required to "mark the times" of these phenomena and report them to the emperor, though the penalty for neglect has been reduced, with the progress of humanity, from "death without mercy" to sixty blows.

The section concerning responsibility for the care of Government cattle has been referred to already.[2] One division of the code is devoted to what are called military laws, and one book in this division deals with military horses and cattle. "Every officer in charge of the rearing and feeding of the horses, horned cattle, camels, mules, asses, and sheep belonging to the government shall be responsible for an hundred head of animals; (*i.e.* the punishments are on the scale of such a charge of 100) and a strict and faithful report shall be made to government of the death, loss or partial injury which occurs to any of them,"[3] that those in charge may be punished unless proved not to be responsible for the damage. Under whatever circumstances the animal dies, the skin, tail and the bullock's tendons and horns shall be given to the proper officer. Rearers and feeders are "excused punishment" if it is shown that the death was from old age, but they have to make good loss or injury from other causes, and "the dead or maimed cattle shall be sold towards replacing the same with living and perfect animals." To "conceal the increase" is among the offences contemplated: a special regulation respecting the droves of brood mares requires that their keepers shall produce not less than 100 foals a year from three droves of 100 mares each. In the purchase of animals by contract for Government use, the officers are required under penalties to estimate every animal truly and justly; and failure to do so, whether to the detriment of the Government, or that of the vendor, are punished alike, as in the case of other Government purchases. Neglect of the animals, whereby they become lean, or bad management in harnessing or driving them, whereby sore backs or galled shoulders are produced, are punished, the degree of guilt being measured by the size of the sore or the number of unduly lean beasts.

As the Chinese in general, like the Egyptians, are kind to their domestic animals, it seems likely that this law is prompted by genuine humanity, as well as by the desire to have the stock kept in good condition. The owner of dangerous animals is required to tie them up and mark them as such;

[1] Sect. clxxvii. p. 187. [2] *Ante*, p. 52; and vol. i. p. 155. [3] Sect. ccxxvii.

dogs are to be destroyed if they go mad. The curiously severe law against killing horses or cattle without a Government license is perhaps derived from a time when the Government attached some importance to the right of requisitioning such animals from private owners; and as China has never been a grazing country, the tendency of the people was always to diminish this available reserve. At present the law serves practically only as a tax upon butchers, with an incidental tendency to enable the magistrates to regulate and equalize the price of meat.

There is no game preserving in China: any one is free to hunt wherever he can find birds or beasts, and this being so, the fact that game is not exterminated confirms what has been said already as to the general abundance of food. Tcheng-ki-tong gives the following list of animals available for sport: partridges, woodcock, snipe, quails, wild duck and geese; roebuck, red and fallow deer, hares and rabbits, besides fox, wolf, bear, panther, and tiger in appropriate localities.[1] As in the Chow Li, there are provisions in the code[2] against danger to passers-by from traps or springes set by the hunters for wild animals, and they are required to put some visible sign as a warning to mankind, though at the risk of scaring the more cunning and intelligent beasts. It is not recorded even of Chou or Chieh that they attempted to preserve their hunting grounds against intrusion, by deliberately setting traps and springes to catch, not beasts, but human beings.

The Chinese pay less than any other people for their Government, less absolutely and less per head, and the limitation of the Imperial revenues has the incidental advantage of keeping the number of Government officials at a minimum also. M. Simon estimates the total number for the whole empire at between twenty-five and thirty thousand, or perhaps one for every nineteen thousand of the population. Capital crimes and executions are rare, and even when allowance is made for the jurisdiction exercised by family and local tribunals, the proportion of the population who suffer any kind of restraint at the hands of authority is extraordinarily small. The extent to which the Government is constitutional and responsible has been indicated in the history of previous dynasties. Local droughts, inundations, or other national calamities serve, as well as any patent dereliction of duty, as a pretext for revising the *personnel* of the administration; but if the officer of the unfortunate district is popular, the people appeal on his behalf, and he is continued in office with a note in his favour rather than the reverse.

If, on the contrary, an official makes himself intolerable to those under his jurisdiction, and is proof against all remonstrance, the townspeople shut up their shops, the country folk refuse their taxes, or, in M. Simon's words, "Il se dit chez eux rien ne va. Au bout de trois jours, si l'accord ne s'est pas retabli, destitué! C'est commode et cela se passe sans bruit." Archdeacon Gray tells an amusing story illustrative of this sort of local strike against an unpopular government. In 1880 there was a struggle be-

[1] [illegible], pp. 12, 3. [2] [illegible], c. xxiii.

tween a mandarin and the pork butchers of a provincial town respecting the imposition of an additional tax on each pig killed. The pork butchers closed their shops and persuaded the public neither to buy nor sell. Four official stalls were opened by the military for the sale of meat; but the public sympathised with the strike, and it was allowed to rot without finding purchasers, and finally the tax was abandoned and the pork butchers gained the day. The governor of a town is superseded if the fires in it exceed a given average,[1] and officers are expressly declared to be responsible for the mortality in prisons if it rises beyond specified limits.

Exhortations and admonitions are plentiful, and as in the days of Yao and Shun, the emperors still make "announcements" to the people about their own and their ministers' lapses from perfect virtue. If a local officer finds or introduces in his province a commendable usage, he sends a description of it to the minister of Rites at Peking: the minister submits it to the consideration of the Han-lin College, and if this learned and independent body approves of it, it is communicated to other provinces: if it is generally adopted by them, it passes into the code, but does not become law till the next reign, so that usages do not acquire statutatory powers till they have had ample time to become familiar.[2] In the locality that wishes for a law, it can take effect at once. Any official of the rank of Tao tai or Intendant of circuit is competent, by and with the advice of the local guilds, to publish regulations, says one writer, "as far extending in their character as the Trustee Act or the Statute of Frauds;"[3] but such regulations, like other laws, are never promulgated by authority till they have begun to be observed by general consent.

All official Chinese documents have a curiously conversational tone. An edict about grasshoppers, for instance, explains paternally how they can be caught and their eggs destroyed, that they are good for food, can be dried and given to ducks, pigs, and other domestic animals, not omitting the reassuring fact that their taste is like dried prawns.[4] At dangerous parts of the road notices to travellers are stuck up: "Do not shelter here because of the floods," or "Beware of the mountain water," as in England cyclists' clubs warn the fraternity against dangerously steep descents. Official decrees in China combine in one text the letter of the law and such an exposition of its admirable motives and tendency as would be supplied in England by an "inspired" morning paper—a combination which ceases to appear singular when we remember that the Government is carried on by the very class whence able editors are drawn in Europe.

In civil disputes, if the sentence of the local popular courts of arbitration is not accepted, the case is brought before the magistrate, and his underlings may have to be bribed to allow the "petition" for justice to reach him. Further appeals may be made to the provincial treasurer, to the governor of the province, to the officer of corresponding dignity in the adjoining province, and from him to the Emperor; and bribery which has

[1] Gray's *China*, pp. 51, 13.
[2] *Ta Tsing*, p. 328.
[3] *La Cité Chinoise*, p. 150.
[4] *Middle Kingdom*, vol. i. p. 460.

been successful at every previous stage has been known to fail at this final appeal. Few civil cases, however, are reported in the Gazette as being carried up to the higher courts, the parties presumably thinking it wise to acquiesce, when they are simply referred back to the judge, who has already heard and decided the case.

Besides the traditional drum which claimants for justice are still in the [illegible] to strike,[1] there are six tablets, with appropriate inscriptions, affixed outside the local courts of justice, indicating where redress is to be sought by those wronged (1) by wicked officers, (2) by thieves, (3) by false accusations, (4) by swindlers, or (5) in any other way, the 6th being for those who have secret information to impart. The courts of justice are open from dawn till dusk—the day's work of labourers and of officers being of equal duration.

Witnesses, as is well known, are examined under torture, if there is reasonable ground to suspect that they know more than they tell, and of course this practice leads to grave abuses. No counsel are employed, and the judge is expected to divine the truth from the [illegible] and recrimination of witnesses, and such signs as in the West would be followed up by detectives on behalf of either the prosecution or defence. "The chief security the people have against an unmitigated oppression, such as [illegible] in Turkey . . . . lies as much as anywhere in the general intelligence of the true principles on which the Government is founded, and [illegible] executed."[2] "The Chinese are the most law-abiding people on the face of the globe, but the laws by which they will abide must be laws of which they approve."[3]

The right of petition, which, comparatively lately, had to be contended for in England, is not only freely exercised in China, but a petition, if favourably received and printed in the Gazette, acquires at once quasi-legislative force. Any citizen who possesses the necessary command of language and style may memorialise the emperor, and even if the matter [illegible] is unacceptable to the sovereign, and the tribunals take [illegible] it is nevertheless preserved in the Imperial Record Office, and the [illegible] of the future may be trusted to do its author justice. [illegible] right of petition, the [illegible] administration [illegible] in the West. [illegible]

[illegible]

to adhere to their first response, he would be a bold ruler who dared to risk being written down a tyrant, by disregarding such lawful protests.

The opinion of the doctors of the Han-lin College loses none of its weight from the fact that its members as such have no place in the Government.[1] They receive from the State a house and garden and a small pecuniary allowance, but so far from being considered in consequence to be in any measure dependent on the Government, the endowment is regarded as theirs by inalienable right, and is further supplemented by endowments and donations ancient and modern. The Chinese Government shows, perhaps, as much deference to the opinion of the learned, as very enlightened and democratic European Governments show to the opinion of the press; and it shows as much deference to the opinion of the people as the latter do to the verdict of the ballot boxes at a contested election.

The parallelism between the double organs of the national will in different continents is far from complete; but if the essence of a constitution is to restrain the arbitrary power of the sovereign, China has every title to rank as a constitutional monarchy. No important empire would suffer less visible or material change if the form of government were suddenly metamorphosed into a federal republic. And it may even be doubted whether the two great constituent powers just referred to, the learned and the people, would have any serious objection to the change, if an heir of the reigning house were entrusted with the discharge of the customary ceremonies in the worship of Heaven and Earth and of his Imperial ancestors.

That the people have, in fact, inherited the duties and prerogatives of the ancient emperors is apparent from all accounts of the benevolent institutions of the country. Foundling hospitals, asylums for the aged poor and other permanent establishments for the relief of distress are only partially supported by Government funds, and depend largely on private donations and endowments. The present dynasty has especially encouraged the foundation of orphanages and homes for the reception of foundlings, so that it is possible that the reproach of infanticide brought against the Chinese may have been formerly more deserved than now.

There are charitable as well as provident burial societies,[2] which provide coffins for the destitute, and poor parents are said sometimes to lay their dead children by the roadside, in hopes of having them interred by these societies, more decorously than they themselves could afford. The accounts of infanticide in China are derived in great part from the reports of the French *Société de la Sainte Enfance*, which begs for subscriptions in France to save the souls and bodies of Chinese babies. The society employs native mission women, who are paid so much a head for every

[1] Very young doctors are employed in the public examinations, [illegible] till qualified by age and experience.

[2] Subscriptions to these so-called "Long life loan companies" are continued for six [illegible] years unless the member die sooner, in which case he gets the [illegible] and grave-clothes provided by the Society cheap.

[illegible] they baptize; and as veracity is not the strong point of the Chinese, laymen permit themselves to doubt whether all the babies reported as [illegible] *in articulo mortis* were really found alive.

The Catholic orphanages find it extremely difficult to obtain the charge [illegible] at all, which is not surprising when we learn that the mortality is much higher in them than in similar native institutions; this [illegible] easily explained, since the Chinese do not allow a nurse to take charge of more than one infant, while the missionaries give three or four to the same. When the poor little things die, the Chinese institutions bury them in coffins, an expense which the missionaries regretfully declare themselves unable to afford. When the children in the Chinese orphanages grow up, the boys are taught trades, and the girls frequently adopted by childless families, or taken as inferior wives; records and descriptions are kept, so that the parents can at any time reclaim or trace their children if they wish to do so; and, as in the land of Sumer and Akkad, the foundling might have his "filiation" formally and legally proclaimed.

The massacre of the French at Tien-tsin was caused by the refusal of the Sainte Enfance to follow the same custom. The inundations of the Yellow River in 1870 had caused so much distress that a considerable number of children had, by way of exception, been entrusted to the society.[1] As their families recovered from the calamity they wished to reclaim their children; but the missionaries refused to restore their baptized protégés to heathendom at the peril of their immortal souls. Family affection and the continuity of family relations is the cornerstone—and half the edifice—of the really national religion of China, so that the outbreak in which the foreigners suffered cannot be treated as unprovoked. English law would certainly have upheld the parents' claim, and a writ of Habeas Corpus have been issued against the missionaries had the matter been one within the jurisdiction of an English court.[2]

Besides permanent institutions, it is the rule for wealthy clans to give [illegible] and autumn to poor members, out of the endowments of the ancestral altars, a liberality which may be regarded as the con[illegible] priesthood to maintain in connection with [illegible]. The Buddhist list of crimes and virtues has acquired [illegible] Chinese character; and among the latter we find included [illegible] cold in summer [illegible] establishment of drinking [illegible] bridging rivulets and paving high[illegible] [illegible] was reported to have [illegible] poor of Canton. In 1832 a college was erected by private subscription, at a cost of £10,000, on a

[illegible]

site given by a widow lady, to provide "fat and fire," *i.e.* oil and food for study gratuitously to scholars. But the number of public charities founded by private persons is reduced by the same cause which diminishes the necessity for them, namely the number of family endowments bequeathed to supply the wants of poor members of important clans, as well as by the liberality towards relations exercised by the well-to-do members of every family.

This trait is well illustrated by Dr. Legge's account of a great fire in Victoria, Hong-Kong, some forty years ago. It broke out one winter evening, and hundreds, if not thousands, were rendered homeless. He took a few of the sufferers to his home for the night, and started early next morning to raise subscriptions among the English and other merchants. "I took my way by the scene of the conflagration. There were the streets lined with the ruins of the burnt houses, but of all the crowds whom I had left at midnight shivering on the hillside there was no trace; what had become of them? The answer to my inquiries was: 'Their kindred have taken them in. Does not the second maxim of the Sacred Edict say, Behave with generosity to the branches of your kindred in order to illustrate harmony and benignity?'" The constant application of this principle to individual cases as they arise saves the empire from the formation of a dangerous class,—the residuum, which in our Western cities drags out a miserable existence on the borderland between pauperism and crime, and which in the Middle Kingdom takes to brigandage, whenever "harmony and benignity" begin to fail.

Life and fire insurance offices do not exist in China apart from foreign influence;[1] yet in an effective and informal manner the whole empire is a vast insurance society, so that cities and provinces as well as individuals are enabled to recover from disaster with a promptitude and completeness scarcely to be paralleled out of the United States. Lockhart describes the restoration of Shanghai, after its destruction by the Triad Society,[2] and the way in which, as soon as the people could return, rebuilding began, the streets were cleared, boundaries of property marked out by owners, shops opened, and trade resumed; so that "in a very few months whole streets had been built, and the business of the city flourished as before. . . . Money was lent in large sums to the traders and shopkeepers by wealthy men; and it is truly a testimony to the integrity of the Chinese character that when people had been utterly ruined, as most of these tradespeople were, others would come forward and cordially enable them to reinstate their business. For these advances large interest was paid, and the principle liquidated by degrees as trade prospered."

[1] [illegible] to whom their working [illegible] incentive to murder and arson, [illegible] premiums. The Mongol princes who receive grants from the [illegible] expenses are said to be exceptionally "[illegible]." [illegible] is increased in England by high premiums from [illegible].

[2] *The Medical Missionary in China*, p. 332.

After destructive storms, the native gentry put up sheds in temple grounds, and pay doctors to attend there upon the injured; and such specially British forms of philanthropy as total abstinence societies (to put down drinking and opium smoking)[1] find a counterpart in China. There are societies for the relief of poor widows, and for assisting *men* to get married. Free libraries, as we have already seen, are numerous, and there is actually a building at Canton called the Free Discussion Hall, where political matters are debated with the knowledge of the Government, which finds it more advantageous to ascertain and influence public opinion than to suppress its utterances.[2] It is said, however, that the expression of public opinion by the essays of candidates in the Government examinations is now restricted, and that political questions in which the affairs of the present dynasty are concerned may not be alluded to by examiners or candidates—a corruption of ancient usage which conservative scholars would have the sympathy of the West in rectifying.

The examinations, it has been observed, form, as it were, the avenue to the "hustings, the Church, the Bar, and the learned professions all at once,"[3] and their character is thus a valuable indication of the quality of the education received by the competitors. The merits of the merely literary exercises are of course unappreciable by foreigners, who will be tempted to share the emperor Yung-ching's distaste for "sonnets to the moon and clouds, the winds and dews," which serve no practical purpose and do not help to "regulate the age and reflect glory on the nation." But the following questions,[4] quoted from the "History Paper," set in an examination for the second degree, seem to be fully up to the standard of Western universities, and demand a kind of information which it is extremely important for each generation of practical politicians to possess. "From the earliest times great attention has been given to the improvement of agriculture. Will you indicate the arrangements adopted for that purpose by the several dynasties?" "Give an account of the circulating medium under different dynasties, and state how the currency of the Sung Dynasty corresponded with one use of paper money at the present day?"

[illegible] where the examinations are held are somewhat [illegible] with candidates, and anti-foreign demonstrations [illegible] to be dreaded at such times. [illegible] presence of a few thousand [illegible] different parts, and subject to [illegible] to [illegible] and [illegible] are apt to make them [illegible] Conservatism, what can be expected [illegible] contempt for the [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] T. T. [illegible] p. 327.

[illegible] p. 51.

eyed, grotesquely attired barbarians? This contempt, however, is not likely to show itself by noisy violence, unless it happens that the examinations coincide with the outbreak of a local grievance connected with the aggressions of French missionaries or English opium-sellers. As an English traveller observes, "Chinese boys and men never do wanton mischief,"[1] and we can readily believe the assurances of General Tcheng-ki-tong that Chinese students as a class *are* studious, and content with tranquil and mildly intellectual pastimes.

Chinese houses of the well-to-do class are large, serving to receive what is more like a clan than a family. Each male member of the clan brings his bride home to the ancestral house, where each natural family occupies a separate apartment, though the women and children associate freely and amuse themselves as they please within the enclosure. The discovery that space conduces to harmony was made many ages ago, no less a person than the philosopher Chuang-tze having written: "If there is no room in the house, the wife and her mother-in-law run against one another." Houses in Southern China are always one storey high, and in the North, where two storeys are common, the upper floor is used rather as a summer-house than for everyday habitation.

Houses are described as having a frontage of three, five, seven, or more rooms, as the case may be, because the arrangement is the same, whatever the width. The hall, drawing-room, and dining-room lie one behind the other, and are each flanked with an equal number of rooms on the right and left, the number varying with the size of the house. The different sets of rooms are separated by courts, of which there may be any number in the largest houses. A modest middle-class dwelling of three rooms to the front, with the equivalent of three floors, one behind the other, lets for £2 10*s.* a year.[2] A walled garden, with summer-houses and artificial rocks, is an indispensable appendage to the house in all well-to-do families; and as the women of such families do not frequent public entertainments, it is common for shows of various kinds to be summoned to give a private performance indoors for their amusement. The largest houses of this kind occupy with their gardens many acres, though of course much smaller than a "gentleman's place" of corresponding importance in England; and the grounds are made to appear larger than they really are by winding paths, trellises covered with climbing plants walling off one part from another, and all the other devices of a landscape gardener's art.[3]

All Chinese relaxations are required to have an æsthetic flavour. They play chess out of doors, in chosen spots commanding a picturesque view,[4] or in an elegantly furnished room, with tea or wine: they enjoy music on the water, and inscribe appropriate verses on their works of art. Strange to say, there are no professional artists. Painting, like poetry, is in the

[1] Gill, p. 314. [2] *Les Plaisirs en Chine*, p. [illegible].
[3] P. Osbeck, *Voyage to China* (1751), ii. p. 300; Mrs. Gray, p. 275.
[4] *Les Plaisirs en Chine*, p. 189.

hands of amateurs.[1] Busts and portraits are executed by professionals, but otherwise the decorative work done by artisans is all applied to household or other furniture. According to a well-known novelist,[2] a few days after a poem is produced at court, every family in the capital has a copy. Chinese verses have to be "shown," not read, because so many of the characters have the same sound.

Theatrical performances are given in restaurants, by desire of the guests, as well as in public places and private houses. On these occasions the Chinese applaud the actors and performances they like: if not pleased, they keep silence, which is regarded as the most eloquent condemnation. The Chinese writer so often quoted truly regards this trait as typical. "Jamais de critiques directes, d'improbation bruyantes, de clameurs in[illegible]. Le silence suffit. . . . Il condamne sans discussion et sans appel." The critic's dignity and self-respect would be imperilled if he had to violate the rules of propriety to the extent of *saying* anything uncivil: but when it is the rule to say civil things, what can be more crushing than silence? An autocrat who is displeased with a courtier's remark says nothing, and the courtier is annihilated. And on this point, as on others, the democratic Chinese have imperial instincts.

A good many European complaints of the insincerity of Chinese statesmen [illegible] the imperfect comprehension of the traditions of Chinese politeness and the obligations it imposes on diplomatists. The Chinese [illegible] strong sense of [illegible] and dignity, and carry reserve to [illegible]. Parents and children do not kiss; intimate friends do not [illegible] each other, either [illegible] or caressingly; husband and wife, even among the peasants, begin the day by exchanging formal bows. With such habits, and a profound sense of the importance of mutual respect underlying [illegible], it is almost impossible to reply with a [illegible]. No [illegible] from a person with whom you are on terms [illegible]. Accordingly there is [illegible] courtesy in driving any one [illegible] compelling him to reply [illegible].

If European [illegible] wish to arrive at the true intentions of Chinese [illegible] as much [illegible] a very powerful and a very friendly [illegible]. [illegible] what they want [illegible] by an evasive [illegible] Chinese [illegible] would show that [illegible] removed from all intention [illegible].

A C[illegible] to tell a lie than to refuse [illegible] with unbecoming vehemence. [illegible]

[1] [illegible]
[2] [illegible] p. 2.

he feels as strongly that the European negotiator is an unmannerly barbarian for forcing him to lie, as the European does that his lying under pressure is uncivilized and immoral. The Chinaman would feel humiliated if what he asked for was refused, and it is really as much from the habit of politeness as from cowardice that he promises without meaning to perform.

This ought to be as well known to the representatives of European countries in China as another fact, which they have been slow to recognize; viz., that the Imperial authority, though nominally supreme, is quite impotent to resist or counteract the will and habits of the nation, so that the Chinese Empire is no more to be bound by a treaty inconsistent with its unwritten constitution, than the Chinese people are to be terrorised by looting a palace in which, contrary to propriety, the Son of Heaven has collected a great many valuables and curiosities. European pressure misapplied might conceivably result in the overthrow of the Mantchu Dynasty called Tsing; but, fortunately for the Chinese people, it will be powerless to affect their material life except on the veriest fringe and outskirts of all that is essential to its national character.

# CONCLUSIONS.

A sketch of English history and social growth compressing the records of [illegible] years into half as many pages is apt to repel by the dulness that comes of brevity. A survey of five times as many centuries would need to be ten times as long to become less tedious; and the charitable reader is entreated to believe that the foregoing pages might have seemed shorter if they had been a great deal more numerous. They will have served their purpose if they induce any earnest students who have not yet found a speciality that promises to occupy a life's devotion, to take the antiquities, the literature, and the economic history of China seriously, and deal at length with some of the topics of which the surface only has been skimmed above.

The attempt to arouse interest in a China which is not that of the European trader or the European missionary, but only that of a few hundred millions of native Chinamen, has never yet been crowned with success. If it has been made once more, it is not altogether for its own sake—as a true *Sinomane* would wish—but to complete the sketch of pre-alphabetic civilisation, and let China take the place which is probably genealogically hers as a sister nation of the Egyptians and Babylonians.

If we knew as much of the life of the "little people" of ancient Egypt and Babylonia as we know of the Chinese, it might be [illegible] necessary to plead for a respectful and sympathetic construction of the many traits unintelligible to the Western world. But as the glamour of ancient history [illegible] than we can ever have of [illegible] Empires, when the theory of their kinship [illegible] the latter [illegible] Mesopotamia [illegible] Egypt must have gone on, so far as [illegible] the same way, on the same principles, [illegible]

Kang-[illegible]

[illegible] China.

[illegible] determined with [illegible] of posterity; and hence the truth of

history must be distorted if we study it exclusively with a view to the lessons to be learnt from it for our own profit. It is only after reading the history of Egypt or China as disinterested students, that we can trust ourselves to generalize as to the conditions of the stability and conservatism, which we began by recognising as the common feature of the great primitive civilizations.

Knowing better than Cicero how great nations may not only decline in fortune, but actually cease to exist, we cannot doubt that there must have been "wisdom and breeding" in any people whose life has endured for two, three, or four thousand years. We have seen that the same kind of qualities enable tribes as well as nations to flourish unchangingly for ages, so it is clear that this longevity does not depend upon political organization.

The widest generalization that our facts seem to warrant is that it depends upon the prevalence among the people of a temperament, which, when undisturbed by foreign elements, inspires a theoretical and practical adoption of the homely doctrine, "Live and let live." The relations of class and sex are influenced throughout by this temperament, but the only peculiar institutions of the oldest world which are directly inspired by it are the limitation of interest, the partnership of parents and children in the family property, and the mortgages redeemable in perpetuity. The custom of common meals and lotteries without blanks are congenial offshoots, but the eccentricities of some points of marriage law appear to be simply owing to a different conception of family relations than has been general in historic times, which, however, is in no way essential to the type.

The question how far the influence of women in the family can have affected the general character of the early domestic races was touched upon in connection with Egyptian custom. We recognise in the whole history of mankind the development of three main propensities: to make war, to make love, and to make—things. Very early in the days of civilization, a few communities seem to have tried the experiment of giving power to women, or to the sons of women, who made love so potently that great men desired to enter as consorts in the house they ruled. The Nair, the Amazon, and the Towarek type of community are exceptional; though they should not be ignored in a survey of discarded social experiments; the rather that the experiments are shown to be compatible with a considerable development of primitive civilization. This page of history has been so entirely closed that it requires some courage to reclaim it from the domain of legend. But we see in the records of Egypt how the archaic power of the married mother—the lady of a house and the lady of a man—could be associated with orderly domestic life, such as has established itself in the West, notwithstanding equally arbitrary theories of paternal and marital power.

Apart from the development of "Mother law," we find that in any community where exaggerated or exclusive importance is attached to the

occupation of making love, the State falls a prey to luxuriousness and license, the tyranny of weakness. While if exaggerated or exclusive importance is attached to the occupation of war, the State falls a prey to the tyranny of strength, and the genial amenities of social and family life are lost in a hard gradation of ranks, based upon power—of strength of will instead of charitable wisdom.

The third ruling propensity is the feeblest in primitive society, and is derivative in its origin, since men begin by making weapons wherewith to fight, and decorations wherewith to charm their fellows. It is only in the third place that they begin to make—instead of finding—food and shelter, to multiply the animal and vegetable products available for those purposes by nature; and there is scarcely any article of human manufacture which cannot be traced back to one of these three promptings of industry. The archaic States which escaped the dangers named above did so in virtue of their love of industry, agriculture, and commerce. Some succumbed when the love of commerce overcame the love of peace, and seduced traders into wars of aggression. Others succumbed when the habit of peace or love of ease had grown too strong for a race of producers to be willing to fight in defence of their own *eunomia*.

War and luxury are fatal to the endurance and stability of any State where they absorb the energies of the mass of the population. Art, letters, and philosophy only provide occupation for the few, and it seems one of the widest generalizations from the experience of nations, that a national life good enough to last for centuries, to say nothing of millenniums, is only attainable when the mass of the people find their principal occupation in the exercise of peaceful industrial arts. That is to say, in communities which have allowed or encouraged their material wants to grow, so that men who have food, shelter, and clothing in kind and quantity sufficient for their needs, employ their surplus time and energies in varying the food, adorning the clothing, and in furnishing the shelter with luxuries and decorations such as admit of indefinite multiplication and increase.

The average man now needs three things for his happiness—bread, work, and love.

Love and bread are desired for their own sakes, but work, like war, is only desirable as an occupation, something to provide a succession of varied, and so far as possible, pleasurable sensations. We have been rather apt to assume that the industrial civilization which meets these wants is an invention of modern Europe; but if it were so, we should [illegible] to claim stability as a characteristic of industrial States.

The fact is that the three primitive propensities interlace in various proportions. Industry has been enlisted in the service of luxury, and it has [illegible] methods borrowed from the arts of war. Men will [illegible] in their work for gain they will contend [illegible] not to obtain it, but to overcome their [illegible]. When [illegible] industrial system becomes fully elaborated, [illegible] wealth becomes dissociated from production, and the

most successful votaries of fortune are found to be, not those who do most to increase the material riches of the race, but those who succeed in seizing for themselves the largest share of the wealth previously produced, it matters not by whom. The influence of the proprietor succeeds or continues that of the warrior, and, as in the Irish laws, men acquire chieftain rank by the number of their cows.

The industrial States which have achieved stability are exactly those in which the instinct to "live and let live" is stronger than the propensity to seek economic advantages contentiously or by force. But there are gradations of masterfulness in the least contentious communities, and the most ancient records in the world show us chiefs and rulers in possession of wealth and power. The primitive chief or monarch receives voluntary tribute, and is looked upon as the treasurer of his tribe or nation, not because he has skill or industry to accumulate all the goods he is expected to dispense, but because he has more imagination, more power of inventing uses for them.

The large proprietor of primitive society does not catch, grow, or manufacture with his own hands the articles which constitute his wealth. His ownership is moreover largely titular; the instinct of appropriation has outstripped the power of enjoying as well as the power of creating material objects, and these objects must be shared with others as a means to obtaining the ends really desired, such as personal services, tokens of honour, service in war, and the like. It would be as unjust to trace the origin of secular government to the greed of kings as to attribute the invention of religions to the covetousness of priests. Nevertheless the historical development of political authority would have been impossible without the early growth of economical authority which gave the kings of Hesiod their name of "gift eaters," and made the great men of Egypt givers of rations to the rest. So long as the many, in whom the instincts of self-assertion are feeble, have ample rations issued to them, they are not only content to supply, at their own expense, the larger wants of the acquisitive few, but are actually grateful to the self-elected chief, who gives to them when they need it, what they gave to him when they did not need it.

Governments have been founded upon this common form of human weakness, but the long-lived domestic civilizations started with a happier inspiration. The grateful illusion of the populace was taken seriously, and the sovereign together with his revenue were assumed to exist for the benefit of the people; the fore-thought and self-assertion of the typical chief were treated as qualities to be used in the service of the many, not for the advantage of the one. Political philosophy began, but it began with treatises on the duties of the king, the local governor, or the minister. It was a commonplace with Chinese historians and politicians that the people were discontented and disobedient if the Government was careless or corrupt. In other words, the *contrat social* of primitive States promised taxes and loyalty to the ruler, whose wisdom and virtue provided all his

subjects with the means of living. Brigandage or revolution put an end, sooner or later, to the sway of those who failed to comply with this demand.

"The people have certain natural instincts," as the Taoist philosopher observes, "to weave and clothe themselves, to till and feed themselves: these are common to all humanity, and all are agreed thereon. Such instincts are called 'heaven-sent.'" The moral philosophy of Egypt and China recognised no higher ideal than that of "a man useful to others," who enabled the multitudes to follow these heaven-sent instincts in peace.

The surplus production which follows from a national habit of tilling and weaving forms the fund out of which the higher wants of advancing civilization may be met; but in Egypt and China this surplus was never large enough to do more than provide liberally for the wholesome life of the masses, and so we do not meet with further speculations as to the principles on which surplus wealth should be distributed. The well-being demanded by sages for the multitude was not regarded as a reward due to them for their economic services. Such an idea is not primitive, and the line of thought seems to be rather, that the emperor or king cannot be ruler of a thriving, *i.e.* a rich and powerful country, unless he sees to it that his people *do* thrive. While slavery prevails there is equally little room for the view that economic rewards are naturally reserved as pay for services. The reward belongs, in fact, to those who capture or constrain those who serve. It is only by an after-thought—or after-belief—of modern economic theory that wealth or capital is assumed to be exclusively the fruit and recompense of industry and saving.

The prosperity of countries is frequently measured by historians by their wealth, and it is quite true that increase of wealth, like increase of population, gives a presumption in favour of healthy progress. Declining wealth, like declining population, is a symptom of the decay which follows political and economic disorganization. But it is possible for the real wealth of a country to continue great, and for its apparent wealth even to increase, though its downward course has already begun. When a country is rich because many of its members are engaged, day by day, in acquiring an ample competence for themselves, by the exercise of arts which are in the main useful, its wealth is both a sign and an effect of healthy life. But great wealth spent in wanton and dissolute luxury is neither a cause, an effect, nor a symptom of a sound condition of the body politic, and Chinese thinkers deserve credit for their consistent recognition of this fact.

The history of all commercial nations seems to show that the economic virtues, as we may call them, are only purely beneficial so long as economists are engaged in utilizing and appropriating objects in the natural world. Men and women can be appropriated like sheep and horses, and just those qualities which serve in subduing the rest of the world enable one man to bring numbers of his fellows into subjection.

And the conclusion to which the history of ownership in these latter days seems to point is, that to secure the greatest happiness, and still more the greatest good, of the greatest number, it is essential to regulate the economical utilization of man by man, by principles which are not called for in regulating the utilization of any other source of wealth. No harm is done when one man "has," or owns as much game as he can shoot, as many sheep or chickens as he can rear, as much corn as he can grow, as many shoes as he can make. Society only suffers when a man "has" troops of other men at his command, and through that possession, whether the troops be called subjects, serfs, or "the employed," can control powers so far beyond those of a single human being, that no human being has wisdom or virtue enough to wield them.

In China, and to a less extent in Egypt, after the first development of a quasi-territorial aristocracy, moral authority and influence became dissociated from wealth. The sovereignty was put, so to speak, in commission: the king or emperor might be described in French republican phrase, as the *Chef du pouvoir executif*, but the real control and inspiration of the government was in the hands of the literati, or the scribes and priests. In China, as elsewhere, the attempt was made to use wealth as a stepping-stone to power, though the traditions which demanded liberality from the rich impeded accumulation. But the attempt was victoriously resisted by the joint efforts of the Crown, which saw possible pretenders and rivals in the great agglomerators, and of the learned who felt that their influence must expire in a plutocracy. There is in China the same tendency as elsewhere for lands and money to gravitate into the possession of some few persons, and out of the possession of the many others; and undoubtedly in China, as elsewhere, such inequalities, when established, tend to intensify themselves.

The law and popular custom, as we have seen, have steadily, and on the whole successfully, resisted the growth of inequality, and this in a community addicted beyond all others to the avocations of industry and trade. Human beings can be used, and can be brought to acquiesce in being used, as chattels by other human beings. But if the organized wisdom of the State disapproves of such utilization, it can be impeded by legislation, as slavery was suppressed in England and agglomeration in China. In other words, the tendency of the natural inequality of men to reflect and exaggerate itself in the inequality of their possessions can be controlled by legislation. The history of ownership in China alone establishes this fact, which political economists of the *a priori* school have been apt to contest.

In the West, where the power of ideas and the charm of ideals are as short-lived as the ascendency of States and the organization of Governments, we find it hard to believe that society can really have been influenced from age to age by the same trite phrases, the same simple copy-book morality, with precepts such as western Yangs would hardly care to criticise, because they have no more direct influence on modern life than the truths of the multiplication table. It seems, however, that the maxims of

political morality formulated by the ancient sages of China and Egypt corresponded so nearly with the best tendencies of the best men of their day, and with the conscious wishes of the multitudes, that they continued to be acted upon, through the centuries, often enough and consistently enough to make it seem that the maxims were the ruling and guiding power in the State.

The thought of the few and the actions of the many went together. Conformity was the rule, and hence the result was attained of making moral improprieties contrary to custom. Men may object on principle to doing what is wrong, but they object by instinct to doing what is unusual. And even ill-disposed persons find it easier to "do as ten people do," when the duty of relatives to the family group, and that of neighbours to the village group, is so clearly defined by social custom, that an innovating offender will be stared at.

The stability of such conservative communities is conditioned by their merits, by the intrinsic reasonableness of the dominant custom, not in the least by their limitations, of which little has been said above, because European self-esteem is already quite sufficiently alive to them. The consideration of the problem how to combine progress and stability in modern States may seem to belong rather to the ethics of the future than the history of the past; but it may help to explain the force and finality of Egyptian and Chinese morality, if we realise the obstacles in the way of an equally exhaustive and convincing treatment of modern economic problems by the priests and literati of the West.

A working creed must not have too many articles to be carried easily in an average mind; and the application of every article of the creed to every difficulty and temptation of the daily life must be perfectly certain, plain, and easy. Only so can the habit of practical conformity be established, which, as theologians know, is one of the surest bulwarks to speculative faith. When belief and conduct go together along the path of nature, which provides satisfaction for the heaven-sent instincts of the multitudes, the elements of disturbance are reduced to a minimum; virtue merges itself in custom, and custom is a dyke which few men have vices voluminous enough to overflow.

The power of such customary creeds can be measured even in Europe by the influence exercised in a few cases by what we may call class morality. The medical profession, for instance, is bound by rules which exact from its members, as a matter of technical propriety, conduct which in other men would be praised as remarkable unselfishness or devoted charity. In time past, some approach has been made to the construction of [illegible] country gentleman, embodying a good [illegible] And at the present day the artisan member [illegible] acts upon a clearly defined theory of [illegible] trade, and to the trade organisations [illegible] way towards a formula of [illegible] and unemployed workers.

But even these incomplete essays towards a class morality are the exception, and they rather accentuate the difference between East and West. Changes in the status of individuals are quite as common in China as in England, if not more common; but the labourer's son, who has worked at a trade and become a rich merchant, the artisan's son who has become a Government official, the officer's son who becomes a tradesman, do not have to change their creed as they rise or fall in the world. Everybody knows the application of each moral commonplace to the duties of every normal relationship. The individual finds the place in the social scale for which his skill or character fit him, but in each place he is equally hedged in by custom, giving him always the same kind of help and imposing the same kind of obligations.

Even exceptional misfortunes or exceptional misbehaviour are provided against by a customary machinery intended to guard against the creation of a class of social failures. The men who, in bad times, take to brigandage in China are of the same material as the criminal classes of the West; but in good times, if flood or famine desolate a province, land and seed-corn are given to the destitute, and those fit for nothing else can at least win food for themselves from the soil, and are under no temptation to adopt a career of crime. Smaller individual calamities are dealt with as they arise by the liberality of the nearest rich relations or neighbours, exacted not as a virtue, but as a custom. And thus, though any rich man may become poor by ill conduct or ill fortune, there is no *class* of poor in the habit of overstepping the boundary between poverty and pauperism.

Now it would surely be unreasonable to expect that the changes and chances of our much more varied and difficult industrial life should never lead to calamities, either isolated or widespread, as complete as those encountered in China. But we have no machinery for promoting "harmony and benignity" on a vast enough scale to provide for them. The English Poor Law was an attempt to do so; and it saves the destitute, who are not too proud to eat "Poor man come here food," from absolute starvation; but it aims at nothing else, and has achieved nothing more, except the addition to the economic vocabulary of the words "pauper" and "to pauperize."

In the communities of the West, we weed out our social failures, we throw them—or let them sink—into what we call the residuum. Our social residuum lives and propagates its species in a medium as well prepared for the growth of anti-social vices as the hay tea or chicken broth in which the amateurs of microbes cultivate their disease germs. But the man of science calls his cultivation successful if the virus grows milder and less fatal in each generation. His media are sterilized by the most elaborate precautions; everything in which the germs of disease delight, not merely morbid matter, dirt, decay, but even healthy atoms of animal or vegetable substance, which, having been alive, are subject to decomposition, are to be excluded, saving just such a simple minimum as may serve to keep the microbe alive and multiplying. Small wonder that under

this treatment it grows less virulent, it is tamed till it becomes a harmless inoculant, and might in time lose all its power to infect.

But we, instead, plant the children of our social failures in a soil where their parents' vices and defects must become intensified, and where every kind of quality and propensity injurious to the individual and to society must develop. The children of drunkards, nurtured in the lowest depths of city squalor, have their hereditary craving for alcohol stimulated by chronic hunger, exhaustion, and foul air. The children of vagrants, of men and women with indolent and ineffective brains or bodies, weak in will, irresolute in positive desire, in whom all the normal activities and energies of civilized life are undeveloped, children of this kind are placed in a social atmosphere fitted to stifle the hopes and courage of the best endowed, surrounded exclusively by influences fitted to graft upon the native stock of incapacity all the feebler vices of human degeneracy.

We pay covetousness its wages in the same coin as skill, and we visit feebleness with the same industrial penalties as crime. We let the, perhaps, not even specially feeble children of feebleness grow up in the atmosphere of misery in which we leave vice and feebleness to fester; and the two interbreed, crossing each fresh importation from without with a deeper strain of hereditary corruption. We ridicule the idea of making occupation hereditary, yet we acquiesce in the propagation of classes in which one generation has nothing to bequeath to the next save bad health, bad habits, and general incapacity for wholesome and serviceable living.

We acquiesce in all this, not as morally right or practically expedient, but as the natural or necessary consequence of the free play of individual enterprise in the struggle for existence. And, so far as the heterogeneous society of the West can be said to guide its conduct by any creed, it is probably inspired by a kind of faith in the healing power of freedom. There is no new thing under the sun, and English Liberalism agrees with Chinese Taoism: "There is such a thing as letting mankind alone; there has never been such a thing as governing mankind." Philosophical Anarchism is the logical outcome of the optimistic doctrine that the best possible world will be made by leaving every one at liberty to do the best [illegible] himself. But in the West, as in the East, the censorship of the [illegible] modifies the individual view of what is best.

It [illegible] fatalism to assume that everything which occurs naturally [illegible] necessarily, or that nothing new can become natural. Every [illegible] necessary, in the sense of being [illegible] naturally operating on existing minds under existing conditions. But men act under the influence of felt desires, and [illegible] are sometimes inconsistent with the [illegible] and this discovery is itself a natural motive for a change of action. The malign influence exercised in the middle of the present century, by the accepted doctrines of political economy, lay [illegible] the delusion that all natural

tendencies were unalterable, even by experience revealing new evils consequent on their operation.

The giraffe is a classical example of adaptation by natural selection to the struggle for existence. And it is true that its elongated neck enables it to crop leaves beyond the reach of ordinary quadrupeds. But, on the other hand, its withers are so high that, in spite of its long neck, it cannot reach to graze without spreading its fore legs wide apart to make them shorter. The brute creation cannot modify its circumstances, and may have to acquiesce in a choice of evils. The giraffe must either starve among the tree tops or straddle in the grassy plain; but *homo sapiens* has no good qualities with inevitable drawbacks. He can make ladders for the tallest trees and scythes for the meadow sward. He can modify the circumstances, including his own impulses, under which any serviceable quality may lead to incidental ill results.

Thus, if the uncontrolled liberty of the swift and strong to push and jostle their neighbours in the industrial race results in the accidental overthrow and maiming of the feebler competitors, there is nothing to prevent the common sense of the majority, who are neither athletes nor cripples, from laying down rules to make the game less dangerous while leaving it still sufficiently interesting to call out the skill of the players. Energy and enterprise are not necessarily paralyzed because they are forbidden to produce suffering. On the contrary, they may be stimulated by sympathy as well as appetite, and roused to the stronger efforts needed if they are to meet wants wider than the most ambitious individual can feel for himself. To get wealth for one may take but little wisdom or virtue, to get wealth and well-being for the multitudes is a task beyond any but the master minds of every age, and worthy of these.

We agree with Mencius that there is no difference between killing a man with a sword, and letting him die because we do not know how to regulate the struggle for existence; and there is no general disposition to repudiate "the everlasting obligations which are due by man to man." The problem has reached the intellectual stage, and we need men of science to show how the felt obligations may be met almost more than moral teaching to rouse the sense of duty. If doctrines as simple as the copybook morality of Egypt and China would meet our case, we should not lack sages to preach, nor multitudes to practise its easy lessons. And if we claim for the Western intellect a wider range and a stronger grasp of natural fact than has been attained in the Middle Kingdom, we must suppose it adequate to meet the more onerous demand.

On the face of it, it does not appear to be a more complicated problem, to apply the principles of righteousness to the ramifications of trade and industry, than to apply the principles of pure mathematics to the construction of the Forth Bridge. All that is needed is that our moralists should acquaint themselves as fully and precisely with the facts of industry and commerce as our mathematicians do with the properties of matter. The processes of the operative, the manufacturer, the warehouseman, the car-

rier, the merchant, and the retailer must be put under the microscope, and every detail of them examined under the dry light of disinterested science, when much that is unfit to face the pencil of the recorders will at once shrink out of existence. Bad customs are as easily formed and as easily broken as good ones; but class morality is more often over-indulgent than over-exacting, and many anti-social customs defy the reformer with the retort: "It is what everybody does." But if "what everybody does" is what nobody would like to be known to do—by the majority, who are under no temptation to do it—we are but a step from the time when the reformers can say: "Nobody does that now," a sentence which fulfils itself.

When the social problem has been reduced to its simplest terms, by eliminating every accidental complication, it will still remain more difficult than those which oppressed Confucius when he enforced the necessity of "rectifying names." The ties of blood and neighbourhood are more obvious than the bonds of common occupation or common knowledge, of related occupations and interacting pursuits. There is the difference, so to speak, between a sum in simple arithmetic and a problem in algebra. A common formula has to be found for relationships in which all the terms are dissimilar, and it should be expressed, so far as possible, in significant symbols, to assist the imagination in visualizing the concrete realities with which the problems deal. But here also the knowledge of facts assists the perception of relations, and the formula of relationship stated in one mathematical proposition becomes a term used in the solution of some higher problem.

We recognise in theory the responsibilities of relationships as remote as fellow-citizenship and nationality, and pay rates and taxes with the understanding that town and state must feed the starving and nurse the sick and helpless poor. And the intermediate relationships between grades of producers in the same industry to each other, between the producers in one industry collectively to those in other industries, the relations of the grades and the groups to the community at large, and of the community to individual members of each section of the industrial classes—all these relationships only need to be known, and the incidents natural to them classified and described, for the obligations arising out of them to be freely and willingly acknowledged. Human needs, human instincts, and human perceptions do not alter in their nature, and the dislocations of intricate social adjustments, which follow from the natural course of historic development, will not prove beyond the skill of social surgery to reduce, if the need is recognised for encyclopædic wisdom in the professors of the healing art.

The best possible life does not present itself by nature, without effort or reflection, to any class of men. And to the imaginative few it is not necessarily at once self-evident that the fullest enjoyment of the highest life presupposes for its æsthetic background, as well as for its material foundation, the well-being of contented multitudes. But the most intense

and durable human pleasures come from the exercise of faculty, and the born rulers of mankind are left pleasureless so long as, by a misconception of their destiny, they seek to force or cajole the multitude into acts of unwilling, and therefore imperfect and short-lived obedience. In like manner, the tilling and weaving multitudes—who are content with mere life, love, and work, and the cheap pleasures which beautify the satisfaction of these heaven-sent instincts—cannot enjoy the exercise of those faculties which form the groundwork of an empire's grandeur, unless the science of government is so understood, as to remove all obstacles from their chosen path of conformity to nature.

The sovereign's commands are obeyed by a contented and prosperous people, when all commands are rightly directed to secure the content and welfare of the obedient masses. This is neither government nor anarchy; it is the interpretation of natural fact. We have read, in the somewhat cumbrous English which disguises the sagacity of Thang the Successful, that "great heaven has conferred a moral sense upon the people which shows, to those who comply with it, that their nature is invariably right; so that the sovereign's task is only to enable them to pursue tranquilly the course that is natural to them."

The course natural to the multitudes is to make things, to contract marriages of affection, and to revere the wisdom of the wise, who succeed in interpreting those laws of heaven and earth which regulate the satisfaction of human instincts. And the pursuance of this course holds out, unless human nature has altered in 5,000 years, the best prospect of social and economic welfare to the multitudes of the West, as well as to the ancient nations, versed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians and the learning of the Chaldeans.

# APPENDICES.

# APPENDIX A.

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## Egyptian Chronology and Dynasties.

As the general reader cannot be expected to retain—if he has ever possessed—a working acquaintance with the order of Egyptian kings and dynasties, while there is no space in the text for a summary of Egyptian history, it may be convenient to append a skeleton sketch of Egyptian chronology, which will at least serve to give a rough idea of the date and order of the monuments, reigns, and inscriptions referred to. Those purely historical questions which are still matter of controversy may be passed over, as they have little bearing on the special subject of Egyptian economy.

As to the most doubtful point of all, the date of the first foundation of the monarchy, or the accession of King Menes, we must any way be content with a very vague and conjectural estimate. Dr. Brugsch sums up the disagreement of the doctors of his own country by a short table of the various dates proposed for the first Pharaohs: viz.—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Boeckh . . . | 5702 B.C. | Lauth . . . | 4157 B.C. |
| Unger . . . | 5613 ,, | Lepsius . . | 3892 ,, |
| Brugsch . . | 4455 ,, | Bunsen . . . | 3623 ,, |

And we may add to these authorities that of Dr. Birch, who named 3000 B.C. as the latest date which can possibly be assigned to Menes, and Meyer, who gives 3180 B.C. as the minimum date for the beginning of the Egyptian State.

Erman gives the following as rough approximate estimates of the latest dates probable for beginnings of the chief dynasties:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dynasties | IV., V. . . | at latest, | 2830 B.C. |
| ,, | VI. . . | ,, | 2530 ,, |
| ,, | XII. . . | ,, | 2130 ,, |
| ,, | XIII. . . | ,, | 1930 ,, |
| ,, | XVIII. . . | ,, | 1530-1320 B.C. |
| ,, | XIX. . . | ,, | 1320-1180 ,, |
| ,, | XX. . . | ,, | 1180-1050 ,, |

The chief authorities for the names and order of the kings are still the copyists of Manetho's lists of the kings of Egypt, what is known as the Turin papyrus, which gives similar lists, unfortunately in a fragmentary

state, and the so called table of Abydos, found in a temple of Seti I., which gives the names of sixty-five kings, from Mena to the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, and of eleven from the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty to the father of Rameses II., the Greek Sesostris (*circ.* 1350 B.C.). A tablet found at Saqqarah reproduces, with some inaccuracies, the names given in the Abydos list; and a list found at Karnak, showing Thothmes III. adoring the cartouches of sixty-one of his predecessors, though it supplies some missing names of rulers between the Thirteenth and the Seventeenth Dynasties, is chiefly interesting as showing the predilections of Thothmes himself, whose favourite ancestor was Usurtasen I.

The materials for a chronological list are some direct statements in the lists as to the length of a few reigns or dynasties; the number of monuments dated in such and such a year of the best known kings, which warrant the inference that the reign ended not long after the last dated inscription, and general inferences as to the average duration of reigns, taken in connection with some estimate of the total number of successive reigns, which last again depends on the view taken, necessarily on conjectural grounds, as to the overlapping of independent or rival dynasties. In view of all these sources of uncertainty, later writers in general judiciously refrain from propounding a detailed chronological scheme; but in the sixth volume of the new series of the Records of the Past, Professor Sayce has brought together all the names, fragmentary or complete, given in all the lists. The subjoined table includes all the kings (with the exception of the interminable Thirteenth Dynasty) mentioned in any of the monuments, but of course without repeating the names which occur in two or more lists.

Dynasty I.

1. Meni.
2. Teta.
3. Atota.
4. Ata.
5. Hesep or Sapti.
6. Merba.
7. Semenptah (?).
8. Kabeh.

Dynasty II.

[illegible]. Butaka.
[illegible]. Kakeu.
[illegible]. Bebnuteru (Binothris).
[illegible]. Uzaphaes.
[illegible]. Sesochis.
[illegible]. Perabsen.
[illegible]. Tata I.
[illegible]. Nefer-ka-ra.
[illegible]. Sekeri-nefer[illegible].
[illegible]. Tefa.
19. Bubui.

Dynasty III.

[illegible]. Nebka.
[illegible]. [illegible].
[illegible]. Tata II.
[illegible]. Sekeu.
[illegible]. Nefer-[illegible]-ra.
[illegible]. Nefer-ka-ra.
[illegible]. Tosertasis (M.[illegible]).
[illegible]. Huni.
[illegible]. Snefru.
[illegible]. Kerpheres (M.[illegible]).

DYNASTY IV.

30. Soris (M).
31. Khufu.
32. Ratatf.
33. Khafra.
34. Men-ka-ra.
35. Ratoises (M.).
36. Bikheres (M.).
37. Shepseskaf.
38. Thamphthis (M.).

The names marked (M.) are found only in Manetho.

DYNASTY V.

39. Userkaf.
40. Sahu-ra.
41. Keka.
42. Nefer-f-ra.
43. Shepses-ka-ra.
44. Kha-nefer-ra.
45. Ra-n-user.
46. Men-kau-hor.
47. Tat-ka-ra.
48. Unas.

DYNASTY VI.

49. Teta.
50. User-ka-ra.
51. Meri-ra (Pepi I.).
52. Mer-en-ra (Sokar-m-saf I.).
53. Nefer-ka-ra (Pepi II.).
54. Mer-en-ra (Sokar-m-saf II.).
55. Queen Nitaker (Nitocris).
56. Nefer-ka.
57. Nefrus.
58. Ab-en-ra I.
59. Ab-en-ra II.
60. Hanti.
61. Pest-sat-en-sopd.
62. Paitasu.
63. Serhlinib.

DYNASTIES VII., VIII., IX., AND X.

64. Mer-em-ra Zaf-em-saf.
65. Nuter-ka-ra.
66. Men-ka-ra.
67. Nefer-ka-ra.
68. Khrati.
69. Se . . .
70. Ur . . .
71. . . . .
72. Set . . .
73. Ha . . .
74. Ka-meri-ra (?).
75. (Nefer-ka) ra.
76. Nefer-ka-ra Nebi.
77. Tat-ka-ra Shema.
78. Nefer-ka-ra Khnotu.
79. Men-en-hor.
80. Snefer-ka.
81. Ra-n-ka.
82. Nefer-ka-ra Terel.
83. Nefer-ka-hor.
84. Nefer-ka-ra Pepi-seneb.
85. Snefer-ka-ra Annu.
86. (Nefer) kau-ra I.
87. Nefer-kau-ra II.
88. Nefer-kau-hor.
89. Nefer-ar-ka-ra.

The Turin papyrus gives 355 years and 10 days as the sum of years of the Tenth Dynasty. It is possible that the Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth

Dynasties, and perhaps even the kings of the Sixth Dynasty after Nitocris (Nitaker), whose names are given by the Turin papyrus only, may have reigned simultaneously with each other, and with the kings of the Tenth Dynasty.[1]

DYNASTY XI.

90. User-n-ra.
91. Neb-nem-ra.
92. Ana.
93. Antef I.
94. Mentuhotep I. and Queen Khnum-nefer-het Mentuhotep I.
95. Antef II.
96. Antef III.
97. Nuter-nefer-Neb-taui-ra Mentuhotep II.
98. Antef IV.
99. Neb-kher-ra Mentuhotep III. and Queen Aah.
100. Antef V.
101. S-ankh-ka-ra.

DYNASTY XII.

102. Amenemhat I.
103. Usurtasen I. (first with his father, and then alone).
104. Amenemhat II. (first with his father, and then alone).
105. Usurtasen II. (first with his father, and then alone).
106. Usurtasen III.
107. Amenemhat III.
108. Amenemhat IV.
109. Queen Sebek-nefru-ra.

Duration of dynasty, 213 years 1 month 17 days.

The Thirteenth Dynasty, according to the Turin papyrus, included 120 to 150 names, among which are seven kings Sebekhotep. The tablet of Karnak gives ten kings of the dynasty, the last six of whom correspond with the names in the Turin papyrus between the Twenty-second and the Twenty-eighth. The length of the reigns is legible in fifteen cases, amounting to a little more than seventy years in all: say, an average of 4[illegible] years to a reign, or at the rate of about twenty-four reigns to a century. The following seven names stand in order from 4 to 10 in the Karnak [illegible] 17, 22, 23, 25, 26 in the Turin papyrus. [illegible] [illegible] expanded or abridged almost indefinitely [illegible] [illegible] or over 150 [illegible] dynasty. It is [illegible] [illegible] kings selected for commemoration by [illegible] [illegible] dynasty [illegible] the Turin papyrus gives eighteen names, [illegible] by a blank.

[illegible]

DYNASTY XIII.

* * * * *

Ra-sekhem-khu-taui (Sebekhotep III.).
Ra-sekhem-(khu-taui) (Sebekhotep IV.).
Kha-seshesh-ra Neferhotep, son of Ha-ankh-f.
Kha-nefer-ra (Sebekhotep V.).
Kha-ka-ra.
Kha-ankh-ra (Sebekhotep VI.).
Kha-hotep-ra (Sebekhotep VII.).

DYNASTIES XV. AND XVI.

| | |
|---|---|
| Shalati. | Khaian User nub-ra. |
| Bnan. | Apepi I., Ra-aa-user. |
| | Apepi II., Ra-aa-ab-taui. |

DYNASTY XVII.

1. Skenen-ra Taa I. (contemp. of Apepi II.).
2. Skenen-ra Taa II. Aa.
3. Skenen-ra Taa III. Ken.
4. Uat-kheper-ra Kames and his wife, Aah-hotep.

DYNASTY XVIII.

5. Aahmes and his wife, Nefert-ari-Aahmes.
6. Amenhotep I. (his mother at first regent).
7. Thothmes I. and wife, Aahmes Meri-Amen.
8. Thothmes II. and his wife (sister), Hatasu (Hashepsu).
9. Hatasu (alone for sixteen years).
10. Thothmes III.
11. Amenhotep II.
12. Thothmes IV. and wife, Mut-em-ua.
13. Amenhotep III. and wife, Teie.
14. Amenhotep IV.[1] (Khuenaten) and wife, Nefri-Thi.
15. Sa'a-nekht and wife, Meri-Aten.
16. Tut-ankh-amen Khepru-neb-ra and wife, Ankh-nes-Amen.
17. Aten-ra-nefer-nefru-mer-aten.
18. Ai-kheper-khepru-ar-ma-ra and wife, Thi.
19. Horem-hib.

DYNASTY XIX.

20. Rameses I.
21. Seti I. (Mineptah I.) and wife, Tua.
22. Rameses II. (B.C. 1348–1281).
23. Mineptah II. (Mer-n-ptah).
24. Seti II., Mineptah III.
25. Amen-mesu Hik-an Mer-kha-ra Setep-n-ra.
26. Mineptah IV. and wife, Ta-user.
27. Thuoris (M.), no doubt the same as Ta-user.

[1] The Horus of Manetho and Khuriya of the Tell-el-Amarna tablets.

### Dynasty XX.

28. Set-nekht Merer-Mi-amen (defeats Arisu).
29. Rameses III.
30. Rameses IV.
31. Rameses V.
32. Rameses VI.
33. Rameses VII.
34. Rameses VIII.
35. Rameses IX.
36. Rameses X.
37. Rameses XI.
38. Rameses XII.
39. Rameses XIII.

### Dynasty XXI. (Illegitimate).

40. Hir-hor Si-amen and wife, Notem-mut.
41. Piankhi and wife, Teut-amen.
42. Pinotem I. and wife, Hontaui.
43. Pinotem II. and wife, Ma-ka-ra.
44. Men-kheperra and wife, Isis-em-kheb.
45. Pinotem III.

### Dynasty XXI. (Legitimate).

46. Nes-bindi II. Mi-amen.
47. Pi-seb-kha-n I.
48. Nephelkeres (M).
49. Amenophthis (M.).
50. Osokhor (M.).
51. Pinotem.
52. Pi-seb-kha-n II. Mi-amen.

### Dynasty XXII.

46. Shashank I.
47. Usarken I. married daughter of Piseb-khan.
48. Takelet I.
49. Usarken II.
50. Shashank II.
51. Takelet II.
52. Shashank III.
53. [illegible]
54. Shashank IV.

### Dynasty XXIII.

[illegible]

### [illegible] XXIV.

[illegible]

DYNASTY XXV.

59. Shabaka Nefer-ka-ra (defeated by Sargon B.C. 720).
60. Shabataka Tat-ka-ra.
61. Taharka Nefer-tum-khu-ra (Tirhakah).

Interregnum.

DYNASTY XXVI.

62. Psamtik I., Uah-ab-ra and wife, Mehet-Usekh, B.C. 664–610.
63. Nekhau Nem-ab-ra and wife, Mi-mut Nitaker, B.C. 610–594 (Necho).
64. Psamtik II. Nefer-ab-ra and wife, Nitaker, B.C. 594–589.
65. Uah-ab-ra Haa-ab-ra and wife, Aah-hotep, B.C. 589–570 (Apries).
66. Aah-mes Si-nit Khnum-ab-ra and wife, Thent-kheta, B.C. 570–526 (Amasis).
67. Psamtik III., Ankh-ka-n-ra, B.C. 526–525.

We have in the above list 109 kings' names before, and 67 after the Thirteenth Dynasty; but even apart from the doubtful question of the Thirteenth Dynasty itself, it is impossible to say how much should be allowed for overlapping reigns in the remaining 176. It is impossible to suggest any general average for the duration of reigns, without reference to the historical circumstances of the time and country. In England we reckon thirty-seven reigns, counting Cromwell as one, from the Norman conquest to the present day. In this number there are certainly a fair proportion of long reigns, and even the periods of civil strife do not always result in exceptionally rapid succession. We can hardly suppose that ancient Egypt was more favourable than modern England to long life or long reigns; indeed, we cannot be far wrong in supposing that it will have been if anything less favourable, and that an average of five reigns to a century is by no means certainly to be counted on in a land where fifteen reigns taken by chance averaged seventy years.

If instead of English kings we take the reigns of the Roman emperors from Augustus to Augustulus, or from B.C. 31 to A.D. 470, a period of 505 years, we get instead of the average of five reigns, that of ten reigns to a century, and this without counting the second names of associated Cæsars, which would raise the average to about twelve. But it is scarcely fair to use these petty and ephemeral dynasties of the West as a measuring rod for Egyptian antiquity. A more appropriate standard is that supplied by the twenty-five dynasties of China, with 230 reigns, covering a period of 4000 years. The chronology of the first three of these dynasties, from B.C. 2205 to B.C. 206, is only conjectural, Chinese chronologists 2000 years ago not having much more precise guidance as to their own national past than we have as to the age of the Ramessids. Only the first two or three centuries of the period, however, are at all mythological, as the dates assigned prove sufficiently, for seventy-nine reigns are made to extend only over 1950 years, or on an average just under twenty-five years each; that is, four reigns to a century. From 255 B.C. to the present day, Chinese chronology is as trustworthy as any other record preserved by

fallible humanity; and from 255 B.C. to 1875 A.D., 153 perfectly historical emperors of China have reigned, upon an average fourteen years each, or at the rate of seven to a century, while if we take the historical and the partly legendary period together, the average will be reduced to six for a century.

If we take the ten kings of the Karnak tablet to represent the Thirteenth Dynasty, and add them to the 176 names given above, we have 186 reigns and interregnums of uncertain duration, of which perhaps it is enough to say that they are scarcely reconcilable with any lower estimate than the minimum previously quoted of 3000 B.C. for the foundation of the monarchy. Mr. Norman Lockyer's contributions to Egyptian chronology are discussed in Appendix E, as, notwithstanding their intrinsic interest, and the promise of further results to be reached by his method, it seems doubtful whether any single date in the earlier dynasties is as yet positively determined by astronomical evidence. The period of disorder between the Twelfth and the Eighteenth Dynasties, during which the so-called Hyksos kings reigned, has been very variously estimated, and the native records count five dynasties during the interval; but here again the Chinese Annals may be useful, as showing that such a period of convulsion may be an affair of decades rather than centuries. Exactly five dynasties (fifteen reigns) succeeded each other in the fifty-three years between the great Chinese dynasties of Tang and Sung (907–960 A.D.). And Professor Lieblein has recently shown grounds for believing that the Thirteenth and the Eighteenth Dynasties are only separated by a period of this character, as the monuments show Aa-hotep, the mother of the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty, to have been evidently a near relation of Queen Sebekemsas, daughter of one of the last kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty.[1]

Practically all the great kings, all who erected monuments, and all who reigned for any length of time, are given in all the lists alike. Where they differ, it is no doubt that some include more fully than others the contemporary dynasties, usurpers and the rival or associated sovereigns concerning whose claims there might be a difference of opinion amongst [illegible] informed historians. The table of Abydos, for instance, [illegible] semi-foreign kings who worshipped the sun's disk, and [illegible] the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, and it is not [illegible] any earlier rulers who were not recognised among [illegible] of the [illegible] house. Thus the table of Abydos [illegible] kings belonging to the five obscure dynasties [illegible] and the Eleventh, but the fragments of the Turin

[illegible]

papyrus relating to the same period seem to allow space for twice that number.

Chronological records are sure to become confused if events are dated only by the years of the reigning king, while chroniclers trust to the memory of living men for the length and order of the recent reigns. Chinese history owes its clearness to the habit which has been formed of having contemporary chronicles of each dynasty kept officially, which are edited and published by the next dynasty; but unfortunately the historic instinct had not reached such a pitch of disinterested strength as this in Egypt, and we are thus driven back upon more or less plausible and circumstantial conjecture.

Private deeds, relating to the ownership of houses,[1] show us five generations of professional singers succeeding each other in the course of seventy years, or at the rate of six or seven in a century. Several of the high officers who tell the story of their career on their monuments, record how they stood equally high in the favour of two, three, or even four successive kings, and this occurs when the reigns are not of exceptionally brief duration. The effect upon the average of a series of really short reigns has never been sufficiently allowed for; thus in the obscure period between the Seventh and Eleventh Dynasties, four successive kings reigned nine years four months and eleven days in all, or two years and four months apiece. And in the face of this recorded fact, to restore the average of three royal generations to a century, assumed by Brugsch after Herodotus, we must suppose another group of four kings to have reigned 255 years, or over sixty-three years apiece, which is clearly incredible.

There are many possible reasons for short reigns, a late accession, for instance, conducing just as much as a short life to that result; but though a long life is essential to a long reign, the accidents which shorten reigns may befall kings whose life might naturally be long, so that to a certain extent the odds are against even the same average of longevity being reached by reigning sovereigns as by the ministers or architects who enter on their functions when of age to discharge them.

The first two dynasties reigned at This; the Third, Fourth, and Sixth at Memphis; the Twelfth, Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth at Thebes. The break in the monumental record between the Sixth and the Twelfth, and between the Twelfth and the Eighteenth Dynasty, is exactly like what would have occurred in China, between the fall of one and the rise of another of the great dynasties, if the maintenance of the historical record had been dependent on the wealth or enterprise of individual princes. It is in accordance with human experience everywhere that, after a period of national prosperity and greatness under able kings and ministers, the State lives for a while upon the recollection and reputation of its first glory, until a corresponding period of decay and degeneracy sets in, culminating in political anarchy or revolution, which, in these comparatively isolated ancient States, ends sooner or later in a restoration, and a further period

[1] *Reise nach Egypten*, 1857, i. p. 178.

of well-being. Ancient Egypt had three or four such epochs, but the nature of the official records prevented the preservation of any contemporary accounts of the causes why dynasties fall, such as the method of historiography in China makes peculiarly abundant in that country.

We hardly know enough of the history of the six dynasties which constitute the Ancient Empire to judge if the prosperity of the country under them was fairly continuous. The Twelfth Dynasty, which belongs to the Middle Empire, certainly comes between two periods of feebleness and disorder. But some of the seven Amenemhats and Usurtasens of this dynasty must have had long as well as brilliant reigns, to judge from the number and extent of both their conquests and their monuments. The so-called Hyksos kings were anxious, though foreigners, to govern upon the Egyptian model, and, like the Mongols in China, their rule was not a mere tyranny: they had monuments erected in their own taste by Egyptian artists, and the fact that these were deliberately defaced after their expulsion is partly answerable for the scarcity of authentic information about their reigns.

The Eighteenth Dynasty begins another period of Egyptian greatness, under kings mostly bearing the names of Thothmes and Amenhotep, whose dates are fixed within limits, by the fact of their correspondence with kings of the Kassite Dynasty of Babylonia. The latter years of the dynasty were discredited in the eyes of the orthodox by the king's adoption of foreign forms of worship. The interval of disturbance was, however, neither violent nor prolonged, and after the decline of the Eighteenth Dynasty the princes of the Nineteenth succeeded to the empire which they were to carry to its utmost limits.

Seti I., who has already been mentioned, in connection with the tablet of Abydos, was the second king of this dynasty and the founder of its greatness. His son, Rameses II., whose popular name was Sestesu, is the "Sethosis also called Ramesses" of Manetho and the Sesostris of the Greeks. With him the seclusion of Egypt ended, and it is hardly too much to say that his victorious armies on their homeward march showed the way into Egypt to the coming generations of her conquerors. The Nineteenth Dynasty was short-lived, and before its close a Phoenician usurper [illegible] were in a position to levy tribute and [illegible] [illegible] was [illegible] by the [illegible] of Rameses III., [illegible] of the Twentieth Dynasty, [illegible] known [illegible] Herodotus. [illegible] Memory [illegible]

[illegible]

foes. The fourth king of this dynasty, Uahabra, is the Greek Apries, the Pharaoh Hophra of the Jews, and during this and the following reigns, the wealth and material prosperity of Egypt was very likely at its height; but the political vitality of the State was already exhausted, and after the first Persian conquest Egypt never again flourished as an independent State under native rulers. She enjoyed some peace and prosperity under foreign rulers more or less completely Egyptianised; but the history of the decline and fall of the venerable empire, if a Gibbon could be found to treat it, would no doubt begin with the reigns of the later Ramessids of the Twentieth Dynasty, each fresh race of conquerors, Assyrians, Ethiopians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, helping to complete the degradation of the people and the disintegration of the ancient system of conservative morality by which the priests or princes had made their rule acceptable.

## APPENDIX B.

Vol. I., p. 145.

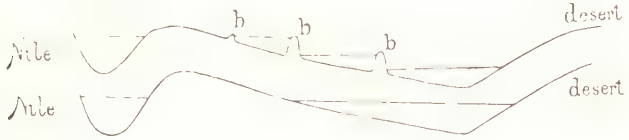
### Egyptian Irrigation.

Upper Egypt is still mainly irrigated upon the ancient system of canals and reservoirs or basins, described in the text; its principles are well understood by the native cultivators, who all turn out willingly to work night and day, to guard against any danger of a breach in the walls during high flood, or to raise the walls sufficiently to secure the necessary reserve, when the Nile is abnormally low. When fairly worked, the traditional method confers the utmost benefit on the soil with the minimum of human labour; and the explanations given by modern engineers of the *modus operandi* of old Father Nile, in the execution of his purpose to provide corn in Egypt, rather heighten than diminish our estimate of his beneficent wisdom.

There are three elements in the Nile water which contribute to make its deposits into a manure of ideal completeness. The Blue Nile brings a volcanic detritus from the Abyssinian highlands in great quantity; the Sobat, the waters of which are a milky white, contributes lime; while the great swamp regions of the White Nile add the organic matter required. Lake Victoria itself, the first chief reservoir in the chain, is about 1,120 metres above the sea level; rain is almost perpetual in the surrounding hills, but a natural barrage to regulate the downflow is provided by the Sudds or dams of living vegetation which stretch from Gondokoro to the [illegible] of the Bahr el Ghazal. The water above the Sudd is always green and [illegible]; and for two or three weeks between the 12th of June and [illegible] July, when the green water from the Sudds reaches Cairo, the water of the river is [illegible]. Then the red muddy water, charged with [illegible] from the Blue Nile and the Atbara begins to arrive; but [illegible] upon the ordinances of the River God [illegible] between 1870 and 1882, when passages in the [illegible] navigation and the consequent loss of the natural barrage resulted in alternations of the highest and the lowest floods [illegible].

[illegible] Nile at Khartoum and Cairo is [illegible] the same, so [illegible] the valley together must make up for [illegible] and irrigation. Before swelling the [illegible] Nile [illegible] its own sandy bed and the desert. It

takes the flood thirteen days to come from Khartoum to Assouan, and six from Assouan to Cairo; telegraphic communication respecting the state of the river at Khartoum is an indispensable condition to a thoroughly satisfactory regulation of the water supply, and consequently of the agriculture of the country. High Nile in Lower Egypt is delayed about a month by the filling the basins of Upper Egypt, where, if the canals are in order, it is scarcely possible for the river to rise too much, though if the Nile stays high too long, the crops suffer from worms and heat before harvest. The filling of the basins begins ordinarily on the 12th of August, and ends in the south by October 1, the water reaching the Nile by October 15. North of the newly restored and completed barrages, the latter date is postponed to the middle and end of November. If the flood is low, the water is, where possible, drawn from the upper basins to the lower ones to complete their supply; and an insufficient total water supply is economised and made to serve the needs of a wider area by means of temporary banks, erected so as to hold the water back at different levels, just long enough to fill the canals without waste, as shown in the diagram. Half the water, it is evident, suffices to water the valley, by the help of the banks, b, b, b.




Irrigated in this way, the soil of Egypt produces one rich crop year after year, and the fellahin are almost at leisure, except during seed-time and harvest, or during alarms of excessive or deficient flood, so that they are at liberty to add to their slender resources by earning the wages paid, since the abolition of the corvée, for the necessary work in keeping the canals clear. This unproductive work is lessened when sluices on a large enough scale are provided to let the water on the lands where it is wanted, without standing in the canals. And Upper Egypt seems at present to require nothing more for its agricultural welfare than the provision of additional reservoirs, that will allow the area of cultivated land to increase, and solid works for the regulation of the high flood water; with, it should perhaps be added, a clear apprehension on the part of all officials of the end in view, so that large canals should in no case be substituted for small ones, till machinery had been provided which could be depended on to work them as efficiently, in proportion, as the simple system to be superseded.

The story of the failure of Mehemet Ali's experiments in scientific irrigation might pass for an allegory on the dangers of a little knowledge, especially when applied as a substitute for the traditional wisdom of ancient custom and experience. The persons concerned in the working

of a machine,—whether it be an irrigation canal or the government of a country,—if left absolutely to themselves, to consult their own convenience as best they can, without the intrusion of external force or fallacy, will in time hit upon a method of keeping the wheels revolving; and this method will work, as it is said, by rule of thumb, even if the formula of its working remains unconstructed. But unless all possible disturbing forces have been calculated and allowed for *a priori*, it is perfectly certain that new methods intended to introduce an improvement at one point will disturb some portions of the old mechanism, so as to induce new, and, as it were, artificial evils, which again, dealt with individually, will introduce further complications, and in practice, further dislocation of the original mechanism. This is not an argument against elaborate machinery, but an argument for instruction as complete and intelligence as cultivated as the machinery is complex. And this is what her manifold controllers have not succeeded in bestowing upon the sacred land of Nile.

Down to 1820, Lower Egypt was irrigated by a partial system of basins for the low land, while cotton or maize were grown during flood upon the highlands, drenched by the high floods occurring five or six times in a century. Mehemet Ali cut a number of deep summer canals to discharge the low level summer supply of the Nile so as to enable summer crops of cotton to be obtained. The summer or *sefi* canals run twenty feet below the general level of the country, and water has to be pumped from them, so that the labour of cultivation is increased, and artificial manure is required besides, the result being a general average of two crops a year. The time when the flood water can be supplied is an important element in the culture of different crops, and one motive for over-deep cuttings was that the old shallow canals did not get it early enough for maize cultivation. Mehemet strengthened the dykes which kept back the flood and allowed the basin walls to fall into decay, so that vast tracts got only water, [illegible] the fertilizing mud, at the very time when the [illegible] was being ex- [illegible]

[illegible]

present neither the peasantry nor the treasury reap a reward proportionate to the cost and labour imposed by these first ill-advised innovations.

The English engineers, who form the only really popular element in the English occupation, have to wrestle with the double problem, of reclaiming the land lost by faulty methods of irrigation, and extending the benefits of the old and sound methods as widely as possible, as well as to meet the continued demand for a system of summer canal irrigation which shall not inflict permanent injury on the soil. By summer irrigation seventy to eighty inches of water may be brought, in about twenty waterings in the course of a year, to stand upon the soil; this sinks over half a yard below the surface and evaporates; and as the Nile water is rich in salts, these accumulate on the surface, unless crops are chosen to counteract the excess. The land can also be preserved by winter washings if properly drained, but drainage cuts are useless if above the level of the country, and the carrying capacity of different subsoils has also to be tested in order to calculate the drainage requirements. If regulators are provided, the same canal can be used alternately to irrigate and drain, but then it has to be large enough to give a double quantity of water in a fixed time.

The commonest method is to wash by cultivating summer rice, which reclaims salt land; but mud cannot come on till the salt has been washed off bad land, and accordingly it must be a work of time to recover for use the large tracts of low-lying lands in the Delta, at one time famous for their fertility. Some of these surround the large salt lakes by the coast, which formerly had more or larger openings that kept the water in them at the level of the Mediterranean, and are swept during the winter by salt water; others are reclaimable swamp, and the rest is simply land destroyed by bad systems of cultivation. Cuts for drainage and navigation, with embankments where necessary, will remedy the first evil. For swamps, drainage cuts, pumping stations, and rice cultivation are prescribed; while the best way to reclaim deteriorating land is held to be to revert, every fourth or fifth year, to the primitive system of basin irrigation, or else drain for summer rice or wash for winter clover. Clover irrigated from winter canals can be cut five times a year instead of three, and some estimate of the possible fertility of the soil can be gathered from the fact that good land on the Mahmoudia canal bank lets at £12 an acre!

Really well-planned irrigation works nearly pay their expenses out of the profits of a single year; thus, the reparation and completion of the barrages cost about half a million, and diminished at once the cost of clearing silt from the canals of the whole Delta by over £300,000. These famous and often-mentioned works were designed by Mougel, a French engineer, and begun in 1842, and consist of a vast barrier, below Cairo just above the forking of the Damietta and Rosetta branches of the Nile. They were completed in their present form in 1891, thirty years after their first abandonment; and a head of four metres of water was at once secured. The achievement was pleasantly and appropriately celebrated, [illegible] of Sir Colin Scott Moncrieff, by the Lestow[illegible]

on Mougel, who was still living, and had been in no way to blame for the scamped materials and work which rendered his design almost useless for so many years. In general the record of the deeds of the foreigners in Egypt, and their relations alike to the Egyptians and to each other, is such that we have reason to be glad of the innumerable reasons which exclude all mention of them from these pages. But there is one other incident, also connected with the regulation of the waters, which is pretty enough, and Egyptian enough, to deserve to be recorded on the walls of an "eternal dwelling-place" when the hero of it rests in the fields of the Amenti with the souls of the true and just, who, in the valley of the Nile, "have not shown to the people the face of a crocodile." An important district was threatened with a year's destitution by a low Nile; the people, in their distress, applied to a canal inspector, who hastened to the spot, and working night and day, erected a temporary barrage, damming up a canal so as to raise the water to the needful level and save the crops. The relief was so great that a solemn service of thanksgiving was held, in the chief mosque of the province, by the highest available dignitary of the national church. And popular enthusiasm went so far that, not only was the infidelity of the engineer, who had wrought the deliverance, forgotten and condoned, but his presence at the service in the mosque was invited and insisted on.[1]

The return from any judicious expenditure on reservoirs and regulators is so speedy, certain, and ample that some well-wishers to the Egyptians join the chorus of speculators who would like to "develop" Egypt as an investment for foreign capital. Foreigners of every nationality and every creed have indulged for so many millenniums in the lucrative sport of spoiling the Egyptians, that it might seem a hopeless task to persuade an industrial age to renew its faith in the wisdom of the victims. And yet, if we apply the most modern standards of economic merit, what more can be demanded of an agricultural country than to export food, and maintain a large operative population in content? And when, between Amenhotep and Moncrieff, has Egypt come nearer to fulfilling this ideal, than when she followed the ancient lights of her own wisdom under her own Pharaohs?

By the help of sun and river, Egyptian industry and Frankish engineering science may bring from the black soil even richer, more abundant and precious crops than were won in ancient Egypt; but unless the teachings of history are wasted—as it were a sin they should be, in the land which has done more than any other to teach the rest of the world to write and read its history—these fruits of labour and industry will not be squandered in subsidies to ignorant and irresponsible *Compagnies* [illegible], but will serve a wise and independent government to minister to the welfare of its people. Egypt does not need to borrow now except from her own taxpayers, upon whom her taxes should be spent—a renewal of ancient custom which, in a few years, could not but lead to the astounding and paradoxical

[illegible]

phenomenon of a country deriving an income from national investments, instead of paying—or failing to pay—a national debt.

Under whatever guidance Egypt succeeds in reaching this condition, when it is reached "the confidence of the people in its rulers" will not be lacking. Such confidence is based on the perception of acceptable services; and there must be something wanting in the wisdom of the most well-meaning of rulers if the services they seek to render are not acceptable to those under their rule. The foreigner in Egypt will not have justified his existence till the epitaph of his raj is written by a grateful nation in the ancient phase: "He entered praised and departs beloved."

Since the above lines were written, the lovers of ancient Egypt have been agitated by the proposal of engineers to erect—at a total cost of five or six millions sterling—a dam across the Nile, either at Kalabsha, about thirty-one miles above Assouan; at Philæ, at the head of the Assouan Cataract, which would have the effect of submerging the temple of Philæ for several months of the year; or at Gebel Silsila, as an alternative to the creation of a new Lake Moeris in the natural depression of the Fayum, called the Wady Rayan.

All of these great undertakings are recommended with confidence as certain to add to the national wealth and revenue, preference being apparently felt, on engineering grounds, for the most objectionable, archæologically speaking, of the dams, as promising to give a constant water supply to Upper as well as Lower and Middle Egypt. This is not the place for an expression of opinion on so difficult and technical a question, but there are one or two considerations deriving their chief force from the history of the country, which, it may be permitted to hope, will receive due consideration.

In the first place, Egypt has suffered too much from outside interference to be able to afford to try any but successful experiments. The system of continuous irrigation in Lower Egypt cannot be claimed as a complete success till the salt marshes of the Delta have been reclaimed; and any introduction of the same system in Upper Egypt, where for good or ill it is as yet unknown, will be more secure against disaster if it is postponed, until all its ill consequences have been obviated and its full advantages secured in Lower Egypt. On the other hand, it is just possible that the ancient Egyptians—who, in the days of Mena, executed irrigation works which are still admired, and who used the vast reservoir of Lake Moeris without impairing the fertility of the lowlands on the sea-shore—may have had some good reason for preferring the system of basin irrigation in Upper Egypt. Any way, if, as has been stated, the object of the reservoir is to enable fresh crops, such as sugar cane, to be introduced, the cultivation of which requires a command of capital beyond the resources of the fellahin, it is certain that the proposition is premature, since no increase in the money value of the crops obtained could compensate the country for the creation of a landless labouring class.

## APPENDIX C.

Vol. I., pp. 184, 323.

### Welsh Mortgages.

In describing the primitive antichretic lease as a sort of "Welsh Mortgage," there is the same kind of anachronism as in the use of the term vif-gage or *vivum vadium* for the same purpose. In Colquhoun's Summary of the Roman Civil Law, Sect. 1473, the *Pactum antichreticum* is described as "assigning the produce by way of interest to the pledgee, termed in English a Welsh mortgage. The pactum antichreseos is taken to imply in all cases of doubt a pignoratitian contract . . . which must not, however, be made a means of obtaining usurious interest. An *antichresis tacita* accrues to a creditor who has lent his debtor a capital sum without interest, and permits him by implication to retain so much produce as will represent the legal interest though no antichretic contract has expressly intervened: he must, moreover, return the object to the debtor on the extinguishment of his claim, and if he should sell the pledge, hand over the surplus which may remain over and above the amount of such claim."

The history of these conceptions in Roman Law does not concern us now; though, if we are to suppose a pre-Hellenic origin for the obscure legal usages of Tenos or Mylasa, it would appear possible that the similar elements in later Roman Law might have been derived from earlier Italic [illegible].

The two kinds of landed security recognised by the common law of England were distinguished as *mortuum* [illegible] and *vivum vadium*. The vivum [illegible] consisted of a feoffment to the creditor and his heirs until he [illegible] to him out of the rents and profits of the estate. The [illegible] possession, received the rents and applied them [illegible] of the [illegible] and the term for the trans[illegible] that by it [illegible] estate was lost. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] is fructus [illegible]

trace of the period when this mode of mortgage fell into disuse; but the change must have been effected between Glanville and Littleton, as the latter only describes mortgages a degree nearer to the modern sort. After defining the mortuum vadium as a feoffment upon condition that if the feoffor pay the money to the feoffee at a certain day, the feoffor may re-enter, he says (Sect. 332) it is called mortgage for that it is doubtful whether the feoffor *will* pay, at the day limited, and if he doth not pay, then the land is taken from him for ever and is dead to him upon condition, etc., and if he doth pay, then the pledge is dead as to the tenant in mortgage. To which Lord Coke adds the further reason that it is to distinguish it from vivum vadium, so called because if one pledge an estate until the pledgee have received the debt out of the profits of the land, neither money nor land dieth and is lost.[1]

Littleton's idea of a mortgage is that the land is pawned, and subject to forfeiture if not redeemed at a given date; while, as Mr. Fisher observes, the mortuum vadium of Glanville and the vivum vadium of Coke seem to be practically identical, and both correspond, more or less, with the Welsh mortgage, and the pactum antichreseos of the Roman law. The scanty development of both systems of pledging, in Plantagenet and Tudor England, is due to the fact that land was not yet regarded as an investment for capital. Services had not been systematically transmuted into rent, and it was not a matter of course for the "fruits or rents" to be worth so much that their accumulation would pay off a capital sum borrowed. And at the same time, the distinction between the principal and the interest of a debt, on which the distinction between the two kinds of pledges turned, was not one of very prominent social importance, as there were few alternative investments open to non-commercial capitalists.

The security known as a Welsh mortgage is in effect a conveyance of an estate redeemable at any time on payment of the principal, with an understanding that the profits in the meantime should be received by the mortgagee, without account, in satisfaction of interest. It agrees with the vivum vadium in respect that the estate of the debtor is never forfeited, but differs in respect that the rents are applied in satisfaction of interest only, not of the principal of the debt. In a Welsh mortgage no covenant for the payment of the debt by the mortgagor is inserted in the mortgage deed, and the mortgagee has no remedy to compel redemption or foreclosure in equity, though the mortgagor may redeem at any time.[2]

The disuse of the form of contract is probably due to this inequality, which was not a difficulty in Babylonia or Malabar, because such mortgage deeds circulated as negotiable property, and a man who wanted to realize his capital could count on finding some one in want of an investment, willing to take his place as creditor. The theoretical advantage, "that the estate was never lost," may also have been found rather illusory in feudal England, when it was by no means certain that the repayment of a debt

[1] [illegible] 1884 [illegible] 2.
[2] [illegible] 4th ed. Mackeson, 188[illegible] 5, 6.

would induce the creditor in possession to allow the former owner to re-enter. This difficulty occurred in the earliest example, quoted by Fisher, of a security "resembling the ancient mortuum vadium, and possibly derived from the pactum antichreseos," from an Anglo-Saxon deed of the 10th century. "It appears from the document that the land was delivered by Sigelm, the father of Eadgifa, queen of Eadward the Elder, in pledge for £30 to Goda, who held it for seven years. Sigelm having paid off the debt and bequeathed the land to Eadgifa was afterwards slain in battle, and Goda then denied having received the money and for six years withheld the land. Eadgifa purged her father by oath as to the payment, but could not recover the land without the interference of the reigning king, and after being again despoiled of it and a second time regaining it, she bestowed it upon the Church." Assuming the authenticity of this document, Mr. Fisher proceeds: "It shows that possession of the land was delivered and that the right of redemption was admitted after seven years; and it seems to be implied that no reduction of the debt had taken place by reason of the mortgagee's possession."[1]

In Domesday also the mention of lands in mortgage seems to imply the possession of the mortgagee, so that it almost seems as if, in England, before and down to the time of Glanville, the possession of the mortgagee was incidental to the security. We have seen how Roman law tended to limit the indefinite power of the owner to redeem in Syria,[2] and how the prohibition of usury in the Koran was supposed to apply to the ancient Kabyle contracts called rahnia.[3] And it seems that in Europe the Civil and Ecclesiastical law together set themselves to abolish the same kind of custom; which must have been the more widespread and deeply rooted to excite so much hostility.

Fisher quotes the following passage from Laurière's work on the *Coutumes de Paris*. "When creditors, intimidated by ecclesiastical censures, took lands in pledge, with an agreement that the profits should reduce the principal, this pledge was called *vif*, because, as our old practitioners say, it discharged itself by its own produce, which was very just and lawful. But when the creditor took or received the profits in pure gain to himself and in pure loss to the unhappy debtor, it was called mortgage or *gage-mort*, because it did not discharge or free itself." We see how entirely the working of any contract depends on the circumstances of the parties to it by the epithets used here. In Babylonia or Malabar the debtor in such a case is by no means necessarily "unhappy," or the contract usurious: it all depends on the value to the mortgagor of the right to redeem, and on how far the amount of the loan approximates to the full value of the land, less the right.

In France these mortgages were only held to be justifiable in two cases: "as when a father, marrying his daughter, and giving her a portion, which

[illegible] W. K. Fisher, [illegible] 1884, [illegible]

[illegible] [3] [illegible], 186, 187.

he was unable to pay in ready money, gave an estate in pledge to his son-in-law, to receive the rents till the portion should be paid; or a *vassal borrowed money of his feudal lord* (the very opposite of the typical Malabar arrangement), and give his fief in pledge; because, as the lord, as long as the pledge lasted, lost the services of his vassal, it was right he should be indemnified by having the profits of the pledged fief." Except in these cases, theologians and casuists denounced the antichretic contracts as fictitious and usurious. "These fictitious contracts were much used in the Customs of Anjou, Maine, Touraine and the Loudunois, where they are still known under the name of pignoratifs; but the court has always held them to be illegal, and has forbidden their use." The local custom in the districts named evidently approached to the old English and Welsh mortgage, which died out before feudal custom and Rome-derived law. And the *Code Napoléon* now only recognises under the name of *antichrèse* an agreement by which the mortgagee accounts for all receipts and expenditure, and is entitled to hold the land pledged to him, till the balance in his favour has paid off both interest and principal of the original loan.

In England there does not seem to have been any speculative hostility towards Welsh mortgages in the judicial mind; and Fisher lays down the law concerning them accordingly. "Being without condition, there can be no forfeiture, and consequently there is no equity of redemption which can be the subject of foreclosure; but there is a continuing right of redemption, every receipt of rent being under the contract a receipt of so much interest."

Among English reported cases there are scarcely over half a dozen that deal with the so-called Welsh mortgage, which has gradually dropped altogether out of the ordinary law books. In the case of Orde *v.* Heming,[1] in 1686, "The bill was to redeem a mortgage, and the defendant demurred by reason that of the plaintiff's own showing the mortgage was 60 years old." The demurrer was overruled, because it was charged in the bill that the mortgagor agreed the mortgagee should enter and hold, till he was satisfied, which is in the nature of a Welsh mortgage, and in such case the length of time is no objection. In 1714, however, Lord Chancellor Cowper held that a rent charge granted over sixty years ago was not redeemable "at so great a distance of time," and that the Court had heretofore gone too far in permitting redemptions.[2]

In one case,[3] heard in 1742, we have a curious parallel to the mortgage tolerated in France, viz. houses devised to a daughter subject to redemption at a specified amount: it was observed incidentally that "in common Welsh mortgages on tendering principal and interest they may come into this court for redemption at any time." And in another the analogy of Welsh mortgages and "most copyhold mortgages is quoted"[4] in defence of the decision to allow redemption against the heirs of a money-lender, who bought from a young spendthrift an annuity of £150 for £1050, under a

[1] 1. Vernon, 418.
[2] 1. P. Williams, *Chancery Cases*, 271.
[3] 2. Atkyns, 363.
[4] 3. Atkyns, 280.

covenant, however, that the borrower might buy back the annuity for the same sum on giving six months' notice and an extra payment of £75.

In 1715 we meet for once with a real Welsh mortgage.[1] One Davids made a mortgage of lands in Wales by way of lease and release in consideration of £300, with proviso that if he, his heirs or assigns, should on Michaelmas Day, 1702, or any Michaelmas Day following, pay to mortgagee, his heirs or assigns, £300, and all arrears of rent and interest, the conveyance should cease. It was said to be a common practice in Wales to make mortgages in this manner, with design, "from their pride," to keep the estate for ever in their own family. In this case apparently the interest or rent was paid, and the point at issue was the application of dower money, etc., to pay off the mortgage.

Courts of Equity tended to bring mortgages with right of redemption under the Statute of Limitations, and refused relief after twenty years, unless under special circumstances. But a special contract, in which an agreement "like a Welsh mortgage" had been made,[2] was allowed to stand because in a Welsh mortgage there "is a perpetual power of redemption subsisting for ever, and the mortgagee cannot compel redemption or foreclosure." In this case there was a grant of annuities in discharge of a debt reserving a power to re-purchase and redeem the annuities. It was held part of the personal estate of the grantee, and similar to the case of Welsh mortgages, Lord Cowper holding that there is no power in mortgagee to compel mortgagor to redeem or foreclose, "the contract being of a different nature."

The most interesting contribution to the history of the institution within the United Kingdom no doubt lies concealed among the Irish Law Tracts concerning "the Law of Loans, Pledges, Accommodations and Securities," which still remain unpublished, though their interesting nature was insisted on as long ago as 1857.[3] I have not been able to obtain any information as to the provisions of these laws, though the above description of them is sufficiently significant. In Hartpole *v.* Walsh,[4] it was said that the Welsh mortgage was formerly a common form of mortgage in Ireland, [illegible] of a lease granted as security for a loan shows clearly that the possibilities of the institution had been fully realized in that [illegible] O'Dea £200, and in 1784, wishing for a further [illegible] interest and principal, he executed a lease of [illegible] twenty [illegible] years at 12s. an acre. O'Dea entered into [illegible] rent against the interest, down to Midsummer, 17[illegible] were settled. Upon a further advance of money [illegible] in Malabar, an additional term [illegible] rent [illegible] in 1784, but there was [illegible]

[illegible] 1722 [illegible] 177.

[illegible] 4 5.

[illegible] 275.

dorsement on the lease saying it should be null and void when the sum of £400 was paid.

O'Dea admitted that the original lease was granted merely to secure the repayment of the money advanced by him, and stated that he entered into possession as mortgagee, the stipulated rent representing the full value of the lands. Morony claimed that he should account, as mortgagee in possession, for profits in excess of rent paid, "which was at undervalue, and ought not to be binding on him." Evidence was offered that in 1784, 12*s.* was a fair value, and the Lord Chancellor held any way that the mortgagor, having acquiesced in the payment for nineteen years, could not now raise the point of undervalue. "This in substance is like a Welsh mortgage wanting Form, and a party complaining (between 1803 and 1809) of transactions in 1784 ought to have come here much sooner."

Lord Redesdale had held in a previous suit that "if the under leases were made *bona fide*, the account must be taken at the rent reserved;" but if they were at undervalue, which he considered fraudulent, "the account must be at the full value of the lands." Morony's counsel argue that the transaction being called a mortgage makes no difference, and that the agreement is usurious if the rent is at less than the full value of the lands. "Considering this Transaction either as a Lease granted in consideration of a Loan of money, or as an agreement in the nature of a mortgage, the Account ought to be taken at the full value of the Lands, otherwise it would be a great Inlet to Fraud, and make a most dangerous Precedent, that a Mortgagee should be suffered to avail himself of any Agreement to avoid accounting at the full value." Finally, the Lord Chancellor feels himself bound by previous decisions of the Court to declare "that a Lease granted in Consideration of a Loan of money cannot, on principles of Public Policy, be supported."

An agreement that a mortgagee shall enter into possession of lands of the mortgagor at a fair rent, in discharge of the debt—to which Lord Redesdale, in another case,[1] had objected—cannot (the Lord Chancellor held) be against public policy or work a private injury; and is therefore an exception to the rule that a mortgagee in possession must account for the full value of the lands. The lease of 1784 was therefore upheld, but that of 1787, "which on the face of it is an undervalue," was held to be imposed by the undue influence of the creditor, and O'Dea was therefore required from that date to account in full for rents and profits received, which were to be set against interest and principal, and the balance struck, the mortgagee being deprived of his costs on the ground of the fraudulent nature of the 1797 agreement.

The counsel arguing before Lord Redesdale say "that though the rule collected from the Statute of Usury 'that no advantage, directly or indirectly, above legal interest should be gained,' yet it might be carried too far if applied to every case of a lease granted at the same time that a loan of money was obtained." While the Lord Chancellor comments: "It

[1] Browne v. O'Dea. 1. Sch. and Lef. 115.

would perhaps be a good rule to be generally observed, that a transaction of this kind (the renewal of a lease for a longer term at the same rent or with additional advantages) is not to make part of a transaction respecting the loan of money, because the person borrowing under such circumstances is not a free agent." Similarly in another case[1] Lord Redesdale says: "I never can suffer the loan of money to be any inducement in a transaction of this kind: I do not mean advancing money by way of fine or the like, but when it is a distinct loan of money to a distressed man, for which security is to be taken and he is still to continue a debtor for it." "It is against public policy that those who make profit on their money without hazard, should have as large a profit as those who employ it in trade and manufactures, which are hazardous undertakings." The upshot being that the leases granted (by a spendthrift to a speculative, money-lending brother-in-law) are cancelled.

In yet another Irish case[2] the plaintiff, who was then very much pressed for money, "declared he would not grant a lease to any person who would not accommodate him with a sum of money." The lease was set aside. But an under lessee *bona fide* and not concerned in the transaction of the loan remained undisturbed.

The Irish courts seem to have had a latent conviction that freedom of contract between landlord and tenant or between debtor and creditor was in the nature of things impossible. If the capitalist dictated the terms upon which he would lease the lands, the agreement was void because the power of the purse was irresistible; and even if the landowner insisted upon a money advance in consideration of the lease, it was void also, as still tending to his own impoverishment. Where such agreements stand unimpeached, we find either that the two parties are—as a matter of fact—equally matched, like the trader and the agriculturist in Babylonia, or that the political superiority of the one (like the Nair landlord) counterbalances the financial superiority of the other (*e.g.* the Mapilla tenant). The usurious tenant creditor of the O'Dea type only takes possession in order to sub-let at an advance, not to cultivate himself.

A lease granted at the time of a loan, containing a clause empowering the tenant to retain a portion of the yearly rent till the money was repaid, (without interest) was not upset.[3] The precedent quoted was a case where the defendant was indicted for usury in taking more than legal interest by getting a beneficial lease. Hale (C. J.), before whom it was tried, said, "that if any other security for the payment of the money had been taken, or that by any collateral agreement it were to be repaid, and all this a contrivance to avoid the statute, it would be usury." Cases of this sort had practically ceased to come before the English courts, while still frequent in Ireland; where also we meet with an example of a loan in the form of an advance of rent. The amount of two years' rent was paid down and a

[1] [illegible] 182.
[2] [illegible] 31[illegible].
[3] [illegible] 27.
[4] [illegible] 125.

lease granted for two years at 5*s.* a year, and then another lease for 41 years at the rent contemplated in the advance (*i.e.* £275), the interest of the first advance to be deducted from the first gale of rent under the second lease. Lord Chancellor Manners said, "The Doctrine of lease and loan appears to me to have been carried far enough." This is not a lease in consideration of a loan; it is but "an advance of rent by way of fine or foregift," and therefore to be upheld.

It is earnestly to be wished that the interrupted translation of the Irish laws may be resumed, and we should then perhaps get a clue as to the steps by which the Malabar lease in consideration of a loan developed out of the pure Babylonian antichresis.[1] Meanwhile, the persistency of so strongly specialized an institution within narrow and definite limits certainly gives a presumption in favour of its having spread along with men of a particular stock or race. And from this point of view the Welsh mortgage and the Irish lease in consideration of a loan may be taken as an argument for the importance of an Iberian or other equally archaic element in the population of the British Isles.

I am indebted to the kindness of Sir Charles Elton for nearly all the above references.

[1] It is perhaps a question whether the *laurece* or small subsidy, called in the case of inferior tenants *raith* or wages, given by the superior to his dependant, had anything to do with the habit of regarding loans and leases as exchangeable values. But there is at least nothing paradoxical in the somewhat strange attempt to interpret Chinese antiquities by Irish analogies, when, in addition to minor parallels, we find the same faith in the vicarious efficacy of royal virtue in both countries. "It was the belief of the ancient Irish that when a good and just king ruled, crops were plentiful, cattle were fruitful, the water abounded with fish, and the fruit trees had to be propped owing to the weight of their produce. Under bad kings it was all the reverse." (Joyce, *Short History of Ireland*, p. 94.)

# APPENDIX D.

Vol. I., p. 259.

## Babylonian Dynasties and Reigns.

The names, dates, and order of the kings of Babylon are being constantly added to and revised, so that any chronological summary is liable to become antiquated even while it is being printed. But when only approximate accuracy is required, or attainable, a table of names and dates, which the reader will understand to be purely tentative and provisional, is the most convenient for reference, and may serve instead of an historical summary to those who are not specially interested in the history of Mesopotamia. The basis of the table is derived from the great lists, called A and B (*ante*, p. 258), of Babylonian kings, supplemented from other sources as they become available, and with round numbers substituted for those suggested in different detailed attempts at a chronological reconstruction.

### First Dynasty of Babel.

| King | Reigned years. | About [illegible] | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sumu-abi | 15 | 2400 | |
| Sumula-ilu | 35 | 2385 | |
| Zabu (his son) | 14 | 2350 | Builder of a temple, restored by Sagasaltias, and again by Nabonidus. |
| Apil-sin | 18 | 2336 | |
| Sinmubalit | 30 | 2318 | |
| Chammurabi | 55 | 22[illegible] | Otherwise Hammurabi, who joined Chaldæa to Kardunias (Babylon), and succeeded the Elamite dynasty of Larsa. |
| | | 22[illegible]2 | Invasion of Chaldæa by Kudurnanchundi. |
| Samsi-iluna | 35 | 2233 | |
| [illegible] | 25 | 21[illegible] | |
| [illegible] | 25 | 2173 | |
| [illegible] | 21 | 21[illegible] | |
| [illegible] | 31 | 2127 | |

Total, Eleven kings of Babel reigning 304 years.

SECOND DYNASTY OF SISKU.

| King | Reigned years. | | About B.C. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Anma-an | 61 | ... | 2100 | One syllable or other of nearly all these names is missing, and supplied conjecturally. |
| Ki-annibi | 55 | ... | 2039 | |
| Damki-ilanisu | 36 | ... | 1983 | |
| Iskibal | 15 | ... | 1948 | The earliest known rulers of Assyria, the patesi Samsi-ramman, son of Belkap-kapu, mentioned by Ramman-nirari III., and Samsi-ramman, son of Ismidagon, mentioned by Tiglath-pileser I. as preceding him by 700 years, will belong to this period. |
| Shu-ush-shi (his brother) | 27 | ... | 1933 | |
| Gulkisar | 55 | ... | 1906 | |
| Kirgalbar (his son) | 50 | .. | 1851 | |
| Adarrakalamma (his son) | 38 | ... | 1801 | |
| Akarulanna | 26 | ... | 1773 | |
| Milamkurkuraa | 6 | ... | 1746 | Belbani, son of Adasi, king of Assyria, is mentioned by Esarhaddon as an ancestor, and may have flourished towards the end of this dynasty, when the Assyrian princes probably asserted their independence. |
| I-agamil | 9 | ... | 1741 | |

Total, Eleven kings of the dynasty of Sisku reigning 368 years.[1]

THIRD KASSITE DYNASTY.

| King | Reigned years. | | About B.C. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kandish | 16 | ... | 1730 | One inscription of this king exists. |
| Agum-amir (his son) | 22 | ... | 1716 | |
| Agu-ashi | 22 | ... | 1694 | |
| Ush-shi | 8 | ... | 1671 | |
| Adumilik | | ... | | |
| Urzigurubar | | ... | | |
| Agukakrime | | ... | ? 1600 | Left important inscriptions. |

After this the order of the reigns becomes uncertain, the relative position of only half a dozen or so together being agreed upon. Some of the blanks may perhaps be filled in by the following names, contained in the bi-lingual list of royal names: Ulam-buriash, Kara-bil, Ulam-charbi, Mili-chali, Mili-shibarru, Mili-sach, Nimgirabi, Nimgirabi-sach, Nimgirabi-buriash, Kara-sach, Nazi-shishu and Nazi-buriash; but this is only a conjecture. The three following columns give the names and dates in the order suggested respectively by Hommel, Winckler, and Hilprecht, the latter of whom has not given all the grounds for his suggestions, which therefore do not appear more convincing that those of his predecessors.

[1] The following are the names of five kings and a queen who may have reigned towards the beginning of the Second Dynasty: Urdamu, Babbaruru, Urlugala, Urbabbar, Lugal-girinna (or Sargon), and Azag-bau, the queen.

Hommel (p. 170) leaves the following kings unplaced :—

| King | Reigned years. | About B.C. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Kurigalzu I. | ... | | Called the "unequalled" by a distant descendant, and said by Burnaburias II. to have received presents of gold from an Egyptian king (Thothmes III.) (B.C. 1503-1449, *Records*, N.S. vi. p. 148). |
| Simash-shishu | ... | | |
| Ulam-buriash | ... | | |
| Nazi-Maraddash | ... | | |
| Mili-shishu | ... | | |
| Burnaburias I. | ... | | |
| Kara-inlil | ... | | |
| Sharbi-shishu (his son) | ... | | |

After these the order of six reigns is clear from the Tell-el-Amarna letters and other sources.

| King | Reigned years. | About B.C. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Karaindas | ... | 1470 | Treats with Assyrian king Assur-bil-nishe-shu, and corresponds with Amenophis III. |
| Burnaburias (?) II. (his son) | ... | | Treats with Assyrian Busurusur, and corresponds with Amenhotep IV. So does "Assur-yubalidh," king of Assyria, mentioning his father Assur-nadin-ahi.[1] |
| Kara-chardas | ... | | The son of the daughter of the Assyrian king, Assuruballit, revolted against and slew his predecessor. |
| Nazi-bugash | ... | | |
| Kurigalzu the Less | ... | 1390 | Contemporary of Assyrian king Bilnirari, son of Assuruballit. |
| Nazi-maraddash II. (?) | .. | 1350 | Contemporary of Assyrian king Ramman-nirari, whose inscription survives. |
| Karaburias | 22 ... | 1310 | Contemporary of Shalmaneser I.: a seal of latter's son, Tiglat-adar, carried off to Babylon. |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | 12[illegible]7 | Seti I. and Rameses II. (B.C. 134[illegible]-1281) receive tribute from most countries west of the Euphrates. |
| [illegible] | [illegible]7 | 1271 | |
| K[illegible] | [illegible] | 1254 | |
| [illegible] | | | |
| [illegible] | . | 1252 | |

[1] [illegible]

| King | Reigned years. | | About B.C. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Shagasaltiash | 13 | ... | 1246 | An inscription of his, 700 years old, found by Nabonidus. |
| Bil-til .....(his son) | 8 | ... | 1233 | |
| Bilnadinshumi | 1½ | ... | 1225 | |
| Kara(?)charbi | 1½ | ... | 1224 | |
| Ramman-nadin-shumi | 6 | ... | 1222 | |
| Ramman-nadin-ahi | 30 | ... | 1216 | Defeated his Assyrian contemporary Belkudurosor and Nindarpileser. |
| Mili-shishu | 15 | ... | 1186 | |
| Marduk-apal-iddin | 13 | ... | 1171 | A grant of land by him contains references to the "unequalled" Kurigalzu and Irba-marduk. |
| Zamam-shuma-iddin | 1 | ... | 1158 | At war with Assurdanan, king of Assyria. |
| Bill-shuma-(iddin ?) | 3 | ... | 1157 | |

Total, 36 kings of Kossæan (?) dynasty reigning 376 years.

The lists of Winckler and Hilprecht follow in parallel columns.

| King | Reigned years. | | About B.C. | King | Reigned years. | | About B.C. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gandis | 15 | ... | 1729-1713 | Ramman-mushesi | | ... | 1442 |
| A M | | ... | | Kallima(?)sin | | ... | 1422 |
| Gujashi | | ... | | Kudur-turgu | | ... | 1407 |
| Ushshi | | ... | | Shagashalti-buriash | | ... | 1392 |
| Adu-metash | | ... | | Kurigalzu I., son of Kadashman-kharbe | | ... | 1372 |
| Tashi-gurumash | | ... | | Kara-indash (?his elder son) | | ... | 1347 |
| * * * | | ... | | Burnaburiash (? his younger son) | | ... | 1342 |
| Karaindas | | ... | | Kara-khardash, son of Kara-indash | | ... | 1317 |
| El ?... | | ... | | Nazibugash | | ... | 1307 |
| Kurigalzu I. | | ... | | Kurigalzu II., son of Burnaburiash | | ... | 1306 |
| Burnaburias | | ... | | Nazi-maruttash, his son | | .. | 1284 |
| Karachardash | | ... | | Khadashman-turgu, his son | | .. | 1257 |
| Nazibugash | | ... | | Kadashman-buriash, his son | | ... | 1240 |
| Kurigalzu II. | | ... | | | | | |
| * * * | | .. | | | | | |
| * * * | 6 | ... | | | | | |
| Shagashal... | 13 | ... | | | | | |
| Kashbe (?his son) | 8 | ... | | | | | |
| Belshumiddin | 1½ | ... | | | | | |
| Karacharbe | 1½ | ... | | | | | |
| Ramman-shum-iddin | 6 | ... | | | | | |

| King | Reigned years. | About B.C. |
|---|---|---|
| Ramman-shum-usur | 30 | ... |
| Isamme.....ti | | ... 1238 |
| Shagashalti-shuriash | | ... 1232 |
| Bibi-iashu, his son | | ... 1219 |
| Bel-shum-iddina I. | | ... 1210 |
| Khadashman-kharbe | | ... 1209 |
| Ramman-shum-iddina | | ... 1207 |
| Ramman-shum-usur | | ... 1201 |
| Mil-shikku, his son | 15 | ... 1171 |
| Marduk-abal-iddina, his son | 13 | ... 1156 |
| Zamam-shum-iddina | 1 | ... 1143 |
| Bel-shum-iddina II. | 3 | 1142 1140 |

In the last list the date of Kurigalzu is too late to agree with his Egyptian correspondent; but as fresh names are added to the lists, fresh clues as to the order of the kings are discovered also, and there are so many cases in which the lists give the duration of a reign without any other particulars, that the chronology would be much more complete than that of Egypt, if only the names and order were completed.

FOURTH DYNASTY OF PASI.

| King | Reigned years. | About B.C. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Marduk..... | 17 | ... 1150 | |
| [illegible] | 6 | ... 1133 | |
| [illegible] I. | | | At war with Assurisi, king of Assyria, grandson of Assurdanan. |
| Belnadinaplu | | | |
| [illegible] ? | 22 | ... ? 1127 1113 | According to Senacherib, carried off Assyrian gods to Babylon. Defeated by Tiglath-pileser, son of Assurisi, the first great conquering Assyrian king. |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] 1105 | |
| [illegible] | 13 | [illegible] | Made peace with Assurbelkala, son of Tiglath-pileser. |

| King | Reigned years. | About B.C. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ramman-aplu-iddin | | | Was made king by a revolution, and married the daughter of Assurbel-kala, who is succeeded by his brother, Samsi-ramman III. |
| Marduk-zer..... | | | |
| Nabu-shum..... | | | |

Total, Eleven kings of the dynasty of Pasi reigning 72½ years.

## Fifth Dynasty of Babylon.

| King | Reigned years. | About B.C. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sim-mash-shi-(chu) | 18 months. ... | 1080 | Member of a southern dynasty "of Damik-marduk." |
| Iamu-kin-sumi | 5 years. ... | 1062 | A "son of Hasmar." |
| Kassu-nadin-ahi | 3 ... | 1062 | The Babylonian chronicle makes him reign 6 years. |

Total, Three kings of the Sea Country reigning 21 years and 6 months.

## Sixth Dynasty of Bazi.

| King | Reigned years. | About B.C. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Iul'ar-shakin-shumi | 17 ... | 1060 | A "son of Bazi." |
| Nindar-kudorosor | 3 months. ... | 1043 | |
| Amil-shukamuna | 3 ... | 1040 | |

Total, Three kings of the dynasty of the House of Bazi reigning 20 years and 3 months.

## Seventh Dynasty.

| King | Reigned years. | About B.C. |
|---|---|---|
| An Elamite | 6 | 1040 |

### Eighth Dynasty of Babel.

| King | Reigned years. | About B.C. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| * * * | 13 ... | 1040 | (Kingdom of Israel founded.) |
| | months. days. | | |
| * * | 6 12 ... | 1021 | |
| * * * | | | Assur-nadin-ahi, king of Assyria. |
| | | | Tiglath-pileser II., king of Assyria. |
| | | | Shishak, king of Egypt, founded 22nd Dynasty, and invaded Israel, *circ.* 920. |
| * * * | | | Assurdanan II., king of Assyria. |
| Samas-mudammik | | | Defeated by Ramman-nirari II. of Assyria, 911. |
| Nabu-sumiskun | | 900 | Defeated by Ramman-nirari II. of Assyria, 911, who is succeeded by Tuklet-adar, 910, |
| * * * | | | and he by Assur-nasir-pal, author of inscriptions, 883. |
| | years. | | |
| Nabu-pal-iddin | ? 31 ... | 879 | Made treaties with Shalmaneser II., 860, who assists Marduk-nadin-sum against his rival. |
| Marduk-nadin-sum (his son) | ... | 853 | |
| Marduk-belusati (his brother) | | | Who revolted. |
| Marduk-balat-suikbi | ... | 812 | Contemporary of Samsi-ramman, whose 4th campaign, 825, was against him. |
| ? Bau-ahi-iddin | before | 785 | Deposed by Ramman nirari, 812-783. |
| * * * | | | |

Total, Thirteen (or Thirty-one) kings of unknown dynasty reigning * * * years.

### Ninth Dynasty of Babel.

(At this point the Babylonian list of kings and the data of the Babylonian chronicle begin, and can be compared with the Ptolemaic canon.)

| King | Reigned years. | About B.C. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nabu-shum ... | 15 ... | 762 | Assur-nirari, king of Assyria | 753 |
| Nabu-nasser | 14 ... | 747 | Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria | 745 |
| Nabu-nadin-[illegible] (his son) | 2 ... | 733 | Killed in an insurrection. | |
| | months. days. | | | |
| Nabu-[illegible] | 1 12 ... | | | |

Total, Four kings of the dynasty of Babel reigning 31 years.

| King | Reigned years. | About B.C. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ukinzir, of the house of Shashi | 3 ... | 731 | under his personal name, |
| Pulu became king of Babylon | 2 ... | 728 | and was succeeded by |
| Ululai, of the house of Tinu | 5 ... | 726 | called Shalmaneser IV. by the Assyrians. |
| Merodach Baladan, of the Sea Dynasty | 12 ... | 721 | Contemporary of Sargon, king of Assyria. |
| Sargon (of Assyria) | 5 ... | 709 | Murdered and succeeded by Senacherib, whose authority was not long recognised in Babylon; but he was able afterwards, 705, to appoint one of his sons to be viceroy there, who fell into the hands of an Elamite foe. Ultimately Sennacherib recovered the throne for himself, 688. |
| Senacherib, of the house of Habigal | 2 months. ... | 704 | |
| Marduk-zakir-shumi | 1 | | |
| Merodach-baladan | 6 years. | | |
| Bil-ipush, dynasty of Babel | 3 ... | 702 | |
| Assur-nadin-sum, dynasty of Habigal | 6 ... | 699 | |
| Nirgal-ushizib | 1 ... | 693 | |
| Mushizib-marduk, dynasty of Babel | 4 ... | 692 | |
| Senacherib, king of Assyria | 8 ... | 688 | reigned over Babylon and Assyria, and was succeeded by his sons, |
| Esarhaddon | 13 ... | 681 | and Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, 668, who was succeeded in Assyria by his sons, Belsumiskun and Assur-itilani, under whom Babylon revolted, 626. |
| Samas-sum-ukin, king of Babylon | 20 ... | 668 | |
| Kandal (Assurbanipal) | 22 ... | 647 | |
| Nabopolassar | 21 ... | 625 | |
| Nebuchadnezzar | 43 ... | 605 | Contemporary of Sinsar-iskun? the Sarakus of Berosus, and last king of Assyria, under whom Nineveh fell, 606. |

| King | Reigned years. | About B.C. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Evil-Merodach | 2 ... | 562 | |
| Neriglissar | 4 months. ... | 560 | |
| Labashi-marduk | 9 years. ... | 556 | |
| Nabonidus | 17 ... | 555 | Taken prisoner by Cyrus, 539. |
| Belsazar (his son) | | 539 | Cyrus welcomed by the people Babylon. |

Twenty-two kings of different Houses reigning 194 years.

## APPENDIX E.

Vol. i., p. 337.

### Metric Systems of Babylonia and Egypt.

One of the first discoveries arising from the excavations of Telloh was that the Babylonian and Egyptian foot rule were on the same scale. A statue of Gudea bears upon its knee a graduated cubit measure[1] which was conclusive on the subject. Numismatists and metrologists before this time had been haunted by recurring resemblances between the coins and measures of the West and some common standard, from whence it seemed that they must all be traced, while yet it did not accord with the established views of ancient history to suppose a direct borrowing in such important matters from either Egypt or Babylonia. Still less would it have occurred to any one to imagine that the weights, coins, and measures of the old world were all derived from a unit, fixed in the highly artificial and scientific way adopted by the French savants who, in 1799, elaborated the modern metric system. They took as their standard (a kilogramme) the weight, *in vacuo*, of a cubic decimetre of distilled water, and the corresponding unit of length was supplied by that of one side of the cube, the length of the metre having been previously fixed by an astronomical standard.

Brandis pointed out, nearly a generation ago, that the weight of the Babylonian cubic foot of water was identical with that of the Babylonian talent;[2] and valuable papers by Dr. Brugsch have now[3] shown it to be possible that the French men of science were forestalled in the use of their method by the Babylonian and Egyptian originators of the system borrowed by the Greeks and Romans.[4]

[1] Mr. Flinders Petrie gives its exact length at $20\frac{3}{10}$ inches.

[2] *Das Münz-, Maass- und Gewichtswesen in Vorder Asien, bis auf Alexander der Grossen.* J. Brandis, 1866, p. 37.

[3] *Zeitschrift f. Ägyptische Sprache u. Alterthumskunde.* May and Sept., 1889. *Die Lösung der altägyptischen Maasfrage.*

[4] Mr. Ridgeway, in his recent instructive work, *The Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards*, objects *a priori* to the possibility of a primitive people using so elaborate and scientific a method. But we must remember that it is easier, it less scientific, to measure than to weigh; and the use of rectangular water tanks would make it easy to take the surface measure of a receptacle the capacity of which had been ascertained by filling. He himself points out that in Homer vessels of silver are valued, not by weight but by size, according to what they will hold. The use of seed or grain, to determine the smallest weights, is that they lend themselves to division, either for weighing or measuring, so that any desired fraction of the larger weights, previously fixed, can be ascertained and expressed in grains. Hultsch's view, that the longer measure answering to the Greek stadium was first fixed by the distance a man traversed during the space of two minutes, or the length of one diameter on the sun's path, does not necessarily exclude the other method for connecting the weight and length standards.

The cubic root of any number, giving the weight in grammes of a cube of liquid, will give the linear measure; and so, if the standard of weight is known, that of length can be inferred. The Roman amphora, for instance, was required to weigh 80 lbs. = 26,196 grs.; but while this fact was known, the length of the Roman foot had been matter of debate. Taking the mass of the contents of an amphora to be a cube, the length of the foot corresponding to the above weight is shown to be 0·29699 metres, or a trifle more than the highest estimate otherwise arrived at.

Before tracing farther the relations between the coins and measures of the East and West, as interpreted by this key, the divisions of time, which have been not less extensively borrowed, and the native system of numeration, must be described.

### 1.—Number and Time.

In the Babylonia of history two parallel systems of numeration existed, the sexagesimal of Turanian or Sumerian origin, and the decimal adopted by the purely Semitic stocks. In the cuneiforms, the same notation is used for both up to 60: 𒁹 = 1; 𒐉 = 4; 𒐎 = 9; 𒌋 = 10; 𒎙 = 20. 57 is written 𒐐𒐌; after this 𒁹 stands for 60: 𒌋𒁹𒁹 = [illegible]1: 114 is made up of 60, 50, and 4: 𒁹𒁹 = 120; 143 is made up of 2 (sixties) and 23, and so on up to 3,599, which is equivalent to 59 sixties and 59. After this 60² or 3,600 = unity, so that 4,096, for instance, is made up of one *sar* (3,600), 8 *sosses* (480) and 16, written 𒁹𒐍𒌋𒐊.[1]

Tables of the squares and cubes of different numbers have been found, and the convenience of the system becomes manifest as the higher numbers are reached; the cube, for instance, of 32 is written with three figures, (*i.e.*, 3,600 × 9 = 32,400 + 60 × 6 = 360 + 8 = 32,768), which with the Arabic notation requires five figures.

In Assyria 60 is called *soss*, the sossos of Berosus; 600, *ner*, [illegible] and 3,600, *sar*, or saros. The decimal system consists of tens only; thirty may be written either 𒌍 or 𒁹𒌋; 100 is 𒁹𒈨; 1,000 is 𒌋𒁹𒈨, and naturally the word for hundred is Semitic. The cycle [illegible] and [illegible] ve[illegible] confined to [illegible] Tartars, Mongols, and Mantchus; the Chinese [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] solar [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

remain among the Dravidian population of Malabar, and the islanders of Minicoy; otherwise Turanian languages in general are quite free from the elaborate numerical ideas of the men of Sumer and Akkad.

In them, for instance, 20, 40, etc., are only 2 tens, 4 tens, and so on; in Akkadian 20 is *kasbu*, and gives its name to measures forming $\frac{1}{3}$ of the standard 60; so 40 is Assyrianized into *as*, a weight $= \frac{40}{60}$ of a mina; and in fact the same sign is used for the fraction $\frac{2}{3}$ and for the number 40, which is two-thirds of 60. There are two words for 50, derived from five tens and from five-sixths, and from the latter the primitive word, *gig*, for 10 is guessed at. *Soss* is Assyrian, but perhaps derived from *us us* = 60 × 60. *Niru* translates the Akkadian word. There are separate signs for all the following fractions: $\frac{5}{60}$, $\frac{10}{60}$, $\frac{20}{60}$, $\frac{30}{60}$, $\frac{40}{60}$, $\frac{50}{60}$, *i.e.* $\frac{1}{12}$, $\frac{1}{6}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{2}{3}$ and $\frac{5}{6}$, though $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, and $\frac{2}{3}$ alone have proper names. The advantage of the sexagesimal system is that 60 has 11 factors (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 12, 15, 20, 30), while 10 has only 3, and 100 only 8; raised to the second power 60 will divide by 9, and at the third power also by 8, but the practical conveniences arising hence could scarcely have been divined *a priori*.

The question therefore presents itself, Was this remarkable invention suggested by another achievement of the same people, the division of the equator into degrees and the thence resulting measurements of time? The arguments of Letronne and Brandis on this subject have lost none of their force by the discoveries which now cause this claim to be made for the inhabitants of the same country 2,000 years or more before the earliest date dreamt of by them. The classical tradition on the subject was not very clear; Hipparchus (150 B.C.) is supposed to have introduced to the West the astronomical wisdom of Babylonia, which was popularized by Ptolemy 300 years later. Letronne quotes Achilles Tatius (3rd century A.D.) for the statement that "The Chaldæans, whose researches were minutely exact, ventured to determine the course and the hours of the sun. For they divide the sun's hours on the day of equinox into 30 limits, during which that star traverses the whole expanse of the sky in uniform progress. So that the 30th part of the hour, on the day of equinox is called 'a limit of the course of the sun.'"[1]

Letronne was led by the division of the circle into 720 stadii, used by Manilius, who was not an astronomer, to infer that the "limit" of the sun here meant its diameter. The method of obtaining this standard measure is beautifully simple, but it may be doubted whether the whole after history of science contains anything neater or more elegant in the way of observation. To measure one diameter of the sun it sufficed to note the first [illegible] of its beginning to appear above the horizon, and measure, or rather weigh, the water which dropped from a vessel between that moment and the time when the whole disc had appeared. Then by comparing the water of one diameter, as it may be called, with that which dropped from the same vessel during the day and night, it was ascertained [illegible] of the sun's [illegible] was exactly 720 diameters long." [illegible] 1847. [illegible]

In the astronomical tablets, according to the learned work of FF. Epping and Strassmaier,[1] the day is not divided, as commonly supposed, into 24 hours, but into 6 periods, each subdivided into 60, making 360 parts, like the degrees of the circle; these were again divided by 60 and by 60 again, giving thus periods of 4 minutes, 4 seconds, and of one-fifteenth of a second—divisions which might be thought too minute to serve the purpose of any one but an astronomer, though they are not unlike those used in Malabar.[2]

If for ordinary purposes the day was divided into 60 periods, the "double hour," which is sometimes mentioned, would be 48 minutes long and correspond roughly to the modern hour of 60 minutes. But where there was already some tendency towards a duodecimal mode of reckoning—and the division of the year into 12 months suggests this—it was obvious to divide the 720 diameters by 12, and subsequently, when the valuable powers of the number 60 had been ascertained, to make each degree of the circle equal 2 diameters, giving 360 in all.

There is no reason for believing the Greek division of the circle into 360 parts to be ancient. Before Hipparchus, they had made very few observations, and might have borrowed for their geometry what was for them an arbitrary division. But, in fact, Ptolemy speaks of degrees of which 360 make *two* right angles, and of those of which 360 make *four*—a [illegible] which would be exactly accounted for, if the division of the equator into 720 sun's diameters alternated with that of the abstract circle into 360 degrees. And, under these circumstances, we can have little doubt that the latter was derived from the former.

The identification of stars and the interpretation of astronomical tablets present greater difficulties than the most obscure contract tablets, while results in this field, even when attained, are less intelligible to the laity. The latest and most competent workers are agreed that a more than respectable measure of astronomical knowledge had really been attained. The Babylonians had fairly accurate tables of the times of New Moon, such as [illegible] only be calculated by very laborious methods, till within the last few years, in Europe. It is not known what theory, if any, they held respecting [illegible] of the sun, moon, and earth, but they anticipated eclipses [illegible] way impossible to mere empirics. Under [illegible] phrases "The way in [illegible] to Anu" and "The way [illegible] is supposed to [illegible] a perception of the distinc[illegible] pole of the equator and [illegible] pole of the ecliptic, whi[illegible] is further denoted by "The way in reference to" [illegible]

[illegible] M. [illegible] has shown, with the [illegible]

[illegible]

eclipses is repeated. The mythical ages of Berosus represent twelve Sothic periods (of 1,461 years), or 292 sosses—a number which, reduced to years, reappears in the Hebrew chronology as the period between the Deluge and the birth of Abraham.

The mere recognition of these periods does not, of course, throw any light upon the duration of Sumerian history, but, as in the chronology of China, the position of the constellations gives the desired clue. The signs of the Zodiac, like so much else, date from the first inhabitants of Mesopotamia, and some of them can be confidently identified. The Babylonian Zodiac would fall in suitably as to the position of the sun in spring, summer, and autumn, with a division of the heavens made between five and six thousand years ago,[1] so that its invention may plausibly be assigned to some time between the date of the Creation, according to Archbishop Ussher, and that of Sargon of Agade, according to Nabonidus.

The first month of the Akkadian calendar is called "month of the holy altar," at which a ram was the usual object of sacrifice; the second month (Taurus) is that of "the protecting bull;" the third (Gemini), "month of the twins:" the fourth is the month "of the message of Istar" (? Virgo). The sign for the eighth month is perhaps connected with the legend of the scorpion-man and his wife, who guard a fairy-land with jewelled fruit and beautiful birds. The ninth month "of the clouds," which fly like an arrow from the bow, corresponds to the sign Sagittarius; and the eleventh month is that "of the curse of rain," or Aquarius.

According to the *Observations of Bel* there are twelve of these months "for the year of 360 days of which their number is recorded in full," and the fifth tablet of the Creation series says: "twelve months of constellations by threes he fixed."[2] These were lunar months, and every two or three years an intercalary month was inserted to keep the natural and the civil year together.

The Egyptian calendar, on the contrary, ignores the lunar months altogether, and made the civil year consist of 365 days. This being a quarter of a day too little, after 735 years have passed, the natural and the civil year are just six months out, and twice that period, *i.e.* 1,461 years, has to pass before the two agree again. The Egyptian Sothic period began at the season when the rising of the dog star (Eg. Sopet, whence Sothis) was visible in the east at sunrise. This date, which fell at Memphis on July 20, was counted as the beginning of the year, as it was the season at which the Nile began to rise.

As Meyer points out,[3] the discrepancy between the civil and the Sothic year would not vary during an average lifetime by as much as a month, so that no very practical inconvenience would arise; and as the duration of the Sothic period was known, those who were aware of the discrepancy would also know that it would rectify itself in time. In fact,

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

the two new year's days were regularly celebrated. The priests kept an account of the astronomical year, and divided the Sothic period into 365 intervals of four years each, forming as it were one day of the great Sothic year. The precessional movement of the star caused the year fixed by the heliacal rising of Sirius to come nearer to an exact $365\frac{1}{4}$ days than the true solar year; but this is an accident, though it leaves the Sothic period at 1,461 years, when the solstices would give a cycle of 1,506 years.

Special signs were used to indicate in which of the four years of the Sothic day any special event occurred. There is an inscription of Thothmes III. giving the date of an heliacal rising of Sirius which would place its author as reigning in 1580 B.C.; and a still earlier record of the same event would make the first Sothic period begin 3192 B.C., and the others 1728 and 271 B.C. respectively, which is 409 years apart from the date given by Censorinus (writing 238 A.D.)—a discrepancy which Mr. Lockyer explains by a supposed change in the names of the months, which were partly significant, and so ceased to be appropriate as the cycle advanced. Another calculation, followed by Meyer, however, makes the coincidence of the two new year's days fall in the years 139–139 A.D., 1325–1322 B.C., 2785–2, and 4246–4, so that even this point is not yet irrevocably settled.

Mr. Norman Lockyer's interesting contribution to the problems of Egyptian antiquity[1] appeared after the Egyptian section of the present work was in type, otherwise the light which he throws on the question of the "Two Crowns" of Upper and Lower Egypt should have been utilised on pp. 37, 38. His facts are also of importance in regard to the question, at what point the founders of Egyptian civilisation entered the country. The orientation of the Pyramids has long been regarded as a proof of the astronomical attainments of their builders, and the only difficulty in the way of tracing the orientation of Egyptian temples has been caused by the great variety of the directions chosen. Mr. Lockyer has attempted to reduce these variations to groups, with one very important result.

The solar temples of Upper Egypt seem to be connected with solstitial sunrise. At Abydos, the direction of one of the oldest temple grounds appears to suit a temple built to face the sun setting at the summer solstice [illegible]. Finally there are remains of many solar solstitial temples, including Karnak and the Memnonian. The great temple of Amen Ra at Karnak [illegible] yards [illegible] series of seventeen to [illegible] structures in the pylons, limit the light which [illegible] could [illegible] to a narrow beam which on one day in the year would [illegible] through the temple. Such an arrangement could [illegible] the [illegible] observed by [illegible] which [illegible] of the temple remained [illegible].

[1] [illegible]

And in this way the exact length of the solar year might be ascertained by observation.

The attention of the learned was naturally and properly directed to the observation of the solstices, since the knowledge of that date would enable the rise of the river to be predicted and prepared for; and this is an argument for regarding the solstitial worship as of native Egyptian origin. The great temple mound at On or Heliopolis faces the sun in mid April and mid August, so is connected neither with solstitial nor equinoctial observations and may have been oriented to a northern star. But in temples at Memphis, Tanis, Sais, Bubastis, and Gizeh, in fact throughout Lower Egypt, the orientation is, like that of the Pyramids themselves, to sunrise or sunset at the equinox. There is thus, as Mr. Lockyer observes, "a fundamental change of astronomical thought,"[1] and the difference to an astronomer is so radical as to suggest a probable difference of race.

Memphis, the Pyramids, and perhaps other towns in the Delta may have been built by men who worshipped at each equinox a star rising in the east; but the solstitial worship found at Thebes and the non-equinoctial worship of Heliopolis are presumably older than the equinoctial worship of Memphis. This may have been introduced more directly from Babylonia, where the inundation of the two rivers occurs at the equinox rather than the solstice. And there is thus astronomical as well as etymological and geographical probability in favour of the colonization of Lower Egypt independently from the neighbourhood of the Sinaitic Peninsula, instead of from Upper Egypt. In this case the diorite wrought by the artists of Gizeh and Lagash will have come from the same quarries. The step Pyramids, like zigurrats, are an obvious link between Babylonia and Egypt, and Mr. Lockyer believes that the temple of Babylon to Anu and Bel must have been oriented to the north, like that of Memphis to Sutekh.

If the solstitial worship of Upper Egypt originated in the Nile valley, the only clue to the derivation of its followers would have to be found in the star worship which they also practised. According to Mr. Lockyer's calculations, no Sirian temple is to be looked for in Upper Egypt before 3200 B.C.; after that date two at Karnak, and one each at Denderah, Der el Bahari, Dosche, Naga and Philae are enumerated, and seven or eight other stars are suggested as likely to have dictated the direction—and still more the changes in direction—observable in adjacent temples. He considers the Egyptian temples to show that $\alpha$ Ursae Majoris, Apella, Antares, Phact, and $\alpha$ Centauri "were carefully observed, some of them as early as 5000 B.C., the others between 4000 and 3000 B.C. . . . it is possible that at Edfu and Philae the star Canopus may have been observed as early as 6400 B.C." Calculations of the same kind give the year 3700 B.C. as a possible date for the foundation of a temple at Thebes. But the author candidly admits that it has seldom been possible to exclude all possible sources of error, and for the present perhaps there is more to inspire hope

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

than faith in the more definite of the conclusions suggested. Mr. Lockyer does not seem to have turned his attention to Mr. Bent's observations, and it may be some time before the star worship of the primitive inhabitants of Arabia can be sufficiently understood for it to decide whether the settlers of Northern Egypt brought their astronomy from there. The primitive astronomy of the Chinese will also have to be interrogated afresh before the problems of Babylonia can be either solved or despaired of.[1] It may possibly also be worth while to question the astrologers and teachers of Malabar, where it is said that the art of calculating the rising of sun, moon, and stars is still a part of primary education, and where it is easily possible that some primitive methods and traditions may have lingered on.[2]

In laying the foundations of an Egyptian temple the "stretching of the cord" in the desired direction was the first and most important part of the ceremony, like the "determining the cardinal points" with which the Chinese ruler was supposed to begin the foundation of any new city or settlement. In two cases the star used for the alignment is named, viz. the [illegible] the Thigh for the temple of Hat[illegible] and the Thigh in general for that of Edfu. It is suggested that the emerald pillar that shone by night, in the temple of Herakles at Tyre,[3] was illuminated by the star to which it was built, and the telescopic arrangement [illegible] in the case of solar temples would give unsuspected brilliancy to the light of some stars in the Egyptian climate.

There are no apparent signs of artificial light having been used in dark tomb chambers, and it is suggested that in them, as in the sanctuaries of the temples, light may have been obtained by a series of reflecting mirrors. But the natural effect of the single ray of sun or star light would be sufficiently impressive by itself to form an important part in the ritual of

[illegible]

worship. "To see his father Ra in Habenben" was a privilege enjoyed by the king, who, standing with his back to the light would suddenly behold the image of the god illuminated by the rising sun. Such effects of natural magic probably blended with the more deliberate artifices by which the priests are supposed to have made the divine images give expression to their own views. Such devices as speaking and moving statues are commonly supposed to belong to the decadence of a faith; yet it is in a far from ancient account of the election of Ethiopian kings that we catch a glimpse of what may be one more trait common to Egypt and Babylonia. On two such occasions Amon of Napata is represented as *seizing hold* of one of the royal brothers, and then addressing him, in the shades of the sanctuary, as the elected king. Some other author, followed by Synesius, bishop of Ptolemais, makes the kings of Egypt go through a similar election, at which the priests, the warriors, and the reigning king give their votes, while the gods intervene, if the other parties are equally divided.[1] It will be remembered that the king in Babylonia was not lawfully enthroned until he had "taken the hands of Bel," and it is impossible not to ask whether the phrase indicates something answering to an Egyptian original of the Ethiopian selection or adoption of a candidate by the god.

The temple at Jerusalem was of the equinoctial school, and the entrance of the sunlight on the morning of the spring equinox was part of the ceremonial. The priest being in the naos, the worshippers outside "with their backs to the sun could see the high priest by means of the sunlight reflected from the jewels in his garments," *i.e.* the sardonyxes on the high priest's shoulders, which according to Josephus "shined out when God was present at their sacrifices," a miraculous shining which was said to have ceased 200 years before his time. Evidently the Jews had inherited an astronomical temple of which they did not understand the purpose, and as they failed to regulate their feasts by the strict solar year the manifestation ceased. In Egypt, where astronomical science continued alive, if the precession of the equinoxes made a temple lose its efficiency for ceremonies connected with celestial bodies, the axis of the temple received a slight twist, so as to enable later additions to serve the old purpose, or if this too became impossible, another temple with the needful change of direction would be set up adjoining the old one.

The Egyptians were acquainted at so early a date with the true length of the solar year, that it is hard to explain their keeping up the tradition of a year of 360 days, unless we imagine that to have been the length of the year assumed, as it were *a priori*, to correspond with the degrees of the circle and supposed to represent pure mathematical truth as distinct from mere empiricism. "At Philae in late times in the temple of Osiris, there were 360 bowls for sacrifice which were filled daily with milk by a specified rotation of priests. At Acanthus there was a perforated cask into which one of the 360 priests poured water from the Nile daily."[2] And such a

[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

machinery for keeping count of the days of a year which had no religious, civil, or political use can only represent an ancient tradition, connected perhaps with the primitive sanctity of the numbers six and sixty and their multiple.

## 2.—Weights, Measures, and Money.

It is possible that the aperture through which the water ran when measuring the sun's path may have been so calculated as to let a mina of water run through in an hour, so as to connect the measures of time with those of length and capacity. The Mesopotamian weights which have been found and tested are more exact than those of the Greeks and Romans; they have been found of 1, 2, 5, 15, and 30 mina, *i.e.* up to half a talent, and of such fractions as $\frac{1}{30}$, $\frac{1}{15}$, and $\frac{2}{3}$ of a mina. The convenience of 60 as a common denominator shows itself in the fractions. There are 60 shekels to a mina, but as we have seen in the contracts, only the odd shekels are counted as such, everything that can be is called a fraction of a mina: thus we have $\frac{2}{3}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of $\frac{1}{30}$, *i.e.* $\frac{1}{45}$, $\frac{1}{60}$, $\frac{1}{90}$, and $\frac{1}{120}$ of a mina.

According to M. Oppert,[1] the measures of capacity are not as numerous as Brandis supposed, the table being as follows:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 10 sahia | make | 1 qa |
| | 27 qa | ,, | 1 ap |
| | 60 ,, | ,, | 1 imer (homer) |
| | 36 ,, | ,, | 1 pi |
| 180 qa, 3 imer, or 5 pi | | ,, | 1 gur |

but the value of these measures need not be discussed here.

The measure used for both lands and buildings in the age of Hammurabi, and called *sar*, does not appear in the later deeds, and any area that can be suggested as suitable to the name (*e.g.*, 360 square yards) would be so much too large for a measure of houses that one is driven to suppose that two measures, used for different purposes, bore the same name. Probably, as M. Revillout takes to have been the case later, building sites were normally oblong, so that the sar of house property might be 60 measures one way and much less the other. In the later deeds, while arable or pasture land is measured by the quantity of seed required to sow it, town lots and building land are measured by the inch, yard, and rod. According to M. Oppert, 24 inches make one 𒌋, and 7 𒌋 one *gar*, or rod, like the 24 hours of the day, and 7 days of the week; the rod at this rate is about 14 feet, or 14 metres. The plots of ground to be measured were of course never perfect squares, but they were commonly parallelograms, with sides not very unequal, and more or right angle; to obtain the superficial measurement, Chaldean surveyors took the mean of two actual measure-

1. [illegible] 1884.

ments of length and width and multiplied these two together with results that were sometimes quite exact and never very far from the mark.

The data about the various measures are too imperfect and confused for the value of the different measures of length and area to be positively determined, and it is even possible that land was actually sown afresh by measure, when it was intended to be sold, which would account for eccentricities of detail. But a fact of more interest than the technicalities of surveying is amply illustrated by the existing contracts, namely the comparative value of land in town and country districts. The price of a rod of land in the country varied from 17 to 75 drachms, while if the same measures were used for town holdings, the most valuable of these fetched 170 times as much as the most valuable fields. In towns the price of land by square metre varied from eighteen pence to 6*s.* 6*d.* The latter price seems too high and the disproportion too great, considering the popularity of land as an investment, so that most likely the ancient distinction between a sar of land and a sar of houses still subsisted in some form.

In the case of the town house, which Itti-marduk-baladu acquired in exchange for fields and plantations, the house is said to measure 24 rods in all (or 1176 square yards), and the field to be one of a gur of seed, which represents between 50 and 60,000 square yards, so that the comparative value is about as 1 to 45, which is not unreasonable when we consider that it includes the buildings. There is at least no such artificial disproportion as in the modern capitals of Europe. An English banker does not give 45 acres of orchard and arable land for one acre of land with buildings on it in London.

With the recognition of a common starting point for the weights and measures of all civilized nations, it becomes possible to supply the blanks in one record by the help of others, which are seldom all imperfect in the same place. Egypt and Babylonia have not only the same unit of length—in the cubit of $20\frac{3\cdot6}{10}$ inches—but also the same original unit of weight. The only difference is that the Egyptians followed a decimal, and the Babylonians a sexagesimal subdivision. Egypt dividing the talent, of weight and money, of 300 *uten* into 3000 parts, or *kite*; and the latter dividing the weight talent into 60 mina, and then 60 smaller parts, but the money talent into 60 mina with an alternative "light" talent and mina containing 50 parts instead of 60. The Samian ell was the same as the Babylonian, and the exception which Brandis supposed to be offered, to the general prevalence of Babylonian weights and measures, in the Nile valley and the Italian peninsula, are now shown by Brugsch to be only apparent. Indeed, the history of Egyptian values gives independent confirmation to the conclusions arrived at respecting those of Babylonia.

The Ptolemaic coinage, according to this view, was not a new Greek importation—except so far as the use of any coined money was foreign to primitive Egyptian habits—but was based on old Egyptian weights. From the 18th century B.C. two of these were in use, the *uten* and the *kite*, the latter being $\frac{1}{10}$ of the first. The kite has been weighed and found equiva-

lent to 9·09591 grammes: the uten therefore should weigh 90·9591 gr. These are the only weights used for the precious metals; quantities of 36,000 and upwards are given in uten, and the smallest sums in fractions of a kite. The relation between the Roman foot and the cubic contents of a Roman amphora has been mentioned already, and a comparison of Persian and Greek measures points to a similar correspondence, in the standards used by them. But the remarkable thing is that the 80 Roman pounds which the amphora was to weigh (26,196 grammes) coincides to a fraction with 36 × 80 or 2,880 Egyptian kite.

The correspondence between the Egyptian and the Babylonian measures is still more obvious. Brandis started from the assumption that the Babylonian cubic foot represented the dimensions of the Babylonian talent in some liquid with a specific gravity very near that of distilled water: and thus obtained a length for the Babylonian foot of 0·320 m. Brugsch, taking the Babylonian talent as equivalent to 3,600 Egyptian kite, and extracting the cube root of the corresponding weight in grammes (32745·276), arrives at the practically identical length of 0·31992 m. The same proportion holds good in the case of the Egyptian talent of 300 kite, weighing 27287·73 grammes: extracting the cube root of this, the length of the Egyptian foot comes out 0·30106 m., and the short and the royal ell respectively 0·45159 m. and 0·52686 m.: while the length given independently for the three by Lepsius was 0·300, 0·450, and 0·525, though as to the latter the average given by several actual measurements is nearer 0·526. Such a correspondence in method is even more conclusive than identity of results would be as a proof of common origin.

The correspondence between the moneys of Egypt and Babylonia will be most easily recognised in tabular form, and the table suggests that the so-called "light talent" and mina might have been borrowed from Egypt: as, however, the Assyrians also used a decimal system whenever not borrowing wholesale from Babylonia, it might equally well represent a compromise made for their benefit:—

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | Egyptian talent, or | [illegible] | [illegible] | kite. |
| [illegible] | .. | [illegible] | [illegible] | .. | .. | [illegible] | .. |
| 1 | .. | [illegible] | [illegible] | .. | uten, or | 60 | .. |
| | .. | .. | 1 | .. | .. | 10 | .. |
| | .. | | [illegible] | .. | [illegible] | 2 | .. |
| | .. | .. | | | | 1 | .. |
| | .. | .. | | | | 1 | ,, |

[illegible]

nects the root *ss* with the number six,[1] and in that case both word and notion would belong to the common furniture of the pre-historic people from whom both Egyptians and Babylonians proceeded.[2] The mysterious magistracy or Great Houses of the Six previously alluded to, also seems to show that the number six possessed a traditional sacredness or significance at the earliest times which was subsequently lost sight of, and this would harmonise very well with the view that it had been important in an obsolete system of numeration.[3]

The different value of the monetary unit in the Ptolemaic period is partly connected with the change in the relative value of silver and copper. From the eleventh century onwards, these metals and not gold were used as standards by weight. From a comparison of the price of honey as given in silver and copper (about 1000 B.C.), it appears that $\frac{1}{10}$ silver kite = 8 copper do., *i.e.* that silver was to copper as 80 to 1. In the age of Thothmes III. the proportion was 48 to 1, while before the Roman period it had sunk to 120 to 1. The change was spread over 12 or 14 centuries, and was due to natural economic causes. But the substitution of the silver drachm for the silver kite just corresponds to the change of value, so as to leave the proportion between the common silver and the common copper coin the same. The Coptic name for the didrachmon was kite and for the drachm half-kite, thus pointing to a (pre-Persian) period, when the proportion between the two metals was as 96 to 1, as the time when coins were first struck in Egypt.

Egyptian texts are fuller on the subject of measures of area than those of Babylonia and Assyria, and it is possible that additional light may be thrown on the latter by Mr. Griffith's latest paper.[4] The common Egyptian measures of length are of the primitive sort which survive in the English measurement of horses by "hands." The digit, the palm, the handsbreadth (with the thumb included), the long and short span, the upper arm, and the short and royal cubits, are measures with no apparent reference to a scientific standard. The royal cubit, of about 20·6 in., contains 7 palms and 28 digits. The khet of 100 cubits takes its name from the roll of cord used for measuring. The square khet—or set, the Greek arura—was considered to be composed of 100 strips of one cubit broad by 100 long. The earliest inscriptions have a hieroglyph for ten arura, suggesting either a landmark or, like the sign for the set, an oblong slip, which seems to imply that the original unit of cultivation was oblong.

From the Twelfth to the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties signs are

[1] The [illegible] use of this number [illegible] p. 61.

[2] Mr. Ridgeway, in the work referred to above, [illegible] throughout that the sexagesimal Babylonian notation was [illegible] but the occurrence [illegible] 15 and 30 in the lists of [illegible] and the obviously primitive use of fractions of 60 noted above, which were sufficiently convincing arguments on the other [illegible] p. 247 [illegible] in use.

[3] In China the same number had a [illegible] which [illegible] to the index of the Confucian texts [illegible] Six; S. B., xxxvii. p. 482.

[4] *P.S.B.A.*, Jan. 1892.

found for $\frac{1}{10}$, $\frac{1}{100}$, and $\frac{1}{200}$ of a set and also for $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{8}$. The half arura was an oblong of 50 cubits by 100, but the quarter was a square of 25 cubits. Ten arura contain about $6\frac{3}{4}$ acres, and it seems rather as if the size of the standard farm or holding had stood at this amount under the ancient monarchy and at one arura under the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties. Such a change is a natural result of increased population and more profitable culture. Even the higher limit implies a class of comparatively small cultivators,—tenant farmers under feudal nobles. The measures of length and of area stood in such well-defined customary relations that the same names were used indifferently according to the context, a circumstance which has added to the difficulties of interpretation.[1]

The common measure of capacity—the hekt—is indicated by a barrel from which grain is pouring; the fractions of it, like those of the set, form a dimidiated series from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{1}{64}$. The hieratic sign for $\frac{1}{64}$ is + which is used as the symbol for quartering. One-tenth of the hekt is also a favourite measure, and $\frac{1}{320}$, the fraction of the hekt, which serves to unite the two series, is called *the* fraction. The hekt is multiplied up to four as well as divided. The two systems of binary and decimal subdivision are notable—especially on account of the total absence of any reminiscence of duodecimal—to say nothing of sexagesimal—methods.

The importance which may attach to the details of this subject is manifest from the remarkable value of the oldest Egyptian weight yet known. A ten unit weight of Khufu and a five gold unit weight of Amenhotep I. (18th Dynasty) weigh 206 and 207·6 grs. respectively: while two other weights, respectively of the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties, weigh 196·5 and 197·7 grs.—the four having exactly the range attributed to the so-called Æginetan standard. This standard prevailed originally over nearly the whole of Peloponnessus, in Athens, Bœotia, Phocis, Locris, Thessaly, the Thracian Chersonese, Crete, Cyme, Teos, Cnidos, and Cos. It has been regarded as a reduction of the Phœnician standard, but Mr. Petrie is probably right in considering it as the remains of an earlier tradition drawn from some origin connected with Egypt. If there were Phœnicians on the Mediterranean who did not settle first in Phœnicia, they must have been the ancestors of this people's element.

[illegible]

answer to the Greek copper coin chalkus, of which 48 went to a silver drachm. But the chalkus appears to be regularly valued at $2\frac{1}{2}$ copper drachms, so that the Egyptian copper kite $= 2\frac{1}{2}$ drachms and the copper stater $= 5$ copper drachms. At this rate 120 copper drachms would go to one silver one, giving the proportion between the metals already mentioned of 120 to 1 for the Ptolemaic age.

There is thus a sufficient reason for the divergence of the Ptolemaic coins from the primitive standards of the uten and kite weights, and one which in no way invalidates the theory of their derivation from the common standard of the Babylonian water-cube talent. A satisfactory proof, that the correspondence between the Egyptian and Babylonian weights has been successfully established, is that Dr. Brugsch has done what Brandis conjectured *a priori* to be possible, namely reduced the odd numbers of pounds and *loths* mentioned as tribute in the great Harris papyrus to an even number of mina. The pound and loth correspond to the uten and kite, and it is in a similar passage in the account of the victories of Thothmes III. at Karnak that the word *susu* is used in the sense of mina The latter when divided by sosses give an even number (600) of light or 50 shekel mina; and by the same process the tributes from different districts received by Rameses III. are reduced from odd numbers with fractions to sums of 800, 11,300, 12,000 and 15,000 mina.

The close correspondence which Dr. Brugsch traces between the Egyptian and the old Italian unit of weight is very interesting and important, but taken in connection with other metric systems in the countries of the Mediterranean, it does not point so clearly to a connection between Egypt and Italy as to a connection between the whole of the old trading world, from Mesopotamia to Marseilles.

The sexagesimal system of Babylonia was nowhere adopted in its entirety, but the extent to which duodecimal divisions are adhered to is some measure of the strength of its influence. The Italo-Sicilian pound or *litra* was divided into 12 parts, each equivalent to an Egyptian *stater*. The Italic talent of 120 litra was thus equal to 1,440 Egyptian staters, *i.e.* $12 \times 120$ (the "long hundred" of Northern Europe) or $24 \times 60$, like the divisions of the day and hour. The Egyptians following the decimal system, obtained the talent of 1,500 staters; but the weight of the Egyptian uten (90·9591 gr.) multiplied by 360 gives 32745·276 grammes, while the estimated weight of 100 Roman pounds, according to Boeckh and Mommsen, is 32745·3. The Egyptian and the Roman talent, that is, stand to each other exactly in the relation of 10 to 12. But what is perhaps even more significant, the subdivisions of the Roman pound proceed by fractions exactly like the fractions of the Babylonian *gur*, made by adding [illegible] or multiples of [illegible]. The *uncia* is 3 kite, and from [illegible] to 30 kite, the Roman measures advance by steps of 3, 6, 9, 12, 15 kite, and so on; but the lesser weights from the *siliqua* to the *sicilicus* represent forty-eighths of [illegible] kite, [illegible] one drachm, [illegible] and [illegible].

Such fractions are not suggested by or borrowed from the Egyptian

measures, but they have parallels in Greece, where duodecimal subdivisions of the coin in general use were common. The fractions of the Phœnician stater met with at Miletus were $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{6}$, and $\frac{1}{12}$; at Chios $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{12}$; at Samos and Cyzicus $\frac{1}{3}$; $\frac{1}{2}$ at Ægina and $\frac{1}{7}$ in Macedonia, while Cyprus had coins $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{6}$, $\frac{1}{12}$, and $\frac{1}{24}$ of a stater, and Corinth $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, and [illegible] of the stater before the drachm was used.

The history of the matter is that the ancient Babylonians, like the modern Chinese, did so much business, and by force of habit did it so easily, by the help of silver cut and weighed, that they never felt the want of coins. Probably they were at heart anarchists, in the sense that the Chinese are so, and the way in which the weight of the Babylonian shekel was gradually impaired,—as coins struck by Greek Governments took the place of the "current money with the merchants" with his scale and weights,—may be cited to show that the ancient use had its advantages. No doubt on the whole the balance of convenience is in favour of coined money, and the same turn of mind which substitutes an alphabet for a syllabary substitutes money for weighed metal. The Phœnicians probably contributed to both innovations, and there was doubtless a transitional stage in which bars of metal, ready made up into convenient sizes, were used and stamped with their weight. Six such bars of silver were found together by Dr. Schliemann in the Troad, and when allowance was made for oxidization and weathering, they appeared to average about one-third of a mina each.

The first coins were probably struck in Asia Minor, where electrum, a natural alloy of silver and gold, was found. Whether Lydia or Cyzicus led the way is uncertain, but the pale gold or electrum of the latter city constituted, with the Persian darics, "the staple of the gold currency of the whole ancient world,"[1] till the gold staters of the Macedonian kings were introduced. The Cyzicus mint possessed something like a monopoly of coining these staters, and till pure gold coins were introduced, they probably fetched more than their value, which was about ten times that of silver, while in Assyria gold was reckoned to be as $13\frac{1}{3}$ to 1 in comparison with silver.

The intricacies of the Mediterranean coinage systems mainly originate from the Phœnician distaste for the sexagesimal notation. They borrowed the [illegible] of a mina, but starting from it they made a talent of 50 shekels; they still reckoned 60 mina to a talent, and thus, like the Egyptians, got a talent of 3,000 shekels. The Babylonians used *two* talents and mina, the "heavy" and the "light," of which [illegible] the weight of the latter, so that we cannot [illegible] the mina talent's weight. In fact it is a reflection [illegible] Phœnicians are supposed to have [illegible] Greeks [illegible] and took [illegible] of [illegible] the stater. The [illegible] shekel [illegible] mentioned in Babylonian contracts.

[1] [illegible] V. [illegible], 1887, [illegible]

may, it is conjectured, represent the light Babylonian mina, and if so the Lydians will have borrowed it from them. Mr. Head suggests that the "people of the sea," who invaded Egypt in concert with the Khita, would naturally use the mina of Carchemish. The Phocæan stater was $\frac{1}{60}$ of the heavy Babylonian mina, and just twice the value of the Lydian gold stater of Crœsus, and the oldest Eubœan coins followed the same standard. The heavy silver stater was in practice halved and quartered, and the lighter one, as at Corinth, divided by 3, so as to make the coin in common use any way about the same size, like a franc or shilling.

The Greek coins, in all cases, fell below the standard of weight from which they are supposed to be derived. Thus the Phœnician or Græco Asiatic silver standard, based on the heavy gold mina of Mesopotamia, had in theory a stater weighing 230 grs. This was reduced in coining to 200 or thereabouts. Indeed, the earliest known stater of Ægina (*circ.*? 700 B.C.) is singular in weighing as much as 207 grs.; the average is nearer 194, to which corresponds a drachm of 97 grs., a tri-obol of 48, a di-obol of 32, with lesser coins of 24, 18, 8, and 4 grs. each. The light Lydian stater, to begin with, should have weighed 172·9 grs., but suffered a corresponding depreciation.

The reason for following the course of these different standards from East to West is that we may be certain, wherever money has gone, men and customs have gone also; and it so happens that the routes traced out for the various forms of Babylonian mina by a disinterested numismatist, are just those along which we are brought, by other considerations, to look for social and ethnic affinities not hitherto generally recognised.

According to Mr. Head there were four principal tracks: "(1) The southern route, starting from Sidon and Tyre, and proceeding from one Phœnician station to another, across the Cretan Sea to Peloponnessus and Ægina, where the Phœnician silver stater of 236–220 grs. was gradually deteriorated into the Æginitic stater of 194–180 grs. (2) The central route, leading straight across the sea from Samos to Eubœa, Corinth and Athens. By this route the light Babylonic gold weight of 130 grs. passing into Europe and being there used for silver, became known as the Euboic (Attic or Corinthian) silver stater of 135–125 gr. (3) The northern route, (*a*) by land, from Phrygia across the Hellespont into Thrace, where the old Babylonic silver stater of 173 grs. took root in the Pangæan district as a stater weighing about 152 grs. (4) The northern route, (*b*) by sea, from Miletus and other towns of Western Asia Minor to Abdera in Thrace, whence the Phœnician stater of 236–220 grs. penetrated into Macedon, and there gave rise, in later times, to the Macedonian standard of 224 grs."

Along one or other of these lines the peculiar institutions of the primitive civilized race also spread, and along all of them there spread the conceptions of an equitable and liberal commercial code, subsequently gathered together by Roman jurists as dicta of the law of nations. The Eubœan standard, which the Greeks supposed to be the earliest, was very widely diffused, and continued in force, in places, till far down in the Roman period.

Solon's currency reform for the relief of debtors was supposed to have consisted in substituting the Euboic for the Æginetan standard, and making the new coins, worth nearly 30 per cent. less, legal tender. But the newly discovered Aristotelian Polity of Athens treats the two measures as distinct. The new money was pure and of full weight, and so became popular; possibly the Euboic standard, if introduced through Samos, had had less time to degenerate in transit; any way, Athenian owls were in great demand; they have been found far up the Oxus, were copied in Arabia, and circulated so far beyond the limits of artistic Greek taste, that the archaic character of the first stamps was retained from policy, when the Athenians themselves would probably have preferred, and could certainly have produced something intrinsically beautiful.

The Thracian mining tribes, who brought the Babylonic silver standard with them to Europe, were of Pelasgic affinities, and there is reason to believe that the pre-Hellenic element was strongest in the westernmost of the so-called Greek colonies in the Mediterranean. The Æginetan standard was mostly followed in Southern Italy, though the colonists were supposed to start from Eubœa. But most of the towns of Magna Græcia seem to have had coins of their own, struck independently, but of cognate value, so as to be interchangeable at need: their stater averaged about 126 grs., and was divided into 3 drachms of 42 grs. on the Corinthian pattern. Etruria was apparently supplied from Eubœa, but the reduced Æginetan or Persian standard was also used there, along with the native heavy bronze coinage: silver coins are found marked 20, 10, 5, and 2½, indicating their relation to the bronze unit.

About five-and-twenty years ago a hoard of small Greek silver coins was found near Marseilles, including some 2,000 specimens of archaic style and 25 different sorts, and similar finds on a smaller scale have been made elsewhere. They bear no legend, and differ too much to have been the coinage of a single town, and are therefore probably the currency of a loose kind of monetary confederacy[1] (like that of the Greek towns in Italy), "of which the Phocæan towns of Velia in Italy, Massilia in Gaul, and perhaps Emporiae in Spain, were members. The weight standard to which these interesting little coins belong is the Phœnician, of which the stater weighed about 220 grs., or somewhat less. They are for the most part [illegible], with a weight of 18 grs."

The Carthaginians, who might be expected to adhere most closely to the usage of the Phœnicians among themselves, probably counted 6,[illegible] drachms to a talent. Any way they had pieces of 3, 4, 6, [illegible], and 12 times some unit nearly equivalent to the drachm. This unit is put by [illegible] the Babylonian royal mina, and so corresponds to the [illegible] to the smallest gold unit, gold being, as already mentioned, [illegible] with silver in Asia. A curious trace of this proportion is preserved in the amount of Lycian fines, those imposed for injuring

[illegible] p. 148.

graves being sometimes fixed at thirteen coins, *i.e.* the amount of silver required to make up one gold weight, as that metal was not coined.

Another and the most advanced example of a monetary union is that of the Lycian league, who allowed foreign silver, as well as that of all the confederate cities, to circulate if it received the triquetra stamp of the league.[1] The history and meaning of this symbol—which is virtually the same as the arms of the Isle of Man—forms a tempting subject of speculation, but we have already wandered rather too far from our proper theme.

The true cradle of metrology turns out to be identical with the cradle of primitive civilization, and on the common, unimpassioned ground of coins, weights and measures, data may be found for solving or harmonising such of the controversies between Classical and Oriental scholars as have their hidden root in the specialist's natural jealousy of specialities he has not mastered. The metrologist, at all events, who desires to know exactly how the first merchants of the world "weighed their money and measured their grain," must be content to begin his studies in the land of Sumer and Akkad.

[1] Some 5th and 6th century coins of Heraea bear the inscription Arka-likon, as if issued by some kind of Arcadian league with common coinage: a currency is most useful to a confederacy.

## APPENDIX F.

Vol. i., pp. 4, 557; vol. ii., p. 13.

### Peru.

To "survey mankind" literally "from China to Peru" is too large an undertaking for even two long volumes; and, though the civilization of the Incas is generically akin to that of ancient Egypt and China, the chronological interval between its rise and theirs offers a sufficient excuse for treating Peru as outside the subject of the present work. At the same time, as we have not hesitated to illustrate or interpret the usages of civilized antiquity by that of later stocks of inferior development, it may be asked why the line is drawn at the Canaries, or the Pyrenees and Malabar, to the exclusion of the New World, and all those stages on the ocean route towards it from Eastern Asia, where ethnologists have reported customs akin to many of those described above.

It may be admitted at once that common meals, village hospitality, quasi-communism of different kinds, the habit of tracing descent from the mother, rudimentary mummification, female polygamy, and other traits, met with in the Malay Archipelago, Australia, and the Islands of the Pacific, will give an indication of race relationship, if it should be shown hereafter that they are not universal characteristics of a certain stage of social development.[1] But this point is not one to be decided in a parenthesis, and, at any rate, we only know the primitive races of the Southern Seas in a state which, however amiable and picturesque, cannot be called civilized in the sense that the literary nations of antiquity are so.

The ruling race of Peru must have differentiated itself from a stock virtually on the level of the Canarians, and, without entering into details or controversies respecting its origin, history, and antiquities, it may be convenient [illegible] a summary of the points recorded by the Inca Garcil[illegible] most obvious resemblance to features in [illegible] communities of the ancient East.

The world-[illegible] of Peru was called Itahuantui suya, according to the Inca, the "[illegible] World," corresponding to the four cardinal [illegible] "the four provinces" distinguished [illegible] to the capital, Cuzco; so that, in point

[illegible]

of fact, the use of one of these divisions in a discourse was the same as saying to the east or west; and the four roads issuing from the city were also so called because they led to the four divisions of the Empire." There were four viceroys for the four districts; and there was some fourfold arrangement of "upper" and "lower" towns, of which the significance is not clear. The villages founded by the first Inca "were at first small, the largest not having more than one hundred houses, and the smallest about twenty-five or thirty."[1] In all the towns the inhabitants were registered by decades, one as a decurion to have charge of the other nine. Five of these decurions had one to rule them, who thus commanded fifty men. Two of these rulers of fifty had a superior who commanded 100 men; five centurions had a chief (ruling 500), and two of these obeyed a general commanding 1,000, the largest troop recognised.[2]

It was the decurion's business to see that seed was supplied for sowing, cloth for clothes, houses built, or re-built if necessary; also to report offences, among which were reckoned removing landmarks, diverting water, and burning a house or bridge. The decurions had also to report births and deaths monthly to their superiors, and a summary report was given yearly to the king, including a return of the soldiers killed in war. These census returns were required in order to regulate the supply of food, and that of cloth and cotton. Travelling censors or overseers were employed. The father was punished for the child's offence. The general language of Peru had two words for son—son of a father, and son of a mother.[3] Garcilasso speaks of a school-fellow "whom I may call my brother, for we were born in the same house, and his father brought me up."[4] But he also mentions how, before beginning his history, he wrote to other old school-fellows, asking them for help, and for particulars respecting the Incas' conquests "in the provinces of their mothers."[5]

The king's titles are, "Sole Lord," "Lover of the Poor," and "Son of the Sun," the Incas being rather naïvely praised by their descendant for their superior skill in "selecting ancestors." The king's wife was called "Our Mother." The twelfth Inca, Huayna Ccapac, was said never to refuse the prayer of a woman, and one of his father's concubines therefore interceded for her native province after its rebellion: on which he replied: "I well perceive that thou art Maman-chic," *i.e.* Common Mother, meaning, "My Mother and the mother of thy children."[6] In describing all the Inca conquests, the formula used represents them as desiring to extend the blessings of civilization: they are slow in attack, and try to do the enemy as little damage as possible, and receive the first overtures for peace with kindness and presents. Then they make roads, bridges, and irrigation works for their new subjects.[7]

Every year or two years the girls from eighteen to twenty, and the men of twenty-four and upwards, were assembled in the city of Cuzco, and mar-

[1] *Ib.*, p. 80. [2] *Ib.*, p. 143. [3] *Ib.*, p. 314. [4] *Ib.*, p. 211.
[5] *Ib.*, p. 77. [6] Vol. ii. p. 438. [7] Vol. i. p. 157.

ried, if of high rank, by the Inca, otherwise by his ministers. Houses were provided by the common labour of the villagers for the new couples. Villagers were obliged to intermarry; "only sisters were reserved." The Inca married his eldest sister, "that the blood might be preserved pure," and others in order of seniority, if necessary to obtain children; failing sisters, the nearest cousin, aunt, or niece. Failing legitimate children, the eldest relation of pure blood might inherit.[1] The dignity of primogeniture was much considered among the Incas, and the obligation to marry the eldest sister points to the inheritance passing with her.[2] A year of widowhood was strictly observed, and the re-marriage of widows discountenanced. The bodies of the dead kings were "embalmed, so as to appear as if they were [illegible]." Acosta says, "by means of a sort of bitumen," the eyes being formed of small pellets of gold.[3]

The sixth Inca, Rocca, established schools in Cuzco, and said, "If he had to worship anything on this lower earth, it would be a discreet and learned man, the chief of all created things." They had a high priest of the temple of the Sun at Cuzco, who was an uncle or brother of the king, or at least a legitimate member of the royal family. There was a great feast of the Sun at the summer solstice, but the principal feast was observed at the autumn equinox. The year had 365 days, the common people dating by harvests and the Incas by the movement of the sun,[4] which they measured by the help of towers—according to Garcilasso 8 and to Acosta 12 in number—the towers being placed east and west of Cuzco, and the days of the summer and winter solstice determined by the falling of the shadow between the smaller towers. The term between the end of the solar and the lunar year (called "idle moon") was devoted to rest. The date of the equinoctial feast was fixed by observation of the shadow of a pillar in the centre of a circle, with a line across from west to east; the places of observation where the shadow was shortest, or within the equinoctial line, were the most sacred. Some of the stones in the Fortress of Cuzco measured twelve or sixteen feet in length; Garcilasso believed they were [illegible] natural blocks laid together and worked at the joints [illegible]. The fortifications themselves were arranged [illegible]

was divided into three parts—one for the Sun, one for the king, and one for the people. "When the people of a village or province increased in numbers, a portion was taken from the lands of the Sun and of the Inca for the vassals. Thus the king only took for himself and for the Sun such lands as would otherwise remain desert and without an owner." [1] Besides the irrigated maize lands, that where other crops were raised, without irrigation, was cultivated on the same principle, only with intervals of fallow. Only maize lands, irrigated and manured, were cropped every year.

After tilling the fields of the Sun, they did those of the poor,—widows, orphans, the sick or aged;—the officers of the village looked after this, summoning the villagers by trumpet to work on such lands in their neighbourhood; the labourers received no pay in such cases; the families of soldiers on a campaign were also provided for in this way. Then the people tilled their own lands, assisting each other; then the lands of the Curaça, or local chief, lastly those of the Inca. They were wont to sing as they ploughed for king and Sun. Each householder had one *tupu* of land—a little over an acre—for himself and wife, and an additional *tupu* for every son, and half that for each daughter. The sons as they marry take the *tupu*, and the father gives it up. It was not allowed to buy or sell land. In the guano islands each village and province had its plot marked out and was not allowed to encroach on the others, while each villager had an allowance suited to his lands. The allotments of the householders paid no tax.

The tribute of the common people was to cultivate the lands of the Sun and the Inca, and to gather the harvests and store them in the granaries kept in each village. These granaries (called *pirua*) were built to hold given measures of corn, and had openings by which the corn taken out was measured. There were two storehouses in every village—one containing grain against years of famine, the other the crops of the Sun and the Inca. The latter for fifty leagues round Cuzco were used for the support of the Court, and outside this circuit, crops were conveyed to royal granaries and storehouses on the roads, for the supply of the soldiers, who were not allowed to take anything from villages while on march.[2] Lodgings for travellers were placed at intervals along high-roads. Priests were maintained while on duty at the temple in weekly rotation, out of estates of the Sun, and at other times received lands to till, like the rest of the people. The storehouses of the Sun served as a reserve for the Inca in emergencies.

They gave the name of the "common law" to that which obliged the able-bodied Indians to work on roads, bridges, palaces, etc.[3] They called the "brotherly law" that which compelled the inhabitants of every village to help each other in getting in the harvest, building houses, and similar work without pay; and it was said to be "a very ancient custom among them to work together, not only on public lands, but also on their own." [4]

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 5.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 33.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 200.

There was a law which they called "mitachanacuy," which means "to take turns according to families" to do the share of public work allotted to each village, family, or person. "This law also ordained that three or four times a month all the inhabitants of each village should feast together . . . another law ordained that strangers should be treated as guests, and public houses were provided for them . . . the same law decreed that all the poor should be invited to the public banquets two or three times a month, that in the universal rejoicings they might forget their own misery."

Hunts, like gigantic battues, were organized at set seasons;[1] noxious animals were killed; huanacas and viçunas shorn, and the flesh of other animals divided amongst the people. The provinces were divided into three or four parts, of which one only was hunted each year in succession, to let the fleeces grow and the other game multiply. The Incas said the game should be made as profitable as tame flocks; and the common people as a rule only obtained flesh through these hunts. The people exchanged one article of food for another, but "neither sold clothes nor houses nor estates," and knew nothing of renting, buying, or selling.

The artizans paid tribute in kind, making cloth, shoes, arms, etc., each district paying tribute according to its produce. Under twenty-five and over fifty no tribute was exacted from the men, and the women paid none at all. Gold and silver were only collected when the people had nothing else to do. The extraction of quicksilver was forbidden as hurtful, as it caused those who worked it to tremble and lose their feeling.[2] The pearl fisheries were not worked by the Incas on account of the danger to the divers. Miners worked for two months of the year as their tribute: and if extra services were given one year, a corresponding time was deducted in the next year. Salt, fish, fruit, cotton, and other produce were dealt with in common, but trees planted on private lands were enjoyed by the occupier. Roads, bridges, and canals were repaired annually. Domestic industries were practised by every one, and there was little specialization of occupation. Beggars were unknown.

The knots used in counting served for figures, as there might be nine [illegible] up to nine knots each, placed one under the other, just like [illegible] on a slate for an addition sum, the value of each knot being shown by its place. The people in charge of the knots preserved tradi[illegible] speeches by memory.[3] "Sententious sentences" of the ninth Inca, Pachacutec, were preserved by tradition. He increased [illegible] by Inca Rocca, and ordered the language of Cuzco to be taught throughout the kingdom; and he is also said to have caused storehouses to be built in all villages, large and small, where supplies might [illegible] the people in time of scarcity, such depots [illegible] the Inca and the Sun.[4]

[illegible] of institutions is unnecessary; and sceptical

[1] [illegible]
[2] [illegible] 21, 413, [illegible]
[3] [illegible] 21.

criticism is uncalled for also, because, whatever difficulty the Inca Garcilasso may have had in excluding from his mind all the effects of his half-breed's education, all the above traditions represent what he must have gleaned "from the mothers" of his friends, and his own relations on the mother's side, as the inventions of the Spaniards would take a totally different direction.

# APPENDIX G.

Vol. i., p. 553.

## Report of the Malabar Marriage Commission.

When first examining into the eccentricities of Egyptian marriage settlements, the writer had no thought of a possible practical bearing for the historical speculation; and it may appear somewhat incongruous to append to the preceding summary of ancient law and history the discussion of anything so modern as a Bill, to be called The Malabar Marriage Act, two proposals for which have been laid before the Madras Government in the last ten years. But, though the shade of Mencius forbids us to study history for the sake of "profit," it is not necessary to close our eyes to the light which, on rare occasions, disinterested historical inquiries may cast on questions of practical politics. We have taught gentlemen who sign themselves Nair and Menon to quote Bentham and John Stuart Mill as well as Parasu Rama in their legislative proposals; and, as the countrymen of the two first-named authors have taken upon themselves the responsibility of legislating for a people, to whom the latter name is naturally the more sacred of the three, it is clearly desirable that the European lawgiver should understand the history and ethics of the Malabar problem, at least not more imperfectly than the descendants of Malabar Warriors and Scribes understand English Utilitarianism.

The demand for an Act "to provide a form of marriage for Hindus following the Marumakkatayam law of succession, and to provide for the maintenance of the wives and children after the performance of such marriages," has arisen because there are now natives of Malabar, especially in the Government service, who earn a professional income which enables them to maintain their wives and children without assistance from family property; and who are desirous of bequeathing their savings from such [illegible] to their own wife or children, rather than to their mothers and [illegible] children, who are now by local custom their legal heirs. [illegible] was prepared by Mr. Logan, whose [illegible] from in the text (vol. i. p. 553) upon this very [illegible] was taken upon his proposal, its details need not [illegible]. However, of the demand for some action in this direction, a Commission was appointed in May, 1891, to take evi-

[illegible] the customs connected with Hindu marriages in Malabar:

(*b*) As to whether the proposed changes are desired by the majority of the classes subject to the Marumakkathayam law,

(*c*) Or are essential for the protection of the minority;

(*d*) Whether legislation is expedient,

(*e*) And if so what form it should take;

(*f*) Whether the measure would affect the religion, or the religious rites and usages of the Marumakkathayam classes;

(*g*) What would be its effect upon the people of the neighbouring States of Cochin and Travancore,

(*h*) And upon the people governed by the Aliyasantana law."

Witnesses selected from the Marumakkatayam classes (*i.e.* those following sisters' sons' inheritance) were examined to the number of 322, including representatives of the Kovilagams, or princely families of the country. The written answers of 64 witnesses and the *viva voce* evidence of 121 witnesses are printed at length in the report published by the Commission, which may be recommended as a mine of information for the social anthropologist. The Commission consisted of a Judge of the High Court, Mr. Muttusami Aiyar, Mr. H. M. Winterbotham, Collector of Malabar, the Hon. Sankaran Nair, the author of the Bill discussed, and three other native gentlemen, two holding the office of District Munsiff, and the other a member of the Parapanad Kovilagam.

The Bill drafted by Mr. Sankaran Nair (on the same lines as that of Mr. Logan) proposes to legalize marriages between followers of the Marumakkatayam law of succession upon the following conditions:—

(1) Neither party must, at the time of the marriage, have a wife or husband living.

(2) The man must have completed the age of 18 years, and the woman the age of 14 years.

(3) Each party must, if under 21, have obtained the consent of his or her legal guardian to the marriage.

(4) The relation of the parties must not be such in respect of consanguinity or affinity that, according to any recognised custom, a marriage between them would be improper. (This is neutralised by the two following provisos, which will be referred to later.)

Then follow a variety of formalities for giving notice of a proposed marriage to the registrar, and for the "solemnization" of the marriage in his presence and that of three witnesses, with any forms desired, provided each party "says to the other in the presence and hearing of the registrar and the witnesses, 'I A. take thee B. to be my lawful wife (or husband).'" A large part of the remainder of the Draft deals with "Matrimonial Suits" under four heads—Decree of Nullity, Or Dissolution in case of absence, For Divorce or Judicial separation, For Restitution of conjugal rights—all more or less of the European, not to say British pattern. The last material portion confers the following civil rights on parties married under the Act. The husband becomes *ipso facto* the guardian of his wife and children: the latter are entitled to claim maintenance

ance from the husband, while retaining their rights as members of their tarwad. The wife becomes legal guardian of the children after the father's death; the self-acquired property of either husband or wife, if they die intestate, shall devolve on the survivor and the children of the marriage, and failing them on the tarwad. Both husband and wife, if of full age and sound mind, may dispose of their separate and self-acquired property by will, with the proviso that the wife and children are entitled first to a sufficient share of the husband's property to provide them with suitable maintenance.

In justice to the author of this Bill, which is not acceptable to any section of his countrymen, it should be explained that it was drafted under the belief "that in the present state of English public opinion, a proposal to recognise caste as an obstacle to marriage, and to permit free divorce, is not within the field of practical politics." So that the Bill represents, not the spontaneous wish either of the whole people or of the "English educated" minority, but an approximate guess, by a member of that minority, how much of what they want their rulers will allow them to have.

On the suggestion of the President, the following were accepted as the chief points for notice in connection with the reference:—

(*a*) Conditions of a valid marriage.

(*b*) The form that ought to be recognised.

(*c*) Registration as evidence of an agreement to be governed by the act.

(*d*) Divorce; grounds of divorce; tribunal.

(*e*) Rights and obligations to be attached to the legal form of marriage.

Memoranda were prepared by each member of the Commission and read at their second meeting, from which it appeared that they were unanimous in replying to the second question of the reference in the negative, *i.e.* that in their opinion no change in their marriage customs is desired by the majority of persons following Marumakkatayam. With regard to question *c*, four out of five of the Commissioners agree that [illegible] is desirable to meet the needs of the educated and progressive minority, and the dissenting member considers such legislation necessary "in case the Courts refuse to recognise the existing social marriages as [illegible] marriages, creating the rights and obligations described by him in the Memorandum."

This remark illustrates the initial difficulty of the problem. The late Sir [illegible] Stephen is quoted as saying: "Most people regard marriage [illegible] something more; but I never yet heard of any one who [illegible] events [illegible] and by far the most important [illegible] The Majority report of the Commission proceeds: "A [illegible] enforceable by law (Contract Act ix. of 1872, [illegible]) [illegible] an agreement in the form of nuptial union sanctioned by Marumakkatayam custom, we shall have ascertained that [illegible] and not otherwise."

[illegible] world-wide application, it would be [illegible] Egyptians were married to their

wives; and it is not even certain that the millennial marriage customs of the Chinese would satisfy the terms of Contract Act ix. 1872. The marriage *Contracts* of later Egypt were all in effect marriage *Settlements*; and the Syrian distinction between "marriages with writings" and those without seems to point to a similar difference. But not even the Roman Prætor went the length of saying that persons married without writings were not married at all. An ancient Egyptian might have a wife without entering into "an agreement enforced by law," but if he wished to arrange for the *transmission of his property* to his own and his wife's children, he had to execute a marriage settlement for that purpose.

If the educated minority in Malabar had had an "Egyptian" instead of an English education, they might have met the difficulties of their case by executing marriage settlements, which the Courts would have been obliged to recognise as Contracts. But even if this remedy had occurred to them, it is doubtful whether it would be effectual now, in the face of a strong and well-meant desire on the part of the Courts to uphold another portion of the customary law of the country. The English have been accused in some parts of India of breaking up the "joint, undivided families" of the Hindus, by an excessive readiness to recognise the rights of individuals, apart from the groups of ancient tradition. And by way of avoiding this reproach, they have, in Malabar, to some extent laid themselves open to another; viz., that of arresting a tendency to substitute the *tarwashi*, or natural maternal family, for the tarwad or larger group with a common ancestress. All family property, unless formally divided by deed, is now held to be tarwad property; and marriage settlements of self-acquired property might be set aside by the Courts as an infringement of the rights of tarwads.

The natives of Malabar are thus, through no fault or failing of their own, dependent on the goodwill and intelligence of English legislation to enable them to transmit their property to the children born to them in monogamous unions, contracted in accordance with all the social and religious proprieties recognised in their country. And the discussion of their demands is, after all, scarcely a digression from the subject of the present work, as much of the information embodied in the Report of the Commission throws fresh and valuable light on the significance and origin of various archaic traits already met with.

The marriage customs of the natives of Malabar are in some respects less advanced than those of Egypt, owing to historical circumstances, which are to some extent assignable. The natural evolution of the family [illegible] in Egypt, and the combined influence of family affection and proprietary interests made marriage and [illegible] marriage settlements the rule, in a country with a primitively lax standard of sexual morality.[1] There is practically no doubt that the ancient native custom of Malabar approached to that of the Nabateans and of the modern

[illegible]

Tibetans; while the earliest records of Egypt give no hint at such a stage having been passed through, except in the recognition of real or imaginary marriages with sisters, evidently due to some notion of the special fitness of a sister to be installed as "Lady of the House."

Without a circumstantial description of modern Malayali custom, we should [illegible] to realize what the so-called "sister's son's inheritance" really means. We will suppose Khrishna and Lakshmi (the *karan* [illegible]) [illegible] to be members respectively of a large tarwad, descended from Lakshmi's great-great-great-[illegible], and of a small *tarwadi* or branch family, either separated from an overgrown tarwad, or sole representative of one which has [illegible]. Khrishna therefore has been brought up in a household consisting of his mother, one or two of his mother's brothers, and his own brothers and sisters: if he is a native of Northern Malabar, the family will also have included his brothers' children, while, if he lives in Southern Malabar, it will have included his sisters' children only. Whether the family group be large or small, the members of either sex within it take their meals together; and, whether the children of a marriage are brought up in their father's or their mother's family, it is usual for long visits to be paid to the other household, and it is therefore desirable, in choosing a consort, to choose one [illegible] the persons of the same sex in the family of the other spouse.

Lakshmi's father only visits his wife and children occasionally, and the master of the household, and her legal guardian, the Karnavan, is probably a great-uncle or distant cousin, who takes no personal interest in her, beyond reckoning her as one of those for whom rice must be provided at [illegible] in due season. The girls and [illegible] from the males, with whom, however remote the relationship, marriage is absolutely forbidden: conse[illegible] marriage, with whom she can have any [illegible] course, is a brother of her own. If Khrishna's father also lives in his own tarwad, apart from his wife, Khrishna's sisters will grow up in [illegible] look to his uncles to do her business outside the family, and look after [illegible] Khrishna [illegible] their interests in any way [illegible]

[illegible] at the present [illegible]

while men wish to be *allowed* to leave property to their children, none of them would be content to be *compelled* to leave it away from their mother and sisters. If Khrishna is poor and Lakshmi rich, they would both think it right for their children to be brought up in her tarwad, and for him to give what little he might earn, for the maintenance of his mother and sisters, even though the latter were married and had children. And, under the circumstances, we cannot say that there is anything unnatural or absurd in the feeling. The mother's property maintains the son, and the son's earnings go to the support of the mother and her other descendants.

The hard case, for which relief is sought, is that of a wealthy Khrishna, —probably with an English education and a salary from Government, which passes for wealth,—who has married, perhaps before obtaining a salary, some poor Lakshmi, whose family, if she is left a widow with children, can barely supply her and them with food. If Khrishna is an affectionate and thoughtful husband, he will probably buy some small property in the name of his wife or her brother, and so enable her to provide for their children; but if he dies prematurely, or, like the English professional man who puts off insuring his life, does not take his precautions in time, his wife may be either left destitute or endowed with the *damnosa hæreditas* of a lawsuit with his tarwad.

When a new Marriage Law is spoken of, the uneducated classes, we are told, at once assume that it is proposed to compel them to give up Marumakkatayam and become Makkatayam[1] men, to which they object unanimously. "But," says one witness, "do not stop your inquiry here. Ask him (the uneducated man), 'Have you no wife? Are you not married to her?' 'Yes; I have a wife and I am married to her.' 'Is it proper or good that you or she should discard each other, as either of you wish?' 'Of course not; that is not our *mariada* (custom).' 'Are you not bound to maintain your wife and children?' 'Yes: and we do it!' 'Don't you give a portion of your self-acquisitions to them?' 'Yes.' 'Have you any objection to have these customs declared as your law in an Act of the Government?' 'If this is all, it is very good.'"

In the comparatively rare case of family property being left without an heir to claim it, the lawful course under Marumakkatayam is to *adopt a sister*, whose child will be heir, which seems absurd to European ideas. But it is extremely likely that the Egyptian wife, who is called a sister without being one by birth, was primitively adopted in that character, so that her children might receive their father's inheritance, before the custom of writing marriage settlements was formed. And there is thus nothing on the face of it to explain why native Malabar custom has failed to establish monogamy as a national institution in the way that was done in Egypt.

The fact seems to be that two alien influences, Hindu and European, have interfered with the natural development of the Malabar family on either Basque or Egyptian lines. The Nambutiri or Malabar Brahmins,

[1] Son's inheritance.

who very probably belong, like the Nairs, to the pre-Aryan population,[1] originally practised polyandry of the Nabatæan type, the eldest son alone being entitled to lawful marriage. Other Brahmins, called Pattars, are looked down upon in Malabar, and are only regarded as acceptable husbands when nothing better is to be had. Such a feeling is inconsistent with a real community of origin between the Brahmins of Malabar and the rest of India, in contradistinction to the other inhabitants of the former district. And it seems probable that a polyandrous, priestly caste of Mallas has *borrowed* the Brahminical pretensions of the Hindu priestly caste, and imposed upon the Nairs,—who, as the warriors of the country, should by analogy be called Kshatriyas rather than Sudras—a curious revelation ascribed to Parasu Rama, which has had the effect of perpetuating the laxity of Malabar marriage custom.

The learned Zamorin, Maharajah Bahadur, of Calicut, quotes the following passage from a discourse between Garga and Yudhistira in Kerala Mahâtmiam: "In this Kerala, only one member of a Brahmin Tarawad shall marry. The eldest son shall marry in preference to the others. It is not necessary that the females of Samanthams, Sudras, and others should observe the rule of chastity. But the rule of chastity should be observed by the Brahmin females only. I truly say that the above rule need not be observed by the females of non-Brahmin castes." This passage, which reminds unbelievers of the less admirable revelations of Mahomet, is put forward by a number of Conservative witnesses, who are at the same time opposed to legislation, indignant at the suggestion that they are not married to their own wives, and certainly prepared to take mortal offence at the barest hint at the possibility of its being supposed that the ladies of their own families are intended to avail themselves of the dispensation [illegible]orded by Parasu Rama.

What happened when the Nairs were not, as now, practically monogamous is as if the Basques had found an aboriginal race in Spain, which [illegible] to reverence them as the Indians did the Incas, and as if then [illegible] householders, instead of condemning their cadets to celibacy, [illegible] them to marry the aborigines, but not to bequeath any property to the children of such marriages. "Custom," it is further observed by the Zamorin, "is regarded to be the foremost among the Agamas [illegible] origin of all the virtues is custom, and the eternal God is [illegible] virtues." So mighty a god is custom, especially [illegible] that vice and virtue may be confounded at his bidding. Custom in China prescribes lawful marriages, and lawful marriages [illegible] man love his wife [illegible] record his delight [illegible] In Malabar [illegible] morality and the [illegible] ways. Among respectable [illegible]

[illegible]

people men and women do not practise polygamy. Life-long marriages are common, and it is the exception for the absolute liberty of divorce possessed on both sides to be abused by repeated and motiveless separations; and it is probable that if the natives of Malabar were left to their own devices, these new customs would rank as an Agama, and Panchayats and Tarwads would find means to punish their violators.

But at this point the second disturbing element appears. European influence has to some extent accelerated the natural process of development by causing the whole "English educated" class to feel uncomfortable under the imputation of living under a laxer marriage law than other civilized communities; and it might have been supposed that the alien professors of monogamy would welcome and hasten to record the social progress of the subject race under their protection. But the Indian Government has contracted a fixed habit of respecting the religious Agamas of its subjects, however eccentric; and there is therefore some excuse for its hesitating to legislate before ascertaining by direct inquiry whether the domestic usages of modern Malabar are such as are sanctioned by Kerala Mahatmiam or not—whether, in fact, Malabar is governed by what Europe regards as an immoral religious law, or by spontaneously moral custom, unsupported by the sanctions of the civil power.

But for this uncertainty, for which English rule is not to blame, it would be rather startling, and indeed shocking, to find the English Government, while desiring to raise the standard of social propriety, giving offence to the social prejudices of respectable citizens, who have married wives according to the most proper customs of their country, by asking questions which imply that they are perhaps not married at all. Some of the native witnesses even object, as to a slightly coarse, vulgar, or jocose expression, to the words used by the Commissioners[1] as the nearest equivalent available for husband and marriage. And others resent the mere putting of the question on the most important issue of fact before the Commission.

That issue is raised by the interrogatories 23, 24, 27, 28: Can a woman have Sambandham with as many men as she pleases at the same time? Is this permitted or prohibited, and in either case where can such a permission or prohibition be found? Can a man have Sambandham in more than one house at the same time? If he chooses, is there anything to prevent it? Some of the witnesses resent the mere putting of the questions, and some who refrain from answering them, probably do so on the ground of their indecorum. An analysis of over 50 answers probably gives a faithful reflection of the present state of fact and feeling.

To the questions relating to women three answer with a plain Yes, there is nothing to prevent her. Eleven answer with a plain No, she cannot. Five say it is not unlawful, but it is not respectable; it is thought unbecoming. Eight distinguish, and say it is unknown in Northern

[1] Sambandhakaran and Sambandham. Sambandham [illegible] wife.

Malabar, though heard of formerly in Southern Malabar (where a legend of one woman with 28 sambandhakarans at a time is talked of). Fifteen others speak of the practice as very rare, dying out, a thing formerly known, but now unheard of, though not prohibited. Six speak of it as restricted to the lower orders in Southern Malabar, and not approved of even among them. And five answer:

Certainly not.

Of course not.

No: the facility of divorce has given rise to the erroneous idea.

I am surprised that the question should have been asked.

No. This question is not at all warranted by anything connected with the Nayar marriage custom.

The answers to the companion questions are as follows: thirty-two give a plain Yes. One adds: "The general Hindu law is in his favour;" and these answers all seem, like the affirmatives in the first case, to apply to the strict letter of the interrogatory. There is nothing in the civil or religious law of Malabar to prevent it; and in Northern Malabar especially, there appears to be a section of the people who would rather alter the local custom in the direction of ordinary Hinduism and polygamy than towards European monogamy. These witnesses can be recognised by their desire to minimize the right of women to divorce, which is certainly an essential part of the old national custom. Twelve answer that it is not illegal, but it is not respectable, no respectable man wishes to do it; it is theoretically lawful but practically unknown; it can be done subject to social odium, or to the difficulty of finding a family that will consent to let one of its women marry a man who has a wife living and undivorced. Some say: it is done against all propriety, or that, if done, the second wife is regarded as a mistress. One says that it is prohibited by custom for men as much as for women; and this witness adds: It is commoner in Northern Malabar, where the women are less educated, less refined and independent than in the south; and, as the taking a second wife is generally recognised (as it was in ancient Egypt) as giving the first wife a sufficient reason for divorcing, it is clear that the customary independence of women must have worked in favour of the rule of one wife [illegible] husband [illegible] a time.

The Commissioners did not take the evidence of any women, though it w[illegible] be impossible to do so, as the elder women of a family are allowed to speak to strangers, and the senior ladies of the Kovilagams, in [illegible] of [illegible] linger, are regarded as authorities on [illegible] But even without their evidence, the practice of [illegible] Mini[illegible] it practically certain [illegible] born women of Malabar would oppose, with all the irresistible [illegible] any proposal to legalize Hindu polygamy, [illegible] by Malabar gentlemen.

[illegible] the list of witnesses includes many entirely [illegible] any interference with native [illegible] are bound by the dictum ascribed to

Parasu Rama, it is evident that the practice of polyandry is virtually extinct in Northern Malabar and among the upper classes of Southern Malabar, and that it is dying out and discountenanced everywhere. It is believed even by the opponents of European legislation that if a new Marriage Law is passed, even those who do not like it will marry under it, rather than lie under the stigma of not wishing to be as much married as possible; it is also prophesied that any legislation effected in this direction in Malabar will be copied in the adjoining native States of Cochin and Travancore and in Canara, where a transitional law called Aliyasantana is in force. It is therefore plain that a serious responsibility attaches to the English Government, which has the power to accelerate and secure a natural step of social progress and give the *coup de grâce* to an unseemly anachronism.

But, if native opinion among men and women alike is in favour of a law legitimating monogamous marriage, it is difficult to see how or why the attempts to give effect to this laudable purpose have been hung up for ten years. What is the difficulty in the way of legitimating the *de facto* monogamous unions now existing in the country, and those contracted day by day, with customary rites and a full intention of permanence?

Before attempting to answer this question, we must analyse the answers given to another interrogatory: "Is it the custom to change 'Sambandham' frequently, or is it the rule for one man and woman to cleave together for life?" Ten of the witnesses answer simply that it is the rule for the parties to cleave together for life; six say that this is the rule, but there are exceptions; one that it is the rule in 999 cases out of 1,000; ten say that it is not customary to change frequently; one that the power to change prevents the wish arising; others that the custom of changing frequently is declining, that it is rare in Northern Malabar, rare in respectable families, rare now, that unprincipled men change and honourable ones do not; that "the majority of the present generation cleave together for life in perfect harmony;" while others speak of permanence as the rule, failing good cause for divorce; "it is not proper to divorce without cause." Four say: "A man can do as he likes;" "It is at the will and pleasure of each individual;" "There is nothing to prevent either party divorcing if bent on it," or "if enmity takes the place of love."

The question as to what are considered reasonable grounds of divorce is discussed at length in the answers to other questions, bearing on the provisions for divorce in the proposed Bill; and there is a general consensus of opinion among the natives that infidelity on either side, failure of the man to give reasonable maintenance or of the woman to obey reasonable commands, incurable and repulsive disease, conviction for crime, barrenness in the wife and intemperance or similar bad habits in the husband, complete incompatibility of temper and, perhaps, a serious feud between the families, are regarded as valid grounds; while separation for frivolous reasons is prevented by the custom which makes the consent of the elders of the families usual in both cases and practically indispensable in the case of women. Some witnesses attribute the generally high standard of matri-

monial happiness to the liberty of divorce, which causes both parties to continue on their best behaviour, and there is some agreement as to the exceptional attractiveness of the women of South Malabar, which makes the husband more anxious to retain the affections of his own wife than to be at liberty to take another. The whole picture is perhaps a little overladen with *couleur de rose*, but we gather that a majority of the whole population in Northern Malabar and of the upper classes in Southern Malabar enter into what is virtually a contract of marriage during life or good behaviour, and that the great majority of such married couples remain faithful to each other, in spite of their legal right to separate at the wish of either one. We gather also that the virtuous majority are prepared to accept legislation, restricting divorce in cases where there is no assignable cause, except that one of the spouses has got tired of the other; and of course it is obvious that the obligation to provide for the wife or the children of a former marriage, dissolved by the husband's default, would operate still further in restraint of change.

Now whether the witnesses exaggerate or not the extent to which the archaic laxity of South Indian custom has become a thing of the past, they agree in wishing to have the marriages that they do in fact enter into recognised as binding legal contracts; and under these circumstances, it cannot be the duty of the English Government to thrust them back upon the uncovenanted mercies of Parasu Rama. To the legal European mind, there are two things wanting to Malabar marriages, that the law should recognise the terms of the contracts so as to be able to enforce its fulfilment, and that this power should not be rendered nugatory by including in the contract itself a provision making it revocable at will. On the other hand, it is highly important, in the interest of morals and the institution of marriage, that the new legal contract should be made as easy, attractive, and popular as possible, so that the obligations it imposes may be generally and willingly incurred.

The Bill of Mr. Sankaran Nair, which we may criticise without scruple, as the clauses in it which are objectionable to his countrymen were doubtless only inserted to facilitate its adoption by the English Government, is [illegible] on the following grounds: It proposes to *create* a form of marriage for the population of Malabar; a proposal which is a gratuitous [illegible] respectable married couple in the country, and is [illegible] well known forms of marriage in use in [illegible] one or other of which would [illegible] marrying under the Act. The [illegible]

An alternative, which would satisfy English misgivings and native susceptibilities, may be proposed: that a few discreet and learned representatives of all classes should be invited to draw up a report describing the various forms of marriage in use, which it is desirable for the Government to recognise as legal. As they vary in cheapness as well as solemnity, it is important that at least one very simple, informal rite should be legalized. It should then be made the business of some person, officiating at each form of marriage, to forward a notification of it to the registrar, specifying the form used, and forwarding the signature of witnesses on a Government form. Application for the form would be a notice of the proposed marriage, and any falsification of such documents would be an offence under the Penal Code. No change would be necessary in the marriage rites of the people, but those who wished to make the marriage agreement a legal contract, "enforceable by law," would do so by the mere fact of having their marriage registered. There can be no motive for the registration of imaginary marriages, and the recommendation of the Chairman of the Commission, repeated by all the more intelligent witnesses, seems absolutely unobjectionable: "The new Act should purport to legalize the existing forms of social marriage, and not to provide a new form of civil marriage."

The next objection is to a proviso that no bar to marriage save consanguinity and affinity shall be recognised, and these only between parties related "through some common ancestor, who stands to each of them in a nearer relationship than that of great-great-grandfather or great-great-grandmother, or unless one of the parties is the lineal ancestor or the brother or sister of some lineal ancestor, of the other." The restrictions on marriage are very numerous and stringent in Malabar, but it is not in accordance with English precedent to attack established custom in such matters as caste observances, and it is clearly unnecessary to weight a Bill for legalizing existing marriages with provisions sanctioning unions now thought wrong or improper. It is as if, in a country like Spain or Russia, it were proposed for the first time to legalize the marriage of Anglo-Catholics, and the law giving that measure of relief went on to legalize marriage with a deceased wife's sister. In Malabar it is not lawful to marry *any* relative of a deceased wife—*i.e.* any member of her Tarwad. And there are real reasons of social expediency at the bottom of all such customary prohibitions, in communities where the group living in close domestic association is not limited to the natural family. Supposing—*par l'impossible*—that China were included in the British Empire, should we refuse to recognise the legality of Chinese marriages, because it is unlawful, throughout the length and breadth of the Flowery Land, for a Chinese Smith to marry a Smith, or a Brown a Brown?

In all parts of India there are restrictions on marriage which appear needless and useless to Europeans, and it would be quite reasonable and logical to declare that any native of the country who had adopted European ideas on the matter should be free to contract a valid civil marriage, "with

the Registrar for his high priest." The Hindu, who does not believe in the laws of caste, has as much right to enter upon marriage as a civil contract, as the English agnostic or secularist, who does not wish to be married in church or chapel; and it is one of the drolleries of Anglo-Indian legislation that,—as I am informed,—an Indian rationalist cannot be married at an English registry office unless he declares himself a convert to Christianity! But in this respect Malabar will be no worse off than the rest of India, and there is at present no demand for the legalization of any marriages except those which social and religious custom now regard as lawful.

The objections to the institution of a Divorce Court and public suits for divorce, or for the restitution of conjugal rights, are, if possible, stronger than those raised against the proposed form of marriage; and the reader who is fresh from the domestic atmosphere of Egypt and China will feel the incongruity of setting up by law in a modern Lycia the machinery of this kind which is treated as a necessary evil in Europe. The native witnesses are ready in their references to English scandals, from the Jackson case onwards; and the standard of morality, reached under the existing marriage system, is to some extent vindicated by the fact that many of the witnesses are in favour of retaining the existing equality of the sexes in the matter of divorce. They propose to recognise other grounds of divorce than infidelity, so as not to put a premium on the commission of that offence, but they do not wish to deprive the women of their right to claim release on that ground alone. In this no doubt they are wise, because it is certain that women of wealth and position, whose example would have most weight in the country, would decline to enter into marriages, which they could not dissolve upon the ground hitherto considered sufficient. One cannot make Griseldas by Act of Parliament, but the institution of marriage is perfectly compatible with that of a simple and equal law of divorce. And, even if divorce by mutual consent on the ground of incompatibility of temper were recognised, there is no reason to fear that the license would be abused. The respective Karnavans who have arranged a marriage discourage its dissolution; a person who advertised himself as "gey ill to live with" by more than one divorce for "incompatibility" would find himself unable to obtain a partner for a third attempt: and, besides, as in Egypt, the rights of the first wife and children to maintenance would operate powerfully to discourage second marriages of any kind. If, as is probable, registered marriages came to be regarded as more dignified and sacred than unregistered ones, and if, as is certain, they would only be entered into by the more respectable classes, divorce would any way become less frequent than at present. And it is obviously absurd to make the recognition of Malabar marriages conditional on the [illegible] in the country of a divorce law of English rather than German or [illegible].

[illegible] the Karnavans, a year's notice, and a formal registration [illegible] are the checks suggested by general [illegible].

With regard to the age of marriage and the consent of guardians there is no serious difficulty. Child marriage is not usual, and the financial responsibilities associated with a legal marriage would not tend to lower the customary age. Practically at present it is impossible for a marriage to take place without the consent of the elders on both sides, because the husband cannot obtain access to the wife without the consent of *her* Karnavan, nor can she and her children receive their food in their husband's Tarwad, as is usual in North Malabar, without the consent of *his* Karnavan. The consent of the Elders can only be dispensed with if the husband is in a position to maintain his wife apart from the families of both; and it would probably be acceptable if some form answering to the French *sommations respectueuses* were provided, by which a young couple, whose union was opposed by their elders, should have to wait for a moderate term, after giving notice of their wish to register the marriage, before the contract could be completed.

One point appears to be very important; that, at least for a certain term,—preferably not less than twenty-five years,—it shall be open to any person married according to ancient social custom, to register their past marriage as legal. If they are in a position to do so, the date of the ceremony, the form used, and the signatures of surviving witnesses might be filled in, upon the ordinary registration form; while for the poor or illiterate, who could not give such details, it should suffice to register the marriage as previously effected. It would clearly be unjust and invidious to draw a line between the parties to a monogamous union of thirty or forty years' standing and a young couple who merely hoped to enjoy the same permanent relationship. And it would be unwise to fix any narrow limit of time for such retrospective registrations, because after a few years it is certain that the legally married will look down on the others; and it is not desirable to create a hard and fast line of demarcation between those who claim the benefit of the Act at once, and those who delay doing so, from doubts or scruples, legal or religious, not affecting the correctness of their domestic morals, which experience of the working of the Act would remove. By such retrospective registration the persons who now consider themselves married would be put at once in the same position as if the Act had been passed before their social marriage contract was formed; and of course such registration would "establish" the children as well as the wife in their full legal rights.

The criticism of the witnesses before the Commission naturally concentrates itself on the points offensive to their religious and social susceptibilities, but there are other difficulties from which a study of comparative jurisprudence might save the Malabar draftsman.

It is proposed, rather light-heartedly, as in accordance with Hindu and English precedent, to make the husband legal guardian of his wife; to reserve the rights already possessed by the wife and children in her own Tarwad, and to allow the wife to dispose by will of all her self-acquired property, which is to include that which she may receive from her husband.

Now the Malayali are said to be a litigious people, and the only serious opposition to a reasonable marriage law is that prompted by the fear that any marriage law, carrying proprietary rights, will result in breaking up the Tarwad properties. The Dewan of the native Cochin State remarks: "The one principal advantage of Marumakattayam Law is the continuity of wealth in Tarawads;" and this claim is perfectly well founded, the Tarwad having the same permanence as the Basque family estate; and any destitute descendant of the ancestress has an absolute right to receive the necessaries of life out of it.

It is not the intention of the English Government to disendow Tarwads by a side-wind. But it is impossible to work two totally different legal systems together. In the Tarwad system, the family property vests in the woman, not to use, but to transmit. If she has a guardian at all, in regard to proprietary interests, it is legally the Karnavan of her Tarwad and naturally her mother's son. Hitherto, if the Karnavan chose to insist on Lakshmi divorcing her husband, Khrishna had no remedy, because the marriage was not an agreement enforceable by law. But after a legal registered marriage, Khrishna would have a right to his wife's society, unless she herself were entitled to a legal divorce; and he would therefore not, as a husband, be at the mercy of his wife's great-uncle. The Act also makes him the legal guardian of his children, so that his personal status as husband and father is secured. The clause making him the legal guardian of his wife can only have the effect of raising a conflict of interests, and perhaps of rights, between the husband and the wife's Karnavan, and should be dropped as a mere matter of legal logic.

Whatever the social position of women may be in modern Malabar, the conception of their legal tutelage is absolutely inconsistent with the national system of inheritance. Theoretically, in Malabar, as in Egypt, Babylonia, (and even in China), there are no limits to the civil competence of a woman; her share in the hereditary property of the family is limited as that of a man is limited, she has the same power of dealing at discretion during life with self-acquired property, and she is at present under the [illegible] liability in bequeathing it away from the Tarwad when she dies. To [illegible] a woman full testamentary powers over self-acquisitions, to place her under her husband's guardianship, and to make gifts or bequests from him [illegible] restrictions, would be to place every woman between two fires, as the affectionate husband and brother complains of being now. [illegible] insist on her bequeathing to the Tarwad gifts from her [illegible] the Karnavan would certainly claim that she should [illegible] gifts received from her husband, in view of the obligation which the Tarwad would still be under to maintain her and her children during widowhood. The consequent dissatisfaction of the [illegible] would go far to neutralize the gain from the [illegible] contained in the Act.

[illegible] the present law is that, if a man has [illegible] and children by a gift *inter vivos*, and they die

before him, what he has given them passes to their Tarwad, *i.e.* to a grandmother, aunts, or cousins, instead of reverting to his own family. The exceptional number of deeds of gift registered in the Marumakattayam districts explains the copious provisions against such transactions in the Gortyn, Syrian, and other semi-archaic codes, and the only way to avoid burdening the statute law with a number of prohibitions, which people spend their ingenuity in evading, is to make the provisions of the common law as equitable or rather as equal as possible. To avoid setting up new injustices in the place of the old ones, the best way would be to make the proprietary responsibilities of husband and wife absolutely equal, so that every Tarwad shall have the same gains and losses, when, as is usually the case now, they arrange two marriages at the same time, each family giving a wife to the other, so as to balance the expense or advantage incurred.

There is a general agreement among the witnesses that not more than half the parent's self-acquisitions should go, on intestacy, to the consort and children, but opinions are divided as to whether the remainder should go to the Tavazhi or to the Tarwad. Some propose that one-third should go to each of the three claimants, but the equitable course would seem to be that it should go according to the "companionship of the cupboard;" *i.e.* that if the family had eaten rice with the Tavazhi, paid for with Tavazhi funds, the Tavazhi should inherit, and if the Tarwad had given maintenance, then the Tarwad should inherit.

The evidence as to the respective contributions of the family and the husband to the support of the wife and children supplies a most eloquent commentary on Egyptian marriage contracts. The common table supplies food, but "oil and clothes"—it is universally agreed—should be supplied by the husband. Even without the formality of written marriage settlements "he must give it," as the Egyptian documents say, or he may be regarded as dissolving the marriage contract itself by his neglect.

An opponent of marriage legislation proposes, as an alternative, a Bill to the effect that "every person whose personal law is the Marumakattayam law, and who is of sound mind and not a minor, shall be competent to dispose of his self-acquired separate property by will." But this is unnecessarily revolutionary. It is desirable to enable fathers to provide for their children, even though their doing so reduces the amount of the Tarwad's inheritance; but it is not desirable that men should be empowered to disinherit their Tarwad for the sake of women to whom they are not respectably married: such an innovation would be like the Ptolemaic legislation in Egypt, a way of combining the disadvantages of two separate systems of jurisprudence.

Space forbids the enumeration of all points of interest contained in the Report, but the following may claim a moment's notice. The distinction between betrothal and marriage, met with elsewhere, seems to linger in one peculiar marriage custom, in which the bridegroom asks the permission of the mother of the bride to visit her for six months, and does in fact

spend the wedding night in the mother-in-law's house, returning (now) the next day to fetch the wife home. There is an inexpensive form of marriage with the peculiarity of not entitling the bride to be brought to her husband's house, as if the "taking" had not been followed by the "establishing" as wife. An institution discussed at great length, the Tali kettu kalyanam, the tying of the *tali* on a girl before she attains maturity, as a token of marriageableness, may possibly be a reminiscence of an original religious betrothal ceremony; but interested Brahministic suggestions have deprived it of this character, and it is now a useless, expensive, and meaningless ceremony, to the performance of which the conservatism of the country is accordingly profoundly attached. One advantage of a popular and dignified marriage rite is, that it might gradually supersede the tali tying, or perhaps let that resume its place as a real betrothal.

We are reminded of the foundation of Marseilles by the dictum of the Zamorin: "The gift of daughters in marriage by the sacerdotal classes is most approved when they have previously poured water into the hands of the bridegroom."[1] And we are reminded of the Nabatæan and Syrian formulas of succession by the sentence quoted from the Jimuthapahatha by the same authority as applying even to those who follow the system of sons' inheritance: "The properties of those who have no son, daughter's son, or daughter's grandson shall descend to the sisters' children."

And we may fairly ask in return for so much curious information, that anthropologists, who might be disposed to form a Society for the Protection of Ancient Institutions, should show sufficient interest in the grievances of Malayali parents to move the Madras Government to proceed with a discreet and sympathetic Malabar Marriage Act.

One point should not be neglected—the selection of a dignified and auspicious name for the new legal contract. It is said that nearly the only words that would be understood throughout Keralam as meaning "to marry" are *Sambandham Tudanguga*—"To begin Sambandham;" but they clearly do not satisfy the requirements of the case. Another term in use is "Guna Dosham"—Good-bad-doing,—which is illustrated by reference to the English "For better for worse" in the Marriage Service. What seems wanted is a term including the ideas of auspicious life-long union between the mother and father of children.[2] A significant and alluring name would go half-way towards popularizing the reform.

[1] For this, however, there is a parallel in Manu.

[2] [illegible] has been suggested, karaina being already used to [illegible] the selection of a further honorific adjective might be left [illegible] with the duty of reporting on the marriage rites to be recognized [illegible]

## APPENDIX G *bis*.

Vol. ii., pp. 11 and 189.

### Chinese Classics.

The five King or Canonical Books of China are the Yi King, or "Book of Changes;"[1] the Shoo, the Book of History; the Shi, the Book of Poetry; the Li Ki, or Record of Rites; and the Ch'un T'sew, or Spring and Autumn,[2] a chronicle of events from 721 to 480 B.C. The compilation of all these has been loosely attributed to Confucius, but the last alone was really written by him. The Four Shoo or Books of the four philosophers consist of the sayings of Confucius (translated under the title of Confucian Analects) and those of Mencius, and the Treatises called "The Greater Learning" and the "Doctrine of the Mean," ascribed respectively to a disciple and a grandson of Confucius; but the two latter are included also in the Record of Rites. To these were sometimes added the Chow Li, or Rites of Chow, the E Li, or "Ceremonial Usages," and three commentaries on the Chun Tsew, of which the best by one Tso, called the Tso Chuen, is translated by Dr. Legge. There is a great edition of the Shoo, the Shi, the Sayings of Confucius and Mencius, and the Chun Tsew, with Chinese text, translation and notes in seven parts or five volumes by Dr. Legge (quoted throughout as *Chinese Classics* or *C.C.*); and the English portion of the volumes on Mencius and Confucius have also been reprinted in popular editions, and are generally referred to in quotations as more easily accessible than the large edition. The translation of the Shoo King (with abridged notes) is also given, together with short extracts from the Shi King, in the third volume of the Sacred Books of the East, and the Li Ki forms vols. xxvii. and xxviii. of the same series.[3]

The Chow Li, of which so much use is made in the text, has been translated in full by M. E. Biot, in two volumes, illustrated by copious extracts from the works of native commentators. The text consisted originally of six divisions, each of which contains a list of the officials of different degrees employed in the various branches of the six great Departments of State, followed by chapters descriptive of their functions. The authorship of this remarkable monument of ancient civilization is

[1] On this subject see App. I.

[2] Literally "Springs-Autumns" [illegible] successive seasons of the year, *i.e.* Annals.

[3] For the reasons against attributing any great antiquity to this work [illegible] present form, see *L'Age du Li Ki*. M. C. de Harlez. Trans. *Ninth Oriental Congress*, [illegible] p. 581.

attributed to the Duke of Chow. The text in its present form dates from the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-221 A.D.), which has also bequeathed some very full, interesting, and instructive comments on the newly restored text, the authenticity of which can scarcely be questioned, when we learn that a reward of 1000 pieces of gold was offered, after the revival of classic learning, for a missing section of the work, without producing a colorable forgery.

The arrangement of the classical books, undertaken by order of the second emperor of the Tang Dynasty (627-649 A.D.), added to these the Urh Ya, a dictionary of ancient characters, and the Heaou King, or Classic of filial piety. By order of the Han emperors, in the first century of our era, a report of all the literary monuments then existing was drawn up. According to a history of literature written two centuries later, there were then "294 collections of the Yih King from thirteen different individuals, or editors; 412 collections of the Shoo King from nine different individuals; of the book of Rites, 555 collections from thirteen different individuals; of the books on Music, 165 collections from six different editors; 948 collections of history, under the heading of the Ch'un-Tsew, from twenty-three different individuals; 229 collections of the Lun-Yu (or digested conversations), including the Analects and kindred fragments, from twelve different individuals; of the Heaou King, embracing also the Urh Ya, and some other portions of the ancient literature, 52 collections from eleven different individuals; and finally, of the Lesser Learning, being works on the forms of the characters, 45 collections from twelve different individuals. The works of Mencius were included among the writings of what were deemed orthodox scholars, of which there were 836 collections from fifty-three different individuals."[1]

It is impossible to suppose that this sort of library could represent the forgeries of 200 years; and if not, then it represents the surviving salvage from the Burning of the Books; and, since the Han, no dynasty has failed to extend its care to the literary monuments of the country, so that, as Dr. Legge observes, "The evidence is complete that the classical books of China have come down from at least a century before our Christian era, substantially the same as we have them at present."

[illegible] of the Historic Annals, known as the Bamboo Books, has been called in question, partly because of their substance, and partly on [illegible] dramatic story of their discovery. But the tendency of [illegible] to give them at least equal authority with the Tso [illegible] Kuoh and the Shoo. They are said to have been dis[illegible] by [illegible] persons, who opened it presumably in search of [illegible] of King of Wei, who died 295 B.C., that is, nearly [illegible] years. We know that treasures were anciently buried with the [illegible] treasures, which at the collection of a royal library [illegible] It has been considered the proper thing to say of every [illegible] discovered in the tomb of some famous an-

[illegible] p. 4, 5.

cient, and the invention would have had no point unless it had actually been the habit from the first to bury works of all kinds with the dead, as copies of the Funeral Ritual were subsequently. The discovery of the Bamboo Books is alluded to by a contemporary scholar, author of a well-known edition of the Tso Chuen, and without exaggerating the importance of their contents, they may be taken to represent the kind of chronicle kept in every State of importance, which supplied formal historians with their materials.[1]

"The lacquered tablets of the Classics which had been discovered in 154 B.C., hidden in the ancient house of Confucius, were preserved in the Royal Archives, where those which had escaped the bibliothecal catastrophes of the years 23 and 290 remained until 311 A.D., when they were lost in the great fire which destroyed the precious library once collected by the Wei Dynasty. The year 175 A.D. saw put in practice the grandest idea of the time. In view of securing evermore the integrity of the sacred books, Tsai-Yung, duly authorized by the emperor, Han-Ling-Ti, after a careful revision of the text of six kings by competent scholars, wrote them himself in red on forty-six stela. The engraving and erection of the tablets was finished in 183 A.D. in front of the Imperial College, on the east side of Loh-Yang." The text was given in three characters. "Students were allowed to take rubbings of the stones, and the result was that less than a century afterwards five of the stela had disappeared; only twelve were still intact, and twenty-nine were either broken or defaced."[2] Between 240 and 265 the Wei emperors had another edition of the Classics, with the exception of the Book of Odes, engraved on stone tablets; but these remarkable monuments did not remain intact; time and removals caused them to disappear gradually, and in 717 A.D. the forty-eight tablets of 248 were reduced to thirteen. "All that remains of them since that time is preserved at Si-ngan-fu in the famous Pei-lin, or Forest of Tablets, amongst the 300 inscriptions that it contains."

"Ancient texts were printed as early as 593 B.C., but it was only in 932 that an imperial order was issued to engrave on wood, and print for distribution the nine king recognised at the time. The work was finished in 932."[3] The arrangement of the classical books, undertaken by order of the second emperor of the Tang Dynasty (627–649 A.D.) included the Urh Ya, a dictionary of ancient characters, and the Heaou King, or classic of Filial Piety (included in the Sacred Books of the East). From time to time other editions in different characters were brought out by private scholars or imperial command. But there has been no room for uncertainty concerning the texts themselves since the new set of stone classics

[illegible]

was erected at Chang-ngan (Si-ngan-fu) in the 9th century. Five years (833–837) were spent in engraving the twelve works included in this edition on 216 tablets; and they are still preserved, practically uninjured, in the "Forest of Tablets" already referred to. Some original rubbings which had been taken from the three-character stone classics of the Wei Dynasty were discovered about the middle of the 11th century by a scholar named Su-wang, who had them engraved and published, and this work was reprinted in the present century by a scholar into whose hands a copy had come.

The earlier dynasties were in the habit of removing the stone tablets erected by them in their capitals when, for any reason, the seat of empire was transferred; but with increasing respect for the sanctity of ancient monuments, and experience of the dangers to which they were exposed by such removals, the custom was abandoned. But as it was clearly improper that Peking should be worse off than Si-ngan-fu, 182 tablets, engraved on both sides in a style of great beauty, containing the thirteen classics, were erected in the Kien-lung reign at Peking, and are still the admiration of students.

The later literature of China is too voluminous to allow even a summary to be given here. It will be enough to mention just the names of those writers whose works are of almost classical authority and vogue. The "Narratives of the States," the mine from which modern dramatists and historical novelists draw half their plots, is attributed to Tso, the author of the Commentary on Confucius' Spring and Autumn. The "Warring States," which has had the same destiny, dates in its oldest form from the Han Dynasty, but has been amplified by later editors. A translation of the original version of the work would be exceedingly valuable. The same remark applies to the "Historical Records" of Szema-tsien,[1] who first worked out the system of chronology since generally accepted from Hwang-ti, 2697 B.C., to his own day, 104 B.C. This work is the first in the collection of "Twenty-three Histories," ending with the Ming Dynasty, which was issued by Imperial order, in 1742, by a commission of forty-five officers and scholars of the present dynasty. Dr. Legge's copy of the Collection, "bound in English fashion, makes fifty-three volumes."

The "Collected Comments on the Shi," by Choo Hi, were published in 1177, and in the imperial edition of the Odes published in 1727, the authority of this commentary is substantially maintained. Chinese scholarship, it may be observed, is not at all credulous; and modern criticism, when it begins to apply itself to the literature of the Flowery Land, will find a great deal of work done ready to its hand. The Shi King contains 305 odes, and the titles of six more, supposed to have been included in the collection made by Confucius, are preserved. According to tradition, the original collection consisted of 3,000 pieces; and the remarks on this subject, made by a scholar of the present dynasty, may be quoted as a fair specimen of the rational principles of criticism adopted. There are two historical works [illegible] Comments, in which the Odes are frequently quoted. One

[illegible] the Herodotus of China.

of them, the Tso Chuen, already described, contains 219 quotations from the Odes, of which only thirteen are not identifiable in the surviving classic; the other contains thirty-one quotations, all but one of which are in the Shi King as known to us. If, observed Chaou-Yih in the last century, "the poems existing in Confucius' time had been more than 3,000, the quotations found in these two books of poems now lost should have been ten times as numerous as the quotations from the 305 pieces said to have been preserved by him; whereas they are only between a twenty-first and a twenty-second part of the existing pieces"—whence he concludes that the number of lost pieces must be inconsiderable.

The "San-kwo-chi, or History of the Three Kingdoms," is also a favourite mine for the dramatist, and is intended as a history rather than a romance, though it gives prominence to all the romantic incidents.[1] A portion of it has been translated by M. T. Pavie. Another work, to which it is much to be desired that translators should turn their attention, is the great Encyclopædia of Ma-twan-lin, called a "General Examination of Records and Scholars," the result of twenty years' labour, published in 1321. Remusat calls "this excellent work" a library in itself, and held that if Chinese literature consisted of it alone, the language would be worth learning for the sake of reading it.

Of course, all these materials require to be used critically, in order to give their full *quantum* of reliable information. The Tso Chuen is rather like a Chinese Livy, and it is not to be supposed that Chinese historians are more infallible as to affairs before their own day than a Thucydides or Polybius; but they had access to a larger number of contemporary records, and the main outlines of the history derived from such fragments of their works as have been translated are probably to be depended on. A serious history of China cannot be written except by a Chinese scholar; and such scholars will no doubt, for many years to come, find one dynasty at a time quite enough for a work of the desirable *Gründlichkeit*.

The *Histoire Générale de la Chine*, by P. de Mailla, is derived from the Tong kien-kang-mou which Kang-hi, who did so much for the study of the Classics, caused to be translated into Tatar for the benefit of the vanquished conquerors of the Middle Kingdom. But though a convenient and trustworthy compendium (in thirteen quarto volumes), it is far less interesting and instructive as to the national life of China than other authorities of which less is known.

A Chinese bibliography by the brothers von Möllendorff, and another by M. Henri Cordier in two volumes (1878–81), will give the reader any further information that may be desired as to the stock European authorities on China; the "Chinese Reader's Manual," by W. F. Mayers, and Mr. Wylie's "Notes on Chinese Literature" should also be consulted.

[1] [illegible] feats of archery are [illegible] by an interesting, if not very admirable, [illegible] who makes two rivals [illegible] which is [illegible] 150 paces, [illegible] *San-kwo-chi*, ii. p. 8.)

# APPENDIX I.

Vol. i., p. 31; vol. ii., p. 16.

## China and Babylonia and the Yi King.

As long ago as 1871 Dr. Edkins was struck by the many ancient customs pointing to a connection once existing between Western Asia and China, and proposed that "China's Place in Philology" should be considered by the light of these resemblances. In 1880 a paper on the History of the Chinese language by M. Terrien de Lacouperie was laid before the Royal Asiatic Society, in which the "phonetic laws of spelling of the ancient Chinese writing" and the resemblances between this writing and the pre-cuneiform or linear Akkadian character were described; and the theory advanced that the unintelligible Chinese classic, the Yi King, might be a kind of archaic dictionary, intended to preserve the memory of the connection between characters like the modern "radicals" and their derivatives. Prof. R. K. Douglas took part in these investigations and concurred in their results, which to the present writer appeared then as almost "too good to be true," so acceptable was the philological proof of relationship, as an explanation of resemblances at once too radical and too minute to be accidental.

Thus far the subject had been approached by Sinologists, taking up Akkadian to illustrate Chinese; but before long the fruitfulness of the opposite course was made plain by the inquiries of the Rev. C. J. Ball, an Assyriologist who began to study Chinese for the purposes of philological comparison and the illustration of the too scanty Akkadian texts. In 1889 he began to publish a systematic comparison of Chinese and Akkadian roots,[1] and, as M. Terrien de Lacouperie expresses it, by grouping his assimilations to avoid the many pitfalls inherent to comparison of monosyllables, "has undoubtedly proved a deep relationship between the vocabulary of the two languages,"[2] though only about two thirds of his [illegible] with old Chinese [illegible] by the pioneer of the investigation. To [illegible] it is [illegible] that there should be even this amount of agreement between independent inquirers, and the identifications may [illegible] the evidence is sufficiently obvious [illegible] two different fields.

[illegible] to the philological side, and [illegible]

[illegible]

of the identifications which are least obvious to the general reader are most convincing to students of language, because of the uniformities in the permutation of sounds which they establish between the two languages. On the other hand, some of the very numerous sounds, apparently exactly alike and having the same meaning in both tongues, may be merely accidents due to the limited variety of monosyllabic sounds available. A certain percentage of deductions may be allowed for on this ground, and still leave the resemblances numerous enough to satisfy sceptics.

These resemblances may be classed in three groups: identity of sound or parallelism of phonetic modification between words having the same or [illegible] senses in Akkadian and Chinese; resemblances between the character used to express a given idea in linear Babylonian and archaic Chinese writings, which in some cases outlast the resemblance of sound in the word for which the character stands; because when the pictorial significance of the character is lost sight of, false analogies sometimes cause it to be used as a symbol in a new and inconsistent sense; and, lastly, resemblances in the habits of thought, which lead to the establishment of similar associations between words and symbols that are not self-evidently allied.

The following groups of terms for parts of the body, objects connected with agriculture, and various animals are taken, by his kind permission, from Mr. Ball's paper On the Accadian Affinities of Chinese, read at the Ninth London Congress of Orientalists, 1892.

| Accadian. | Chinese. |
|---|---|
| bad, body, skin | *bat, p'i |
| sun, su ,, ,, | shen, sín |
| sag, sanga } head | sheu, sù |
| zag, zang } | sang (forehead) |
| umun, face | mín, mien |
| su, beard (from sud, sug) | sü, *sut |
| igi(n) } eye | yen, ngan, ngè |
| en (from gan) } | |
| ka, mouth | k'eu, kù |
| mush(tab) } ear | *top (P. 314) (P. 238)[1] |
| gish, ge } | *ngit, *ngi, i; Amoy hi (from ki, gi) |
| buru (vur) } | er |
| shi(b), shu(b), ear | *shep (R. 128) |
| gun, gu, neck, throat | king, hiang, *gun (P. 827) *gu, heu |
| bar, flesh, belly | *pak, fok, fu; Jap. hara (from para) |
| tu, belly | tu |
| [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] (and ribs) | *gib, híp, sides, ribs. |
| bar, back | *bak, pok, poh |
| [illegible] | [illegible] |
| da(d), hand | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | |

| Accadian. | Chinese. |
|---|---|
| dug, dub } leg, knee | t'ui, *t'ok, thigh, leg (*t'ut) |
| zib } | tsuk, tsuh, leg, foot |
| gir, foot; firm | kéuk, kièk, kioh, foot; firm |
| [illegible], flesh | *nuk, niòk, zhiòk, zheu |
| [illegible] } blood | *git, hít; also |
| [illegible] } | sut, su (P. 281) |
| mud } | mít, mieh |
| lu-gu i (lu'g + gud), clear blood | [illegible] |
| [illegible], dark blood | *dam, tan, red |

## Agriculture.

Here are some words relating to the important art of tillage.

| Accadian. | Chinese. |
|---|---|
| e-din, field | *din, tien |
| [illegible] | [illegible] |
| i-din, well, spring | *din, *dzin, [illegible] |
| " " | *dim, tsing |
| dun, dim, dig, plough | *din, tien, to till |
| [illegible], a plough | *lag, *lik, lei, li, a plough |
| kur, ku, canal | *kuk, keu |
| [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible], tree, stalk, trunk | [illegible] |
| sar } [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] } | [illegible] |
| [illegible], shag, herbs | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] } [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible], shed } | [illegible] |
| [illegible] etc. | [illegible] |
| zi, zid | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] |

| Accadian. | Chinese. |
|---|---|
| gug (gung) | ve'ung, yang |
| u-mun | kuk, kut |
| zig (zing) } sheep, lamb | mín, mien |
| guk-kal | se'ung, siang |
| u-du | *kak, kau |
| i-dib | *du, t'u, chu |
| sha'g, ṣig, dab } pig | shi, *shok, *shik, *dap, ship |
| dam, dim } pig | t'un, dang, *dom, tw'an, chung, toung |
| e-lum } stag | ling |
| e-lim } stag | |
| dara, antelope, deer | luk, luh |
| am-sig, elephant | siang |
| u-shum = u-shub } serpent | *shap, shé |
| ṣir ma'g } serpent | mang |
| (*written* mug-mug) } serpent | man, min |
| mush } serpent | *mung |
| gir, scorpion | *git, hít |
| nim, tum, insects | *dom, t'iong, ch'ung |
| bar, leopard ; spotted felinae | *pok, pau |
| num(ma), wolf | *lung, lang |

Accadian dumu-zi, pig, Tammuz (the Swine-god), is a compound (dum = dam ; zi = zig, ṣig, ṣir). It survives in the Turkish domuz, pig. The dialectic 'gumu-nsir reappears in the Semitic loan-words chumṣiru, chinzīr, chazīr. 'Gumu-nsir, kin, boar ('gumunsir).

The asterisks denote old Chinese forms, and the other references are to the "Phonetics in Edkins' Introduction to the Study of the Chinese Characters."

A few other isolated specimens of similarities of sound and sense between the two languages may be added. The ninth Chinese radical j'an, man, the character for which represents two legs, corresponds to a modern dialectical form, modified in the same direction as Akkadian variants as seen in the table :

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Akkadian | Gin : | Din | Ni(n) | man |
| Chinese | Yin | jin | niang | .. |
| Old Chinese | gin | din | nin | ., |

The interchangeableness of y and g in the two languages is illustrated by many examples, as Akk. gis, gi, one ; Chi. yit, yi, one ; Akk. gin, gim, handmaid ; Chi. gim, yin, girl. The interchangeableness of n and d is common to both languages, so that the old Chinese gin and din have counterparts in the Akkadian forms ni and ti, to fear : ni and di, bright : na-an i dag, stone ; idin and inim, heaven. Then we have —

| Accadian. | Chinese. |
|---|---|
| tu, tuk, clothes | Tok, chok, i, shik, sék, shang, clothes |
| i, sik, shang | |
| uk, to take, to seize | Tok, to take; tek, to get |
| Shu, a multitude | Shu, a multitude |
| Shu, to throw down | Shu, to overturn, to exterminate |
| Shu, grain | Shu, millet |
| Shang, bright, pure, holy | Sho (shak), bright, to shine |
| Shuk (kab) high messenger or servant | Shi (shik), follower |
| | Shi, to command, send, service |
| Kad, high, noble | Kao, high, noble |

The phonetic resemblance in the last case is supplemented by the close agreement between the linear character in Gudea's inscriptions and the old Chinese writing. The initial g, which Akkadian scholars assume to be earlier than k, in Chinese is often worn down to h, so that kwei, hwei, and hwei, old gut, to return, turn round, represents an Akk. gur, with similar meanings. The change simply from g to k is illustrated in the following list: that from g to y already mentioned is still more frequent.

(1) G passing into k.

| Accadian. | Chinese. |
|---|---|
| ga, house | kia, *ka |
| gab, to open | k'ai |
| gal, gal, demon | kwei, *gut |
| gur, to raise | kü |
| gar (gur), chariot | kü, A. ku |
| 'ge, this | k'i |
| gin, reed, rod | kan |
| gin, fasten, establish | kin, kien |
| [illegible], one | k'i *kit, single |
| gan, neck, throat | king |
| gun, tribute | kung |
| gur, to return | kwei, *gut |

(2) G passing into y.

| Accadian. | Chinese. |
|---|---|
| [illegible] | yü, *guk |
| [illegible] gwa, ku, fish | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | yuh, *got |
| [illegible] | yu, *guk |
| [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] |

| Accadian. | Chinese. |
|---|---|
| ʿgar (ʿgar-sag), summit | yoh, C. ngok, A. gak |
| gash, two, second | ya, *gak ( [illegible] gat) |
| gig, dark, night | yih, C. yik, dark |
| ge, night | yé, night |
| gig, sick, sickness | yih, C. yik |
| gin, geme, handmaid | yin, *gim |
| gin, to walk | yin |
| gir (i-gir), wings | yih, C. yik |
| gish, gi, one | yih, C. yit |
| gish, tree, stalk | yeh, C. ngít, A. giet |
| gish, male, strong, hero | yih, C. ngát, strong, martial |
| gud, gu, ox | yiu, C. ngau, A. giu, gu |
| gu, gudu, gude, speak | yü ; *yut, C. üt, M. yueh |
| gug, a gem | yuh, C. yuk, *nguk |
| ʿgul, ʿgil(i), joy, rejoice | yü, *yuk ; yoh, *ngok |
| ʿgun, to look up | yang, *ngong. |

Parallel examples are found within each language of the same phonetic change of g, by way of y, into a mere breathing.

Amongst the ideograms common to Akkadian and Chinese, it is of course prudent only to rely on those in which the association of the sign and meaning are, to a certain extent, conventional. A stroke for the numeral one, and a circle for the sun, would suggest themselves independently to any inventors of writing. The Akkadian character read ka-is-bar, and translated "to give oracular decisions," consists of three elements—mouth, one, to divine; and the Chinese composite character read ki, to divine, also contains the elements pu kiu-yü, to divine, mouth, one. The 25th Chinese radical puk, pu, the first element in this group, was anciently written ┼, while in Gudea's style, with the position rectified, the character for the corresponding Akkadian element, bar, to divine, is [illegible].

In Akkadian, the ideogram for god was a star; the corresponding word [illegible], used for god or king, was written phonetically with three elements, "judge-plant-prick," and the composite Chinese character ti (representing an earlier form, tik, dig), to judge, a god, the king, preserves traces in its structure of the same elements "judge," and "prickly plant." The ideo- [illegible] Akkadian and Chinese [illegible] persistence of the ideogram [illegible] the words [illegible] [illegible] symbol [illegible] [illegible] worship [illegible] translating which Dr. Legge [illegible] "the spirits of." The Chinese character [illegible] the suggestion of divinity.

Mr. Ball, who has kindly revised the above lists, communicates to me the following additional, as yet unpublished, confirmation. The *ku wén* of the old word *suk süe, ear of corn is actually =Akkadian eššu, ear of corn: the *Lu shu tung* gives as the *ku wén* of süe or sui, ear of corn, , and another old form is , all clearly rough cursive forms of the eight rayed star, which in both languages is also *god*. The word eššu=anšu (?) and , corn, is also read šug, while an(u) is another term for ear of corn. The following parallel is also interesting. In Babylonia the planet Venus was female from sunset (to sunrise); male from sunrise (to sunset).[1] In China the planet Venus is female as the morning star, Nü-ts'ien, and wife of the same planet, called T'ai-poh shang-kung (=Dilbad shukum, Akkadian titles of Venus) as evening star. The ku wen for star is ○○; and the oldest Babylonian for star is ✳✳, and the correspondence of the three Chinese circles with the three Babylonian stars can hardly be accidental.

The old Chinese character for fire, an angle with three strokes above it, corresponds with the archaic Babylonian character for fire, representing an altar with flames; and though this, it may be said, is only a coincidence of obvious picture writing, this is not the case with the Akkadian ideogram, containing the elements ku-gin, gold, which in its original form bears an obvious likeness to the Chinese character kin, also gold. The significance of the Akkadian characters (bright, yellow) serves to correct the current Chinese analysis.

The inscribed cylinders commonly buried in the foundations of Babylonian buildings were called *dimmen*, the character for which in the very early monuments of Esarhaddon is [illegible], while the Chinese man, wan, [illegible] "writing," was written originally [illegible], and has not been very materially altered since. Nebo, the Babylonian god of letters, the [illegible], of the Assyrians was commonly indicated by a compound ideogram, god-stylus, the latter of which elements is read [illegible] corresponds to the Chinese wen, yüh, and yüh, stylus, [illegible] the Akkadian only with a [illegible] [illegible] circle, sun, and by eminent [illegible] [illegible] between Gadd's version and [illegible] Closest met with, [illegible] and [illegible]

The fact that a drawing of four squares stands for fields in Chinese and Akkadian would prove nothing, because, like the Egyptian hieroglyph, it is the obvious way of indicating that cultivated land is divided by irrigation channels; but the fact that was read lu, dib, dab, in Akkadian, and lu, lut, *tap, in Chinese is not likely to be accidental. The Akkadian sug, zug, field, written with the ideogram for enclosure and water, is compared by Mr. Ball with Chinese tsi, tsü, an untilled field, curiously written with the signs for water and field, as it were *lucus a non lucendo*, since irrigated and cultivated fields are synonymous: the interpretation may be that the Chinese tsi shows water *outside* the fields, while the same elements of enclosure and water (*ante*, p. 42) are used to indicate the well which is the centre of cultivation in both countries.

There is a similar resemblance in the coincidence of Akkadian mun and Chinese min for the curved line or angle representing a roof and meaning house. The symbol house-god is an element in the Akkadian character for parents, and the old Chinese chin, parents, includes exactly the same elements, and closely resembles the linear form of the Akkadian Chi. . One more pictorial coincidence must suffice. The father and mother are the gods of the house, and the city is the dwelling-place, the seat of the god. The ku-wen forms of the Chinese character fang, old ban, gan, "place," are almost indistinguishable from the linear Akkadian for place, city, which seems from its derivatives "to have had the various sounds gan, gal, gun, gin, gar, gur, and perhaps ban." The ideogram seems to represent the throne upon which the city god may be supposed to sit, as the king does in his portrait statues.

If we now compare a few of the favourite objects or dominant ideas of the two nations, the same suggestions of a common source appear. The phonetic connection between uknu (Akk. lapis lazuli) and Chinese yu, beautiful, precious, clear white, jade, or gem, belongs perhaps to the doubtful list; but the following are something more than plausible:—

Akkadian: Lal (according to the syllabaries) saqalu, to weigh, measure money, to pay. Chinese: Liao, to measure.

Akkadian: Di, dinu or denu, judgment. Chinese: Ti, to judge between.

The same sign is read kud, with the sense of dividing, which answers to an old Chinese ko or kat, to examine, sift thoroughly, a law. It is also read *tar*, *tim*, with senses answering to those of Chinese tien; and *sit*, in which case it is translated street, to subdue, rule, judge. Akkadian towns, as we have seen, were divided into quarters by their main streets, and the practice of doing justice in the gates (of the city streets) would keep up the association between the material and the figurative uses of the word.

The Akkadian ideogram with three sounds and nine Assyrian definitions had probably the original sound and sense which survives in China with the root ti, and the notion of dividing or discriminating.

Akkadian duk, a cup, vessel, answers to Chinese teu (old sound duk), wooden trencher, sacrificial dish. Akkadian an, anna, heaven, high, may be compared with Chinese ang, high. Akkadian gis, gi, one, answers phonetically to Chinese yih, yit; but a much stronger proof of common origin than the mere possession of a similarly sounding numeral is supplied by the common metaphorical use of the term. Gi is said to be defined in one place as sarru, king; and yit nin, the One Man, as the reader will remember, is a standing epithet for the primitive Chinese king in the Shoo. The three signs for 30 were read in Akkadian esin and shebu, and the late sheb suggests a primitive shab, with which the Chinese sap, sa, seh, for 3 tens may be compared. The Chinese san, 3, seems to answer to the form [illegible] sin, the Moon-god, in [illegible] was symbolized by the number 30. The Akkadian [illegible] 40 [illegible] a compound of [illegible] 20 [illegible] 2, is interesting [illegible] already mentioned, it is the word [illegible] for the [illegible] 40 is [illegible]; and it is possible that the Chinese sap, [illegible] is a much disguised reminiscence of this original. The Chinese words for brick, tile, can also be derived by a series of normal changes (from ga to wa, through an intermediate ngwa) from an Akkadian original [illegible] mur.

For the numerous other parallels, possible, probable, and virtually certain, [illegible] but a few specimens, the reader must consult Mr. [illegible] papers.

[illegible] has been made to the Akkadian [illegible] the various meanings [illegible] isolated characters. M. de [illegible] suggestion is that the Yi King consisted originally of just such [illegible] taken the ancient Babylonian [illegible] comparison with the similar Chinese character [illegible] Yi King deals with this [illegible] were [illegible]. The early [illegible] There [illegible]

[illegible]

| Akkadian [illegible] | Chinese. |
| --- | --- |
| [illegible] | A domestic cow |
| [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | ? Confused |
| [illegible] | [illegible] ing-like dying |
| [illegible] | ? Attentive, lucky o[illegible] |

| Babylonian. | Chinese. |
|---|---|
| nigu, music | Special music |
| kissu, multitude | ? Perpetual chatter |
| hatu, trespass; eteku, to go forward | Oppose, rushing against |
| ba'aru, to hunt | ? To meet |
| sabatu, sibitu, kamu, to seize | ? Throwing off, to split wood, to cut off |
| tabaku, outpouring | Falling drops |
| abazu, to possess, to take | To have something |
| kirdibbu, ? kirru, immeru, beast | Ravenous beast |
| kababu, a cover | Bamboo basket |
| subburu, to oppress | Abominable bogie[1] |

With regard to the use of the same character for sheep and cow, Mr. Ball (p. 692) seems to make it probable that lu is used in a general sense for domestic animals who are kept in enclosures, both sound and character for ox-stall being alike in Chinese and Akkadian. The meaning encircling, which M. de Lacouperie had obtained from another source, would probably be connected in this way with the original character; and that of law and order, also given, might answer to the Chinese sense of cutting and splitting, in the metaphorical sense met with before. When all the possible causes of divergence, during a separation of thousands of years between the earliest editing of the Chinese Classic and the Akkadian syllabaries, are taken into account, the survival of so many parallel meanings, in groups put together on apparently arbitrary lines, is certainly remarkable.

The earliest arrangement of the text of the Yi King, according to the Chinese, was effected by King Wen, the father of Wu, who founded the dynasty of Chow. This prince was imprisoned for two years (1144–3 B.C.) for a State offence, and occupied his enforced leisure in composing the earliest commentary on the Yi, the text of which therefore must have existed before his time. The ancient Ku-wen character was probably [illegible] expression of real speech, but dialectical divergences had [illegible] of the past, when, in the 9th century B.C., a famous minister of King Sieuen invented the Ta Chuen style of characters, which were an attempt, often misguided, to revert to an ide[illegible] system.[2]

[illegible] Kwas, the whole and divided lines which [illegible] Yi King, and the method of divination by [illegible] the alternative to divination by the [illegible] Akkadian texts may yet throw [illegible]

[1] M. [illegible]
Spring [illegible]

both these systems in the Tso Chuen.[1] It seems clear however, that the use of the Yi for divination began late, when its real meaning was on the way to be forgotten, as the so-called foretelling words in the present text have no place in the rhymes of the rhyming chapters.

M. de Lacouperie has attempted translations of six chapters, one of which has been analysed already. The seventh and the fifteenth chapters are also rendered as vocabularies; and among the characters in the latter there are two, the renderings of which appear to justify the view that Confucius, in his views on cornering (*ante*, p. 41), was really "a transmitter and not a maker" of doctrines older than King Wen. A character which is translated "undersell[illegible]" is paraphrased in the Chinese "not rich by means of his neighbours;" and another, "to overcharge price," is paraphrased, "many employ it in cheating and plundering"! So even in the hands of its most matter-of-fact translator, the Yi King seems to keep up its character as a mine of hidden oracles of wisdom. The thirty-first chapter is a vocabulary; the twentieth a sort of historical ballad or epigram, relating to a Prince Kwan (22nd century B.C.), whose name is identical with that of the character heading a short vocabulary. The thirteenth chapter describes the manners and customs of certain cave-men, according to our author the aborigines dwelling in the loess cliffs, and their gradual acceptance of the blessings of Chinese civilization, in which again we recognise the perennial tone of Chinese politicians.

Mr. Ball and M. Lacouperie agree in regarding Chinese as a representative of a much earlier stage of Turano-Scythic speech than any other living language, and as still including elements going back to some source common to it with the founders of Elamito-Babylonian civilization. And in view of the affinities suggested, on other grounds, in the preceding pages, the conclusions of M. Lacouperie's linguistic researches is not without interest. He observes: "At present the Turano-Scythic stock of languages is divided into six principal groups:—

1. S.W. Asiatic; Akkado-Sumerian, etc.
2. [illegible]: [illegible]: Samoyed: Tungusic: Japanese.
3. [illegible]: [illegible]: Mongol.
4. Kuenlunic: Kotte: Chinese; Tibeto-Burmese.
5. [illegible]: Dravidian: Gangetic: Kolarian, etc.
6. [illegible]: [illegible]: Alarodian.

[illegible] representative diverged and altered. [illegible] observed, in passing, *a propos* of the [illegible] have not been alluded to in the preceding [illegible] should have received consideration [illegible] an allusion to their self-governing [illegible] mother as virtual ruler of the house [illegible]

[illegible] for a considerable number of the [illegible] by direct intercourse [illegible]

[illegible]

in historic times; and he includes Sabæans, Syrians, and Hindus among the foreign traders who issued the first coins of China at Tsih-moh city about 670 B.C. (*ante*, p. 58). But this part of the subject requires elucidation from several outside sources before we can rely absolutely upon the identifications suggested. As the author has in the press a new work on the "Western Origin of Chinese Civilization," it would be untimely to summarize the results already published by him in various periodicals on this subject.

There is one other ancient Chinese document which it is somewhat grievous to have to leave unutilized in a work of this kind,—a grant of land in favour of the San family, attributed to the latter years of the Yin dynasty, preserved in the original characters, which Chinese writers fail to interpret satisfactorily, and Chinese Sinologues have not yet grappled with. Two pages of the inscription are shown in one of the cases at the British Museum, and in these a character ⊕ occurs twice, which Prof. Douglas informs me is read by the Chinese as equivalent to the four squares which stand for *tien*, field. The character in itself is so much more like the Egyptian hieroglyph for city, and the Hittite character compared with it, that the question arises whether it can be read, or fitted with an Akkadian parallel, in this sense.

When the learning and ingenuity spent on much shorter, less interesting, and less ancient inscriptions in other tongues is considered, the neglect of Chinese antiquities seems really astonishing; and it is to be hoped that the contemporary publications of Prof. Douglas and M. Terrien de Lacouperie may rouse sufficient interest in that subject to enlist fresh workers in the field.

# APPENDIX K.

Vol. ii., p. 69, 120.

## The Chinese Families and Irish "Fines."

There can be little doubt that the conventional classification of the agricultural communities in China was affected by the spontaneous grouping of the families which did, in fact, live and cultivate the ground together. The subjoined genealogical tree shows the traditional nine branches of kindred in all their ramifications, worked out symmetrically with an allowance of two sons to every father. If we suppose the ninth generation to be not yet marriageable, there may be a few surviving great-grandfathers, (B) whose personal authority would of course be great, but would not interfere with the separate establishment of successive grandfathers. At this time there would be surviving from each of the four ancestors of the third generation (Y) just eight natural family groups or households, four of which are founded by the householders' grandfathers (B), while two trace to a great-grandfather (A), one to a great-great-grandfather (Z), and one to the common ancestor of a generation further back (Y). The scheme of nine generations[1] will give us four such groups of eight.

The hamlet may have consisted of a fourth of such a group; *i.e.* of four or more neighbouring families of which two were founded by living grandfathers (C), one by a great-grandfather (B), and the other by the common ancestor of the group (A), together with four married younger sons not yet attained to the dignity of grand paternity. Whether these last were or were not established in separate households would probably depend [illegible] number of individuals and generations living in each particular [illegible] representative of the eldest branch, who continued to live in [illegible] father and grandfather, was not likely to keep his own [illegible] their marriage, but a younger son separately established [illegible] with him until the younger of them came in [illegible] marriageable age.

[illegible] tree will be more apparent when [illegible] families or "fines" of the Brehan [illegible] the Chinese family groups helps to inter[illegible] the Irish code, while the coincidence of [illegible] with the territorial or agricultural [illegible] presumption that both were [illegible]

determined roughly by the same natural considerations. It is in all cases the younger branches that are compelled to separate and form new households, while the elder branch may continue in an unbroken line from the remotest ancestor. The commentary on one of the odes of Chow shows that this method of forming branch families was fully recognised. Three triplets celebrate in parallel style the "sons," the "grandsons," and the "kindred" of the prince;[1] and we are told that "the term surname is used for grandsons, because the grandson's descendants become a new clan, with the designation of his grandfather for a clan name." Thus B in the genealogical tree may live to see one of his grandsons (*i.e.* his eldest son's second son) found a new family named after himself; but his own younger son would be established independently as a descendant and namesake of his grandfather, B's father, A, without special reference to B himself.[2] The "kindred" are all those who trace their lineage to a common "high ancestor," the original stock of the nine branches, which in the case of one legendary worthy were all found living under one roof-tree.

The national doctrine of filial piety, as applied in China, prevented any such extension of the *patria potestas* as existed at Rome, and was believed by Sir Henry Maine to have existed elsewhere. The son who was also a father had as such irrefragable claims to authority and respect, which his own father could not be the first to disregard. The eldest son, who remained under the ancestral roof, derived more dignity from his position as a representative of the senior branch than he lost by not becoming himself an independent householder. The youngest son, if forisfamiliated, was not thereby emancipated from any of the obligations of filial piety, which continued binding on the elder son who would succeed to the headship of the house.

This senior branch seems to correspond to the Irish Geilfine family group, which according to the Brehon lawyers might conceivably consist of five persons in different generations, from the father to the great-great-grandson, or just over half of the Chinese nine degrees of relationship. Most readers of Sir Henry Maine's attempt to interpret the meaning of the Irish family groups,[3] with their four classes and seventeen members, by the light of paternal power, must have felt that the real problem remained nearly as perplexing with as without the proffered explanation. The editor of the Book of Aicill states the case as follows: "Within the family 17 members were organized in four divisions, of which the junior class, known as the Geilfine division, consisted of five persons; the Deirbhfine, the second in order, the Iarfine, the third in order, and the Indfine, the senior of all, consisted respectively of four persons. The whole organization consisted [illegible] only consist of 17 members. [illegible]

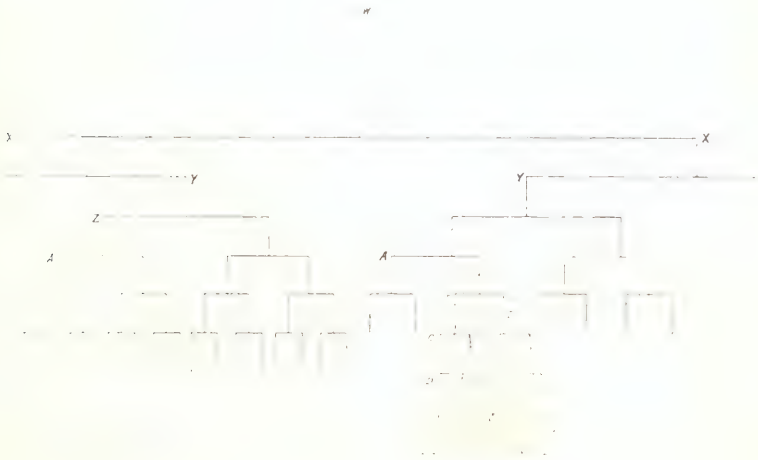
[illegible]

was born into the Geilfine division, its eldest member was promoted into the Deirbhfine, the eldest member of the Deirbhfine passed into the Iarfine, and the eldest member of Indfine passed out of the organization altogether. The Book of Aidilitsel, however, does not speak of persons [illegible] into the Geilfine division, but only says, "If one person [illegible] into the Geilfine division so as to make it excessive, a man must go out of it into the Deirbhfine division," and so on—which is not [illegible].

The four groups, it will be seen, correspond exactly with the households [illegible] from one grandfather (A in the genealogy), and the senior [illegible] evidently the one which may be expected to include a generation more than the others, while we are expressly told that the Geilfine is first in dignity. Supposing the Irish fines to be organized like a Chinese family, the Geilfine, or "hand family," would consist of A, B, C, D and E, and the other three, respectively, of C [illegible], son of B [illegible], D and E; of B [illegible], C, D, and E; and of C [illegible], son of B [illegible], D and E; the latter of which groups are less nearly related than the former to the four junior members of the Geilfine. The person who might come into the Geilfine [illegible] to make it excessive would be D [illegible], son of C [illegible] and grandson of B [illegible], and such a younger son, according to the Chinese family system, forms a new household; according to the Irish statement, he may either form a new Geilfine division, or take the place of one of the other branches, leaving the most remote to "pass out of the [illegible]."

[illegible] generations instead of five, the genealogical tree gives us [illegible] contemporary groups of relatives, [illegible] the descendants of one [illegible] would give approximately a hundred households or four villages. The way in which our authorities seem to [illegible]

The extraordinarily strict rule of exogamy enforced in modern China must have originated at a time when the relatives living together in the same enclosure were of different degrees of nearness, but dwelt so entirely on the same footing that brothers and sisters could not be distinguished from cousins. A few examples of the evils of too close interbreeding or the marriage of unduly near relations would suffice to set up a rational and ineradicable prejudice among the people against any approach to those habits, which could only be absolutely excluded by a very strict rule, in the face of the opportunities of intercourse afforded in patriarchal families like those described.



# APPENDIX L.

Vol. ii., p. 123.

## CHINESE DYNASTIES.

| [illegible] | SOVEREIGNS. | | [illegible] | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hia | | 17 | | 22[illegible] |
| Shang or Yin | | 28 | | 17[illegible] |
| Chow | | 34 | | 1122 |
| T'sin | | 5 | | 225 |
| Han (former or Western Han) | | 14 | | 2[illegible] |
| [illegible] or Eastern Han | | 12 | | 25 |
| The Three Kingdoms | | 11 | | 221 |
| Minor Han | 2 | | 221 | |
| Wei | 5 | | 222 | |
| [illegible] | 4 | | 229 | |
| Western T'sin | | 4 | | 2[illegible]5 |
| Eastern T'sin | | 11 | | 317 |
| North and South | | 58 | | 420 |
| Northern or first Wei | 15 | | 386 | |
| Western Wei | 3 | | 535 | |
| [illegible] Wei | 1 | | 534 | |
| Northern Chi | 7 | | 550 | |
| Northern Chow | 5 | | 557 | |
| Southern Sung | 9 | | 420 | |
| Chi | 7 | | 479 | |
| Liang | 6 | | 502 | |
| Ch'en | 5 | | 557 | |
| Suy | | 4 | | 5[illegible] |
| T'ang | | 22 | | [illegible] |
| The Five Posterior Dynasties | | 13 | | 907 |
| [illegible] | 2 | | 907 | |
| [illegible] | 4 | | 923 | |
| [illegible] | 2 | | 936 | |
| Han | 2 | | 947 | |
| [illegible] | 3 | | 951 | |
| [illegible] | | [illegible] | | 9[illegible]7 |
| Western [illegible] | | 5 | | 1125 |
| Kin | | 10 | | 1115 |
| [illegible] | | 9 | | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | | [illegible] | | 1127 |
| [illegible] | | [illegible] | | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | | 17 | | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | | 9 | | [illegible] |

## APPENDIX M.

Vol. ii., p. 77.

### The Use of the Staff.

The Egyptian figure, with a long rod, like an alpenstock, in the right hand, is familiar to the most superficial student of the wall pictures. It is so characteristic that the late M. Chabas wrote a short monograph *Sur l'usage des Bâtons de main chez les Hébreux et dans l'ancienne Égypte* (Annales du Musée Guimet, vol. i., 1880), illustrated by a number of Old Testament texts, alluding to the varied associations of the staff, from the shepherd's crook to the royal sceptre and the magician's rod. The staff is reckoned as no less indispensable to the traveller than his shoes, and it is apparently the same utensil which serves the overseer to urge on the workman, and the teacher the pupil whose "ears are in his back." But there is also an association of rank or authority with its possession. The permission to use the *baton du commandement*, which was expressly granted to Amten, was presumably a prerogative of those born to hereditary power; and a high sacerdotal functionary boasts of being "the staff of the king within the temples."

The handle of the staff was commonly ornamented and frequently inscribed; the bronze[1] ferrule of that of Pepi, bearing his cartouche, is now at the British Museum. A portion of the gilt staff of Amenhotep III. of the Eighteenth Dynasty is among the treasures of the Leyden Museum, and the Louvre has the handles of staves once belonging to Seti I. and Rameses II. Among private possessions of this kind, one belonging to a scribe attached to the worship of the solar disk is of interest, as the only surviving proof of the existence of a temple of this heretical cult at Memphis. Age as well as rank gave a title to the honorific use of the staff, as appears from several inscriptions, such as: "An excellent staff to begin old age with, in the great hall of the temple, and to go forth with daily in going to see Ptah of the White Wall (*i.e.* the citadel of Memphis); this is said for the benefit of the chief scribe of the God Aoh, Anoui." A shorter staff—or yard measure—belonged to a person of the same name, who is designated as "lord of the ell, whom his master always loves," and described as the

[1] Professor Flinders Petrie's discovery of copper tools at Kahun has led to a more accurate method of describing the early metal objects found in Egypt. A small piece of bronze tool, almost certainly of the 4th Dynasty, has been found, but no bronze tools earlier than the 18th Dynasty; and, in the absence of analysis, the term "bronze" applied to such objects as the fragment of Pepi's staff means only that they appear to be made of some copper alloy.

"runner" of Pharaoh. An ebony staff at the British Museum bears the name of "Bai, royal messenger in Mesopotamia," possibly a friend and minister of the last king of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Amon and Ptah are invoked by artists of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties to bestow life, health, and strength on the owners or makers of other ornamental walking sticks. Many other inscriptions are known, but differ little from those in general use for commemorative purposes.

That the use of the staff in ancient China was in all ways similar to that in Egypt appears from the fact that inscriptions engraved upon ancient staffs have been preserved (*Chinese Classics*, iv. i. pp. 16, 17). But the inscriptions themselves are of a disinterested moral kind. Here is one :—

> "Helping a man, be not rash ;
> Holding up a man, do not wrong."

And again :—

> "When are you in peril ?
> In giving way to anger.
> When do you lose the way ?
> In indulging in your lusts.
> When do you forget your friends ?
> Among riches and honours."

In this case one might imagine that there is an allusion to a threefold use of the staff: as a weapon, as a walking-stick, and as a token of honour. The legend as to the general disuse of the staff in China shows that a certain idea of dignity or sanctity, or perhaps of national pride, attached to it.

In rough or mountainous country the use of a long walking-stick is so obvious that it would not seem to call for remark or need explanation ; yet it is not by any means the universal custom of mountaineers to "always have a stick in their right hand," as Schweinfurth says of the men of Sokotra, and [illegible] of the Guanches. Wellsted speaks in the same way [illegible] "carries in common with all other Arabs." And on reflection it is not difficult to see how the habit of carrying a staff—which implies the absence of any other occupation for the right hand—was necessarily disused in classes that required the right hand to be at liberty for grasping a tool or performing other laborious tasks. The [illegible] in a civilized man, who is as free [illegible] Arab of the desert.

[illegible] traces of a lost custom will be found in con[illegible] *Bagutte Blanche* [illegible] Mr. W. H. Rylands, the secre[illegible] on Whit Monday at Chalons [illegible] unquestionably heathen origin [illegible] the Eve of St. John Baptist's Day, and

ortho lox m d rns, (*Cartulaires de l'Evêché et du Chapitre Saint Étienne de Chalons sur Marne*, Éd. de Barthelemy, p. 91) who rejoice over the abolition of all such archaic rites, are careful to explain that the long white rods borne in the surviving procession are only a souvenir of the time when the roads outside Chalons were so bad that the priests could not walk along them without the help of such staves. Mud, however, like mountains, may exist without giving rise to the inveterate habit of walking, sitting, and standing "with the staff in the right hand," and the question whether this is not one of the minor characteristics that may be relied on as an indication of race is worth considering.

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